JINNAH PAPERS

PAKISTAN : THE GOAL DEFINED
1 January - 31 August 1940

THIRD SERIES
Volume XV

Editor-in-Chief
Z. H. ZAIDI, S.I.
M. A., LL. B. (Alig.), Ph. D. (London)

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CULTURE DIVISION
GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN

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MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH
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Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah

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Foreword

The present volume of *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah Papers*, subtitled *Pakistan: The Goal Defined* and covering the period from Ist January to 31st August 1940, is the fifteenth in the overall sequence and the first in the third series.

After Britain had declared war on the Third Reich (1933-45) on 3 September 1939, following the Nazi regime's aggression against Poland, and World War II had ensued in the sequel, the British Government, naturally, was keen to enlist the support of both Congress and Muslim League for the war effort. Congress insisted, as a pre-condition, on a declaration of independence after the war, to which the British Government was not agreeable. Congress thereupon withdrew from the Government in the provinces where they had formed Ministries in 1937. The question of co-operation of Muslim League with the British Govt. was handled with his customary adroitness by the Quaid-i-Azam who articulated the demand of Muslim India for an independent Muslim state, leading to the adoption of the Resolution that came to be called the Pakistan Resolution, at the 27th Annual Session of the Muslim League held in Lahore from 22 to 24 March 1940. The current volume portrays the seminal event and related issues.

The first four volumes of the *Jinnah Papers* relate to terminal phase of the British *raj*, from 20 February to 14 August 1947, during which Jinnah negotiated the emergence of a Muslim nation-state in the face of unremitting opposition by both Congress and the British Government. Volumes V to VII cover his relatively brief, albeit momentous, stint as Governor-General of Pakistan when he endeavoured to firmly lay the foundations of the young state. Volumes VIII and IX relate to issues concerning the future of the princely states. Volumes I to IX together constitute the first series of the *Jinnah Papers*.

The next five volumes, X to XIV, in the second series encompass the period from 1 October 1943 to 19 February 1947. They cover significant issues like the Jinnah-Gandhi talks, the first Simla Conference, the Cabinet Mission Plan, the second Simla Conference, the Interim Government, the London Conference and the League boycott of the Constituent Assembly.

Jinnah's statements and speeches, published in the newspapers and subsequently compiled by various editors, have generally not been included. Instead, references to the relevant publications have been given in the footnotes.

Primary documents as well as appendices have been arranged in chronological order. These have been identified by quoting the source or repository notation, followed by the relevant file or volume, and

where available, the page number(s).

The documents listed have been generally selected from the *Quaid-i-Azam Papers* (*QAP*) (*e.g.F.976/13-4*); the Archives of Freedom Movement (e.g. *AFM 214/107-8*); the *Shamsul Hassan Collection* (*e.g. SHC, Hyderabad/15-6*), etc. Where expedient, relevant material has been garnered from contemporary newspapers and other sources. Documents from various volumes of the *Jinnah Papers* have been referred to by document number, volume number, and page number(s) (e.g. No.130, VII, 182), while references to the present volume mention only the document number.

Material of repetitive nature, requests for pecuniary assistance, employment, messages, and similar routine matters, have generally not been included.

We are greatly indebted to Madam Dina, Quaid's daughter, for her continuing interest in the publication of the *Jinnah Papers*, highlighting the epic struggle of her illustrious father for the achievement of Pakistan.

Z. H. ZAIDI

Quaid-i-Azam Papers Wing
Culture Division
Islamabad
18 June 2007

Hitler's unprovoked invasion of Poland in September 1939 triggered declaration of war by Britain on Nazi Germany, and the ensuing months were to witness the progression of war from sitzkrieg to blitzkrieg, or lightning war, in May 1940. The war in Europe escalated into a conflagration of global dimensions with Japan launching a kamikaze attack on Pearl Harbour, US naval base in the North Pacific Ocean, which led at once to America declaring war on Japan in December 1941. World War II, the deadliest in history, was to claim some fifty-five million lives before it ended in mid-August 1945 with the Japanese surrender precipitated by the US nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Unprepared as she was for the war she had had to declare on an aggressive Nazi Germany, Britain of necessity had to lean heavily for manpower and material support on her overseas possessions, the most populous and richly endowed of them all being India, of course.

* * * *

In his address to the joint session of the Council of State and the Indian Legislative Assembly, the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, read out a message from King George VI to the people of India expressing the hope that in the struggle against the Fascist aggression on which he and his people had embarked, they could count on the sympathy and support of the people of India in the face of the common danger. After reading out the King's message the Viceroy appealed to the rulers of native states, leaders of the major political parties, and ordinary men and women to "vindicate the principles at stake, to work together in the closest unity for the furthering of our common object."[1]

At an emergency meeting, the AIML Working Committee gave earnest consideration to the Viceroy's appeal.[2] The Committee reiterated their earlier resolution deploring the Federal Scheme of the Government of India Act, 1935, which allowed an immutable Hindu majority to trample on the religious, political, social and economic rights of the Muslims.[3] It criticised the Viceroy and the Governors of Congress-ruled provinces for their fecklessness in ensuring that the minorities got due protection and justice. While appreciating the suspension of the Federal Scheme, the Committee demanded that the whole issue of future constitution for India be re-examined. It asked for an assurance that no declaration regarding constitutional advance would be made without the consent and approval of the League, nor would any constitution be framed and finally adopted by

the British Parliament without such consent and approval.

The Viceroy, after holding a series of talks with political leaders including Jinnah, Gandhi and Nehru, issued a statement on 18 October 1939 defining the attainment of dominion status as the constitutional goal for India. The statement, claiming that the scheme of Provincial Autonomy had turned out satisfactorily, hoped that the Federal Scheme, though suspended for the time being, might have fared equally well. Indicating the British Government's preparedness to modify the Government of India Act of 1935 in the light of the Indian views, he repeated his earlier appeal for unity. He also sought the cooperation and assistance of all parties for the of prosecution of war by forming a consultative group.[4]

The Viceroy's statement was carefully examined by the League Working Committee on 22 October. They were disappointed to note that the vitally important points raised in their statement of 18 September 1939 had not been precisely and categorically met. The Committee emphatically reiterated that no future plan of India's Constitution would be acceptable to the League unless it met with their full approval. They asked for further information about the "consultative group."[5] Jinnah sent a copy of the resolution to the Viceroy for his earnest attention.

The Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha on 22 and 23 October 1939 also termed the Viceroy's statement on war aims as "wholly unsatisfactory." In order to not extend any support to Britain for the war effort, the Committee called upon Congress Ministries to tender their resignations. The Parliamentary Sub-Committee issued instructions to that effect and expected that the resignations would be tendered by the end of the month.[6]

The Viceroy invited Jinnah as well as Gandhi and Rajendra Prasad to meet him on 1 November to discuss the possibility of expansion of the Governor-General's Executive Council and to seek their cooperation in forming a consultative group.[7] The discussions were unsuccessful due to sharp differences, across the political spectrum, between the representatives of the two major parties.[8]

Jinnah sought further elucidation from the Viceroy on 5 November as required by Working Committee Resolution of 22 October. He reaffirmed the League's demand for reconsideration of the Government of India Act of 1935 as a whole and insisted on approval and consent of the two major communities, viz. Muslims and Hindus, before enactment of any Constitution by the British Parliament or any declaration of policy by the British Government in that regard.[9] Jinnah welcomed the exit of Congress Governments which had "done their

best to flout the Muslim opinion, to destroy Muslim culture, ...interfered with their religious and social life and trampled upon their economic and political rights." He asked Muslims all over India to observe 22 December as a day of deliverance and thanksgiving. The day was to be observed by holding public meetings in an orderly manner and with due sense of humility and nothing was to be done to cause offence to any other community. He charged the Congress high command with the responsibility for the grievous wrongs done to Muslims and other minorities.[10] Jinnah's statement soured his on-going talks with Nehru for resolving the Congress-League differences. Nehru told Jinnah that there was a yawning gulf between their points of view and wondered what common ground there was for discussion.[11] He rejected the League claim to being the only authoritative and representative body of Indian Muslims.[12] Nehru's dismissive attitude caused Jinnah to release their correspondence.[13]

The Viceroy's reply to Jinnah, limited in his own words by implications likely to give rise to issues affecting other communities as well, did not touch upon "the entire problem of India's future Constitution."[14] He gave Jinnah an assurance that in any constitutional development the views of the Muslims would receive due consideration.

Indian Muslims in general and those in the Hindu-majority provinces in particular had welcomed the exit of Congress ministries in those provinces. However, the ill treatment of Muslims and violation of their elementary rights did not altogether cease. Their ill treatment, in one form or another, continued unchecked at a number of places. The Hindus of Panipat in Eastern Punjab, by taking out *Holi* processions without licence and by lighting bonfires at thoroughfares, flouted law and order endangering Muslim lives.[15] In Bihar, a series of riots had erupted in the wake of the *Holi* festival.[16] In a village of Badayun district in the United Provinces, a mosque had been demolished and converted into a cattle-pen. The Hindus would not even let Muslims pray at home or let them slaughter animals for food. Muslims were also threatened with death if they joined the League.[17] Also at Badayun, the supporters of Muslim League were tyrannized through a collective fine of Rs. 32,000 in the form of a punitive police tax.[18] A Hindu magistrate at Jubbulpore went to the extent of awarding only one month's imprisonment to a Hindu and three months in jail to a Muslim tried on a charge of fracas.[19] At Ajmer, the attitude of the Congress party, which had been one of open hostility towards the Muslims, led to growing tension between the two communities.[20]

The plight of Muslims was not lost on other minorities. A Christian correspondent complained that his community too were "sufferers

no less than others".[21] They were being oppressed and neglected badly. In many cases the Congress had "stooped down to sheer meanness and selfishness."

At the beginning of 1940, the attitudes of the three principal parties, the British Government, the Muslim League, and the Congress, regarding the future constitutional dispensation for India were crystallizing. Jinnah had received reports of the observance of Day of Deliverance across India with "complete success in an orderly and disciplined manner." The support of some other minorities and their leaders, and even of non-Brahman parties such as South India's Justice Party of *Periyar* Ramaswami Naicker, for the Day of Deliverance vindicated the League's stand, under-pinned by justice and fair play for all.[22] In January, Gandhi wrote to Jinnah enclosing an article which congratulated the latter on the League's efforts at solidarity with parties opposing the Congress policies.[23] In doing so, the League would be lifted out of the "communal rut" and assume a "national character". Disagreeing with Gandhi's view, Jinnah explained his stance in a newspaper article on 19 January, published later in the *Time and Tide* of London, demanding that the constitution to be evolved for India must recognise the existence of two nations and shared governance of the common motherland.[24] Replying to Gandhi, Jinnah refuted the former's claim that India was one nation.[25] He reiterated that the Indian sub-continent was peopled with nationalities, Hindus and Muslims being the two major nations. Jinnah also urged all Indians to stay away from Congress Independence Day celebrations, scheduled for 26 January, which were intended to "deceive people under the lure and guise of Independence."[26]

Gandhi, however, did not go along with Jinnah's reasoning and regarded the latter's view that India was an agglomeration of nations, "counted according to their religions," as a temporary phase in the history of the Muslim League. He thought Muslims of different provinces could "never cut themselves away from their Hindu and Christian brethren."[27] Jinnah in turn dismissed Gandhi's view as "a delusion" and identified the Indian problem as one of making the Hindu and Christian brethren understand that Muslims were "entitled to their proper place in the Indian sun."[28]

The concerned parties having shown their cards, it was now up to the League Working Committee to take stock of the constitutional situation. By that time a joint meeting, at which Haji Abdoola Haroon presided, of the members of the AIML Foreign Committee and the authors of alternative constitutional schemes, namely Nawab Shah Nawaz Mamdot, Dr. Abdul Latif, Rizwanullah, Dr Afzal Hussain Qadri,

Kifayat Ullah, and Asadullah, had identified, for the Working Committee's consideration, certain fundamental principles which were to underpin the future Indian constitution.[29] The joint meeting deliberated on the Pakistan scheme of Choudhary Rahmat Ali and the Khilafat scheme of the Muslim Students Federation as well. The Working Committee, after discussing the various recommendations, agreed that the Muslims were not a minority but a nation; that the British parliamentary system of government was not suited to the genius of the people of India; that the Muslim majority zones in India be constituted into independent dominions; that in the Muslim minority zones, adequate safeguards be provided for Muslims and other minorities and vice versa; and that the units constituting each zone were to form component parts of the Federation as autonomous units.[30]

The main item considered by the Working Committee, however, related to the correspondence on constitutional issues exchanged between Jinnah and Linlithgow. The Committee found the Viceroy's final reply of 23 December to be not satisfactory on certain points,[31] which required further clarification, and requested reconsideration.[32] After the adoption of this resolution on 3 February, Jinnah released the correspondence to the press.[33] He elaborated, in a letter to the Viceroy on 23 February, that the Working Committee's demand that no policy declaration be made or constitution enacted without the consent of Indian Muslims had not been met.[34] The Muslim League Council, meeting two days later, ratified the stance of the Working Committee.[35]

Giving a resume of the constitutional situation to the students of the Muslim University, Aligarh, on 6 March, Jinnah reiterated that the Muslims were a nation and that no settlement would be acceptable without their approval.[36] A fortnight later, arriving in Lahore for the 27th annual session of the League, Jinnah predicted that the session was "going to be a landmark in the history of Muslim India," dealing as they would be with very grave issues.[37] Later, addressing delegates during the opening session, he reaffirmed that the Muslims were a nation according to any definition of a nation and that they must have their homeland, their territory and their state.[38] In the next open session, Premier Fazlul Huq of Bengal moved a resolution that no constitutional plan would be workable or acceptable to Muslims unless it provided for Muslim majority areas in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India being grouped into "Independent States" in which the constituent units were to be autonomous and sovereign.[39] After discussion in extenso, the resolution was unanimously adopted amid great enthusiasm. In his concluding remarks, Jinnah

described it as a landmark in the history of Muslim India as they had defined their goal. He assured the audience that Muslim India had crossed the Rubicon as it were and would firmly stay the course in its struggle to attain the goal it had set itself.[40]

* * * *

The idea of carving up India into a number of States was not a new one. It had, in fact, been articulated by a number of people on different occasions. In the wake of the debacle of 1857, John Bright, a British parliamentarian, believed that binding up and consolidating India into a single entity was "utterly impossible".[41] Later, visualizing the distant contingency of a British withdrawal, he thought there could be five or six successor States at the time of transfer of power.[42]

The rising tide of Hindu nationalism as reflected by the campaign around 1867 for the substitution of Hindi in Devnagri script for Urdu in Persian script aroused the suspicions of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan.[43] In a speech to the Governor General's Council in 1883, he pointed out that "the larger community would totally override the interests of the smaller community and the ignorant public would hold government responsible for introducing measures which might make the differences of race and creed more violent than ever."[44]

In 1883, Wilfred Blunt, an Englishman, suggested that the provinces of Northern India be placed under a Muslim government and those of Southern India under Hindu rule.[45] Though well-disposed towards Hindus, Sir Syed was opposed to the Congress objective of a representative government which meant swamping of Muslims by an immutable Hindu majority.[46] He believed that a majority government was possible only where the electorate belonged to a homogeneous nation. In the case of India, which was virtually a continent rather than just a country, this would spell disaster to the Muslim minority.

Another proposal to split India into Hindu and Muslim zones was mooted in 1904 by Bhai Parmanand, a prominent Hindu leader. A similar proposal to divide the Punjab on communal lines was made by Pandit Nanak Chand in 1934.[47]

The ideological exposition of a State based on Muslim nationalism was provided by Allama Muhammad Iqbal in his presidential address to the 21st Annual Session of the All India Muslim League at Allahabad in December 1930.[48] Defining India as "a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages, and professing different religions," he believed "the Muslim demand for creation of a Muslim India within India"

to be perfectly justified. Going further, he called for the Punjab, the North West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan to be amalgamated into a single State. To him the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State, within or without the British Empire, appeared to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India.

Having defined the ideal of Muslim statehood, Allama Iqbal, "one of the greatest poets, philosophers and seers of humanity,"[49] took up the issue with Jinnah. In 1937, he told Jinnah that the Hindu Mahasabha, which he regarded as the real representative of Hindu masses, had decided more than once that a united Hindu-Muslim nation in India was impossible.[50] He thought the only way to a peaceful India lay in "redistribution of the country on the lines of racial, religious and linguistic affinities." The only way to save Muslims from Hindu domination was a separate federation of Muslim provinces.

In 1938, the First Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference, presided at by Jinnah in Karachi, passed a resolution demanding an independent federation of Muslim majority provinces and princely states.[51] Listing the wrongs and injustices perpetrated by Congress governments in the Provinces on Muslims, the resolution recommended to the AIML "to devise a scheme of constitution under which Muslims may attain full independence."

In terms of a resolution passed by the League Working Committee in March 1939, a committee comprising Jinnah as president, Liaquat Ali Khan as convener, and seven provincial League leaders was appointed "to examine various schemes already propounded" and those that might be submitted subsequently to the President, and to report their conclusions at an early date.[52] The resolution was confirmed by the AIML Council meeting in April 1939.[53] The League's seminal resolution of 23 March 1940, demanding division of India into independent Muslim and non-Muslim homelands, was thus not a precipitate or sudden development. On the contrary, it signified the acme of Muslim political thought and consciousness which had progressively evolved since the tragic debacle of 1857.

* * * *

The Viceroy had responded to the Working Committee's earlier resolution of 3 February by quoting an excerpt from Secretary of State Amery's speech, which stipulated "a substantial measure of agreement amongst the communities" as an essential pre-requisite to "the vision of a united India."[54] The League Working Committee which had drafted the resolution for establishment of a Muslim

homeland in India was reconstituted on 1 May. On the new Committee, several stalwarts from the outgoing one were retained but nearly one-third of the membership consisted of new hands.[55] The new element comprised Qazi Muhammad Isa from Baluchistan, Maulana Akrum Khan from Bengal, S. M. Sharif and Latifur Rahman from Bihar, Nawab Shah Nawaz Mamdot from the Punjab, and Raja Muhammad Amir Ahmad Khan of Mahmudabad from the United Provinces. Sardar Muhammad Aurangzeb Khan, a stalwart, regarded the choice of Qazi and Mamdot as excellent, while subsuming Maulana Akrum Khan and S. M. Sharif in the category of old silent workers.[56]

The Viceroy's reply and Amery's statement were considered by the reconstituted Working Committee on 16 June. The Committee was of the opinion that the Viceroy's clarification with regard to the assurances desired by the League was far from satisfactory. The Committee urged that a satisfactory basis for close cooperation be evolved and accepted on all-India basis and not province-wise between the Government, the League and other parties that may be willing to undertake the responsibility for defence of the country.[57] Jinnah forwarded a copy of the Resolution to the Viceroy who invited him to a talk on the subject.[58]

Following a discussion between himself and the Viceroy, Jinnah proposed to Linlithgow that no policy statement be made by the British Government contrary to the principle enunciated in the Lahore resolution.[59] It sought a categorical assurance that no scheme of constitution would be adopted without the approval of Muslim India. The League leadership offered to associate itself with the Government as equal partner, at the Centre as well as in the provinces, and demanded that Muslim representatives on the proposed War Council as well as the Viceroy's Executive Council, in addition to non-official Advisers to Governors, be all chosen by the League. The Viceroy did not concede the League demand but promised to consider any suggestions that Jinnah might put forward in that regard.[60] Drawing Linlithgow's attention to the Congress propaganda, Jinnah suggested that his proposal be made public.[61] Apprehending that publicity might create misunderstanding, the Viceroy suggested instead that Jinnah inform the League Working Committee in confidence of their talks on the subject.[62]

On 8 August 1940, the Viceroy issued a statement that he had been authorized by the British Government to invite representative Indians to join the Governor-General's Executive Council.[63] The Viceroy was to set up a War Advisory Council as well, on which the Indian

States and other interests in the national life of India would be represented. The British Government stated they were willing to give due weight to the views of the minorities in any future constitutional scheme and that any such scheme was primarily for the Indians themselves to formulate.

Clarifying his statement, the Viceroy assured Jinnah that it safeguarded the Muslim position in relation to any future constitutional development and provided also a basis for the League cooperation in the Government at the Centre.[64] Discounting the appointment of non-official Advisers to the Governors, Linlithgow asked Jinnah to nominate League representatives on the panel of appointees for the expanded Executive Council and the War Advisory Council.

Jinnah placed the whole matter before the Working Committee which would meet from 31 August to 2 September.[65] The Committee would note with satisfaction that the League demand for the consent of Muslim India to the future constitution had been met.[66] The Committee would reaffirm the League position that the Indian Muslims were a nation by themselves and, in exercise of their right to self-determination, declare that partition of India was the only solution to the vexed problem of the future constitution.[67] The Committee, while welcoming the provisional decision, for the duration of war, to expand the Governor-General's Executive Council and establish a War Advisory Council on all-India basis, would regard the Viceroy's offer as unsatisfactory in that it did not meet the requirements of their resolution of 16 June or Jinnah's tentative proposal.[68]

* * * *

The Viceroy's announcement[69] about the formation of the War Committees and Civic Guards led a number of League leaders to inquire of Jinnah if they could join such organizations.[70] As the League had not been consulted before the announcement, a meeting of the Working Committee was called to consider the issue. In the meantime, Jinnah advised Muslim Leaguers to not commit themselves.[71] The Working Committee decided that Muslims should not join the War Committees but await the President's instructions pending the result of his communication with the Viceroy.[72] Taking notice of the so-called Muslim Premiers' conference with the Congress President, the Working Committee directed its members to not engage in any negotiations or discussions with Congress leaders on the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement or any other matter, which required adjustment between the League and

the Congress, without permission of the League President.[73]

Jinnah expressed his doubts regarding the interview said to have been given by Sikander Hyat Khan to the effect that the Punjab and Bengal had been exempted from the League ban on joining the War Committees.[74] In order to forestall the mischief likely to be created by such a report, Jinnah clarified that the Working Committee resolution made no exception of any kind whatsoever. He hoped that Leaguers and Muslims generally would refrain from joining the War Committees.

Sikander Hyat Khan and Fazlul Huq were criticized by Hassan Ispahani as well for "striking on their own" against the Working Committee directive on formation of War Committees.[75] Zia-ud-Din Ahmad of Aligarh[76] and some others also raised queries about the War Committees.[77]

Apropos of a press report that Shah Nawaz Khan Mamdot, President of Punjab Provincial Muslim League, had joined a War Committee, Jinnah urged him to dissociate himself from the Committee.[78] Writing to Hassan Ispahani, he felt that the time was coming "when the League must be purified at all cost".[79] When Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy requested the lifting of ban on War Committees and Civic Guards,[80] Jinnah, urging Leaguers to loyally stand by the Resolution, replied that he had no power to lift the ban.[81]

In reply to Jinnah's instructions, Shah Nawaz Khan Mamdot explained that he and a number of prominent Leaguers had agreed to serve on the War Committees before the League ban was imposed. He requested that they be permitted to remain on the Committees till such time that Jinnah received Viceroy's reply on the subject.[82]

S. M. Ismail, President of Bihar Muslim League, expressed dismay over Shah Nawaz Khan Mamdot and some other Punjab Muslim Leaguers having consented to serve on the War Committee. He complained that a number of Bengal Leaguers had done so as well. Jinnah, believing that such mavericks were harming the great cause they were all fighting for, declared that the time had come when the League required to be purified.[83]

On 28 June, Jinnah issued a statement urging the "few, especially in the Punjab and Bengal, who had joined these Committees" to withdraw without delay from those Committees.[84] He repeated his advice to Shah Nawaz Khan Mamdot,[85] complimenting the latter when he agreed to comply.[86]

In order to vindicate themselves, Fazlul Huq and Sikander Hyat Khan addressed a joint appeal to Jinnah. Pleading that the League policy with regard to Muslim cooperation with the embattled British

was "detrimental to Muslim interests", they urged removal of the ban on League members joining the War Committees.[87] Abdul Hameed Khan, a League Member of the Madras Assembly, also entered a plea for a government lawyer who had joined the War Committee prior to the Working Committee ban but was ready to put his job on the line by withdrawing from the War Committee.[88] In the course of an interview with the Associated Press on 9 July, Jinnah dismissed the rumour that there was likely to be a split in League ranks on account of the ban on its members joining the War Committees. He attributed the rumour-mongering to the enemies of the League.[89] Later, S. M. Ismail brought up the case of Bihar Leaguers who had not complied with Working Committee Resolution and continued to participate in the War Committees.[90]

Replying to the Bengal and Punjab Premiers, Jinnah did not see any ambiguity in the Working Committee Resolution and advised them both to comply with the Resolution. Writing to S. M Ismail of Bihar League, Jinnah was firm in urging "adequate disciplinary action" against those who had acted in contravention of that Resolution "irrespective of their position and status."[92]

Jinnah gave a patient hearing to a Punjab League deputation led by Nawab of Mamdot which had pleaded for an exception from the ban. Jinnah was not persuaded that an exception was justified. He desired Nawab Mamdot and the other Punjab Leaguers to abide by the Resolution and resign forthwith from the War Committees.[93]

The Viceroy's statement of 8 August had a significant impact on Jinnah-Linlithgow negotiations on the League's participation in War Committees.[94] The statement and its elucidation by Amery in the course of a parliamentary debate were considered by the Working Committee that met from 31 August to 2 September. The Committee noted that the League's condition for adoption of a constitution with the consent of Muslim India had been met, by and large, by the statements of Linlithgow and Amery.

Taking a holistic view, the Working Committee left those Leaguers who thought they could serve a useful purpose by merely associating themselves with War Committees free to do so. The Committee also called upon the government to take the League leadership into confidence and associate them as equal partners with the government at the Centre and in the provinces.[95]

In the field of international relations, issues affecting the Muslim countries and Indian Muslims abroad had remained matters of special concern to the AIML. The League had extended steadfast support to the Palestinian Arabs in their struggle against

the Zionists. In July 1939 the League had opened a Palestine Fund for providing relief to the dependents of those who had lost their lives or suffered otherwise in the struggle for independence and for protection of the First *Qibla* of Muslims.[96] During the following month the League Council resolved to observe the 27th of *Rajab* next (the day of the holy Prophet's *Miraj* or Ascension) as Palestine Day.[97] Writing to Linlithgow in November, Jinnah urged that "all reasonable Arab national demands on Palestine be met and that Indian troops not be used against any Muslim country".[98] The Viceroy stated that the British Government had endeavoured to fully respect Muslim feeling on the use of Indian troops.[99] In his address to the League's 27th annual session in Lahore, Jinnah voiced scepticism over such "endeavours" and insisted that the Arab demands be met in substance rather than mere form. He demanded yet again that Indian troops be not sent to fight against any Muslim nation.[100] The League took a dim view of the inordinate delay on the part of the British Government and demanded that "no arrangements of a piecemeal character" be made in Palestine "contrary in spirit and opposed to the pledges given to the Muslim world".[101]

The exiled Mufti Amin El-Huseini of Palestine had sent Jinnah an account of the repression of his compatriots by the British military authorities there,[102] which the latter forwarded for consideration to Linlithgow.[103] The Viceroy, after ascertaining the position from the British Government, informed Jinnah that the Mufti was primarily responsible for "the recent campaign of assassination and terrorism." Stating that Emergency Regulations, as since relaxed, precluded military courts from imposing death penalties and provided also for review of sentences awarded by military courts, Linlithgow hoped that circumstances will admit of further gradual relaxation of the drastic measures.[104]

In the wake of the catastrophic earthquake in Anatolia, Jinnah had sent President Ismat Inonu of Turkey a message of sympathy for the victims.[105] A Turkish Relief Fund was instituted and donations from Muslims across India started coming in.[106] A seven-year-old boy donated 51 rupees from his savings.[107] Although Jinnah had requested that donations be sent direct to the Provincial Governors or to the Viceroy, some people sent their contributions to Jinnah none the less.[108] The amount so received was sent by Jinnah to the Viceroy's Office for remittance to the Turkish Red Crescent through the Indian Red Cross.[109]

The League's voice had reached the overseas Indians as well and evoked a favourable response from many quarters. On behalf of the

Indian residents in Penang, Malaya, a certain Adbuthananda invited Jinnah to visit their town as they all wanted to hear him.[110] A former President of the Burma Congress Committee sought Jinnah's support for inter-communal harmony among the Indian expatriates.[111] M. A. Hassan, a Singapore resident, was disconcerted by biased press reporting of the Muslim League meetings and made suggestions to counteract the undesirable practice.[112]

* * * *

Jinnah had been a "sympathiser and friend" of the Khaksars in their dispute with the United Provinces government.[113] A correspondent from Bihar wanted to know if the aims and objects of the Khaksar movement were contrary to the aims and objects of the Muslim League.[114] This issue was also raised at the meeting of the Working Committee in February 1940 when it was pointed out that the League's work in some places was suffering due to Khaksar propaganda. The Committee however decided not to take any action or make any statement in the matter for the time being.[115] It was later clarified that the Khaksar organization was independent of the Muslim League and had no nexus with it.[116] The organization having been banned by the Punjab Government, on account of its quasi-military character, the Khaksars chose to defy the ban. On 19 March a Khaksar demonstration in Lahore was fired upon by the police. In the ensuing clash, the Khaksars suffered heavy casualties while the well-armed police got away with fewer ones. Jinnah, appalled at the terrible loss of life, appealed "most earnestly" to Khaksars "to keep peace and not precipitate matters by defying law and order".[117] On 21 March, shortly after arriving in Lahore, he visited the injured Khaksars at the Mayo Hospital. Expressing grief over the tragedy, which he said had shortened his life by 10 years,[118] he sympathised with the families of those who had died or sustained injuries.[119] The 27th Annual Session of the Muslim League also placed on record its deep sense of sorrow at the tragic occurrence and called on the Government to appoint an independent and impartial committee of inquiry. The session also urged the authorities to remove the ban on the Khaksar organization.[120] The Punjab Government did order an inquiry but the ban remained. The situation got worse when the Khaksars continued to defy law and order. In the circumstances Jinnah, while fully sympathizing with Khaksar organization, could do little to help them.[121]

The situation took a serious turn when the Punjab Police raided some mosques in Lahore where Khaksars had taken shelter. A Lahore

correspondent drew Jinnah's attention to the desecration of mosques and urged that he intercede with the authorities.[122] Reiterating the declared policy of the League to do all it could to help Muslims, Jinnah's first move was to ask the Khaksar leaders to invest him with the authority to speak for and serve them and to follow his advice.[123] When the Khaksar leaders agreed to his proposal, Jinnah asked Linlithgow if he would take up the Khaksar issue with the Punjab Government.[124] Replying that the issue primarily concerned the Punjab Government, the Viceroy informed Jinnah that Premier Sikander Hyat Khan had announced his terms for revoking the ban on Khaksars.[125] Jinnah accordingly advised the acting head of the Khaksar movement to get in touch with the Punjab Premier.[126] Having thus brought the two parties together, it was a matter of satisfaction for Jinnah that, after protracted negotiations, the Khaksars undertook to abide by the law and the Punjab Government rescinded its order declaring them to be an unlawful association.[127]

The need for an independent press to "contradict false and malicious propaganda" against the Muslims and the League was emphasized by Jinnah in an appeal made in June 1937.[128] The need became more pressing when the Congress governments in Hindu-majority provinces intimidated the Muslim press, threatening forfeiture of securities, and in cases of some Muslim Urdu newspapers had done actually so.[129] The *Manshoor*, an Urdu weekly published by the League's Central Office in Delhi, could hardly counter the insidious and burgeoning Congress propaganda.[130] In order to protect Muslim rights and interests in the face of that propaganda, Jinnah issued a fresh appeal for donations to the Bombay Presidency Muslim League Press and Propaganda Fund.[131] The Congress press intensified its anti-League propaganda at home and abroad, "attempting to divide the ranks of the Muslims".[132]

The Jubbulpore Muslim Conference were flummoxed when the local Hindu correspondent of the Associated Press falsely reported adjournment of the conference *sine die*, blaming Jinnah for the postponement. When the Conference asked the Associated Press to contradict the false report, the news agency refused to oblige unless the contradiction was forthcoming from their own correspondent.[133] The biased reporting became manifest when Congress meetings and processions were described as "public meetings" and "public processions" in order to imply the participation of Muslims and other minorities as well.[134]

During the last week of January, Jinnah led a Bombay Muslim League deputation to Kathiawar to raise money for the Press Fund.

The deputation visited Gondal,[135] Bantava,[136] Dhoraji and Junagadh,[137] Porbander[138] and Rajkot[139] where it was given an enthusiastic response by the Muslim public.[140] The substantial help "so willingly given by the donors" was duly acknowledged by Jinnah.

Shortly after a Muslim journalist had complained about mischievous propaganda "by the Congress, and under its influence by the press",[141] an apocryphal version of Muslim League Working Committee proceedings was published in a New Delhi newspaper.[142] Jinnah issued a peremptory denial of "the wholly distorted version".[143] Another correspondent informed Jinnah about the "very false propaganda" concerning the Lahore Resolution being churned out through "many channels of publicity and... a number of widely circulated daily newspapers".[144]

On Jinnah's advice Mirza Ahmad Ispahani took steps to reorganise and improve the Calcutta newspaper, the *Star of India,* the avowed policy of which corresponded with that of the Muslim League.[145] The editor of the *Hamdard* weekly of Surat also carried on, pro-League propaganda. It supported the Muslim League policy and programme and opposed the Congress.[146]

A "staunch Leaguer" requested Jinnah to "establish a Muslim press as soon as possible to combat the venomous anti-League projection of news and views by the *Hindustan Times* and the *National Herald*".[147]

Jinnah had visualised starting daily papers to inform Muslims of their "true and correct political and economic rights" and to let the public in general in India and abroad know of the ensuing epic struggle "to achieve Muslim independence".[148] He accordingly requested Philip Lothian, British Ambassador in the United States, to suggest the name of some Muslim there with the credentials to set up an agency capable of effectively countering the "one-sided and insidious propaganda that is being carried on by the Congress against us".[149] However, Jinnah's plans for a Muslim press were handicapped by resource constraints. Against an estimate of one million rupees, only a fraction of that amount had been forthcoming into the Press Fund.[150]

A few dedicated individuals managed none the less to bring out an English weekly, *Dawn,* from Delhi to project the views of Muslim India and the All India Muslim League.[151] Within a year, through active support from Jinnah and the Muslim public at large, the *Dawn* had been converted into a daily newspaper, a leading proponent of the epic struggle for a sovereign Muslim nation-state in South Asia.[152]

Having defined the political goal for the Muslims of India, the

Muslim League was to strive with sustained vigour to organise them by fostering "complete harmony and unity" in their ranks and to carry out "a vigorous propaganda to dispel the misconceptions that had been sedulously created".[153] The Muslims of India had their work cut out. Faced with formidable opposition from both the Congress and the British, but determined and defiant none the less, they knew full well that they had a long and tortuous way to go towards achieving their goal under the unfailing guidance of their dynamic and inspirational leader, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

Notes

[1]Address by Marquees of Linlithgow to the Joint Session of the Council of State & Central Legislative Assembly, 11 September 1939, Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 557-9.
[2]Proceedings of All India Muslim League Working Committee Meeting, 17-8 September 1940, *AFM* 128/75-9.
[3]Resolution No. 8 by All India Muslim League Council, 27 August 1939, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., I, 621.
[4]Statement by Marquess of Linlithgow, 18 October 1939, F. 95/13-20, *QAP*.
[5]Resolution No. 1 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 22 October 1939, F. 95/22, *QAP*.
[6]Proceedings of the Congress Working Committee, 22-3 October 1939, A.M. & S.G. Zaidi, eds., *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress*, XII, New Delhi, 1981, 202-4.
[7]Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah, 28 October 1939, Annex to No. 154.
[8]Statement by Marquess of Linlithgow, 5 November 1939, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., I, 567-9.
[9]M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow, 5 November 1939, Annex to No. 146.
[10]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 6 December 1939, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., I, 417-8.
[11]Jawaharlal Nehru to M. A. Jinnah, 9 December 1939, ibid., 434.
[12]Jawaharlal Nehru to M. A. Jinnah, 14 December 1939, ibid., 435.
[13]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 7 January 1940, ibid., 433.
[14]Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah, 23 December 1939, Annex to Enclosure to No. 85.
[15]Liqaullah Osmani to M. A. Jinnah, 22 April 1940, No. 3.
[16]S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah, 22 April 1940, No. 192.
[17]Lal Muhammad to M. A. Jinnah, 7 January 1940, No. 15.
[18]Mohammad Afzal Husain Qadri to M. A. Jinnah, 14 May 1940, No. 226.
[19]Tajuddin to Francis Wylie, 6 April 1940, No. 170.
[20]Mirza Abdul Qader Beg to M. K. Gandhi, 8 May 1940, No. 220.
[21]Dukhrai Basi to M. A. Jinnah, 31 January 1940, No. 63.
[22]Report on Observance of Deliverance Day, 25 December 1940, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., I, 431. Also *see* Abdus Sattar Essak Sait to M.A. Jinnah, 10 January 1940, No. 23 & S. M. Zauqi to M. A. Jinnah, 12 January 1940, No. 28.
[23]M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah, 16 January 1940, No. 42.
[24]Article by M. A. Jinnah titled "*Two Nations in India*". Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., I, 473-9.
[25]M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi, 21 January 1940, No. 49.
[26]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 23 January 1940, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., I, 439.
[27]Article by M. K. Gandhi titled "*Unity Versus Justice*", Annex I to No. 92.
[28]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 30 January 1940, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., I, 445-7
[29]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 2 February 1940 Waheed Ahmad, ibid., 449-50.
[30]Resolution No. 14 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 3-6 February 1940, No. 87.
[31]Resolution No. 1 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 3 February 1940, Enclosure to No. 85.
[32]Ibid.
[33]Correspondence between M A. Jinnah and Marquess of Linlithgow, 5 November 1939 to 6 February 1940, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., I, 453-5.
[34]M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow, 23 February 1940, No. 116.
[35]Resolution No. 1 by All India Muslim League Council, 25 February 1940, *AFM* 284/57.
[36]Speech by M. A. Jinnah at the Aligarh, Muslim University Union, 6 March 1940, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., I, 469-72.
[37]Report on M. A. Jinnah's Arrival at Lahore, 21 March 1940, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., I, 482-3.
[38]Presidential Address by M. A. Jinnah at the 27th Session of All India Muslim League 22 March 1940, No. 154.
[39]Resolution No. 1 by All India Muslim League 27th Session, 23-4 March 1940, No. 156.
[40]Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, II, Karachi, 1970, 349.

[41]Interview given by M. A. Jinnah to Beverley Nichols, 18 December 1943, Enclosure to No. 102, Vol. X.
[42]Khalid bin Sayeed, *Pakistan: The Formative Phase 1857-1948*, Karachi, 2001, 102.
[43&44]Ibid., 18.
[45]Ibid., 102-3.
[46]See notes 43 & 44 ante.
[47]See S.A.I. Tirmizi, *The Paradoxes of Partition*: 1937-39, I, New Delhi, 1998, 871.
[48]Presidential Address by Allama Muhammad Iqbal at the 21st Session of All India Muslim League, 29 December 1930, *AFM* 154/67.
[49]Speech by M. A. Jinnah, 21 April 1938, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., I, 250-1.
[50]Muhammad Iqbal to M. A. Jinnah, 21 June 1937,Waheed Ahmad, op., cit., III, 756-7.
[51]Resolution by first Sind Provincial Muslim League Conference, 10 October 1938, *AFM* 242/12-5.
[52]Resolution No. 4 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 26 March 1939, *AFM* 128/23.
[53]Resolution No. 5 by All India Muslim League Council, 8 April 1939, *AFM* 252/56.
[54]Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah, 19 April 1940, No. 190.
[55]Report on Appointment of Muslim League Working Committee, 1 May 1940, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., II, 12.
[56]Mohammad Aurangzeb to M. A. Jinnah, 6 May 1940, No. 218.
[57]Resolution No. 1 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 16 June 1940, No. 323.
[58]Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah, 20 June 1940, No. 329.
[59]Note by M. A. Jinnah, 1 July 1940, Enclosure to No. 377.
[60]Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah, 6 July 1940, No. 399.
[61]M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow, 17 July 1940, No. 443.
[62]Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah, 24 July 1940, No. 466.
[63]Statement by Marquess of Linlithgow, 8 August 1940, Enclosure to No. 506.
[64]Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah, 14 August 1940, No. 545.
[65]Resolutions by AIML Working Committee, 2 September 1940, *AFM* 129/99-107.
[66]Resolution No. 2 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 2 September 1940, *AFM* 129/102.
[67]Resolution No. 3 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 2 September 1940, ibid.
[68]Resolution No. 4 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 2 September 1940, *AFM* 129/102-3.
[69]Statement by Marquess of Linlithgow, 5 June 1940, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., II, 717-9.
[70]Begum Aizaz Rasul to M. A. Jinnah, 6 June 1940, No. 290; S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah, 10 June 1940, No. 298 & Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 11 June 1940, No. 301.
[71]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 10 June 1940, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., II, 30.
[72]Resolution No. 2 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 16-7 June 1940, No. 323.
[73]Resolution No. 3 by All India Muslim League Working Committee II, 16-7 June 1940, ibid.
[74]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 18 June 1940, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., 31.
[75]M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah, 21 June 1940, No. 333.
[76]Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah, 22 June 1940, No. 336.
[77]Syed Maqbul Hossain to M. A. Jinnah, 22 June 1940, No. 339 & Rabb Nawaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 22 June 1940, No. 340.
[78]M. A. Jinnah to Shah Nawaz Khan, 21 June 1940, No. 334.
[79]M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani, 24 June 1940, No. 347.
[80]Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah, 24 June 1940, No. 349.
[81]M. A. Jinnah to Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy, 24 June 1940, No. 350. Also *see* M. A. Jinnah to Zia Uddin Ahmad, 25 June 1940, No. 363.
[82]Shah Nawaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 24 June 1940, No. 356.
[83]M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Ismail, 25 June 1940, No. 360.
[84]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 28 June 1940, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., II, 32.
[85]M. A. Jinnah to Shah Nawaz Khan, 28 June 1940, No. 368.
[86]M. A. Jinnah to Shah Nawaz Khan, 5 July 1940, No. 387.

[87]A. K. Fazlul Huq & Sikander Hyat Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 5 July 1940, No. 389.
[88]Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 8 July 1940, No. 405.
[89]Press Interview given by M. A. Jinnah, 9 July 1940, Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements & Messages of Quaid-i-Azam*, II, 1996, 1218.
[90]S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah, 10 July 1940, No. 417.
[91]M. A. Jinnah to A. K. Fazlul Huq, 11 July 1940, No. 419.
[92]M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Ismail, 16 July 1940, No. 437.
[93]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 10 August 1940, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., II, 44.
[94]*See* note 58 ante.
[95]Resoloution No. 5 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 2 September 1940, *AFM* 129/104.
[96]Resolution No. 7 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 2-3 July 1939, *AFM* 128/56.
[97]Resolution No. 14 by All India Muslim League Council, 27-8 August 1939, *AFM* 128/61 & 79.
[98]*See* note 9 ante.
[99]*See* note 14 ante.
[100]*See* note 38 ante.
[101]Resolution No. 2 by All India Muslim League 27th Session, 23-4 March 1940, No. 156.
[102]Muhammad Amin el-Husseini to M. A. Jinnah, 3 February 1940, No. 75.
[103]M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow, 29 May 1940, No. 251.
[104]Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah, 27 June 1940, No. 367.
[105]M. A. Jinnah to President Ismat Inonu, Telegram, 1 January 1940, No. 1.
[106]Mohamed Burhanulhq to M. A. Jinnah, 6 January 1940, No. 13 & Moulvi Muhammad Abdullah to M. A. Jinnah, 16 January 1940, No. 43.
[107]A. S. Khan to M. A. Jinnah, 23 January 1940, No. 55.
[108]M. A. Jinnah to J. G. Laithwaite, 2 March 1940, No. 127.
[109]Walter Christie to M. A. Jinnah, 2 March 1940, No. 128.
[110]S. Abduthananda to M. A. Jinnah, 20 January 1940, No. 48.
[111]B. K. Dadachanji to M. A. Jinnah, 29 January 1940, No. 60.
[112]M. Abdul Hassan to M. A. Jinnah, 2 May 1940, No. 214.
[113]Statement by M.A. Jinnah, 26 October 1939, Yusufi, op. cit., II, 1052.
[114]Zahir Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah, 21 January 1940, No. 50.
[115]Resolution No. 10 by All India Muslim League Working Committee, 3-6 February 1940, No. 87.
[116]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 8 May 1940, Yusufi, op. cit., II, 1198-200.
[117]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 20 March 1940, ibid., 1163.
[118]Speech by M. A. Jinnah, 25 March 1940, Yusufi, ibid., 1184-6.
[119]Speech by M. A. Jinnah, 22 March 1940, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., I, 484-5.
[120]Resolution No. 3 by All India Muslim League 27th Session, 23-4 March 1940, No. 156.
[121]*See* note 113 ante.
[122]N. M. Akhtar to M.A. Jinnah, 12 June 1940, No. 306 & Anonym to M. A. Jinnah, 12 June 1940, No. 307.
[123]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 28 June 1940, Yusufi, op. cit., II, 1214-5.
[124]M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow, 16 July 1940, F. 18/19, *QAP*.
[125]Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah, 24 July 1940, No. 469.
[126]M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Ismail Nami, 26 July 1940, No. 475.
[127]Report on Khaksar Activities, 2 September 1940, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., II, 47.
[128]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 7 June 1937, Waheed Ahmad, op. cit., I, 153.
[129]*See* note 51 ante.
[130]Hasan Reyaz to M. A. Jinnah, 11 January 1940, No. 27.
[131]Speech by M.A. Jinnah, 3 December 1939, Yusufi, op. cit. II, 1064-5.
[132]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 13 December 1939, Waheed Ahmad, op.cit., I, 423.
[133]Tajuddin to M. A. Jinnah, 13 January 1940, No. 32.
[134]Hafiz Mohamed Siddiq to Associated Press of India, 14 January 1940, No. 33.
[135]Speech by M. A. Jinnah, 23 January 1940, Yusufi, op. cit., II, 1101.

[136]Reply by M. A. Jinnah to the Address of Welcome, 24 January 1940, ibid., 1101-2.
[137]Speeches by M. A. Jinnah at Dhoraji and Junagadh, 25 January 1940, ibid., 1102-4.
[138]Speech by M. A. Jinnah at Porbunder, 26 January 1940, ibid., 1104-5.
[139]Statement by M. A. Jinnah at Rajkot, 27 January 1940, ibid., 1105-6.
[140]M. A. Jinnah to Osman Memon, 30 January 1940, No. 62.
[141]S. H. Haider to M. A. Jinnah, 31 January 1940, No. 64.
[142]Proceedings of All India Muslim League Working Committee Meeting, 3-6 February 1940, No. 87.
[143]Statement by M. A. Jinnah, 4 February 1940, Yusufi, op. cit., II, 1113.
[144]Mian Abdul Haye to M. A. Jinnah, 10 April 1940, No. 177.
[145]Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah, 15 April 1940, No. 183.
[146]Sayed Mohammed Sayed Ali to M. A Jinnah, 18 April 1940, No. 188.
[147]S. A. Hamid to M. A. Jinnah, 20 April 1940, No. 191.
[148]M. A. Jinnah to Motiwalla, 30 April 1940, No. 211.
[149]M. A. Jinnah to Philip Henry Kerr Lothian, 29 May 1940, No. 252.
[150]*See* note 148 ante.
[151]Appeal by M. A. Jinnah, 23 October 1941, Yusufi, op. cit., III, 1455-6.
[152]Message by M. A. Jinnah, 9 October 1942, ibid., 1614-6.
[153]Message by M. A. Jinnah to Bombay Presidency Provincial Muslim League Conference, 25 May 1940, Yusufi, op. cit., II, 1205-9.

Abbreviations

ADC	Aide-de-Camp
AFM	*Archives of Freedom Movement*
AGG	Agent to Governor-General
AIAPSC	All India All Parties Shia Conference
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIML	All India Muslim League
AIMSF	All India Muslim Students' Federation
AP	Associated Press
API	Associated Press of India
BB&CIR	Bombay, Baroda & Central India Railway
BL	Bachelor of Law
CP	Central Provinces
Cr. PC	Criminal Procedure Code
GO	Government Order
HMG	His Majesty's Government
HQ	Headquarters
ICS	Indian Civil Service
INC	Indian National Congress
IOLR	India Office Library & Records
KB	Khan Bahadur
KC	Knight Commander
KPCC	Kerala Province Congress Committee
Kt	Knight
ML	Muslim League
MLA	Member Legislatiave Assembly
MLC	Member Legislative Council
MSF	Muslim Students Federation
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him
QAD	*Quaid-i-Azam Documents*
QAP	*Quaid-i-Azam Papers*
RTC	Round Table Conference
SDM	Sub-Divisional Magistrate
SHC	*Shamsul Hasan Collection*
SHO	Station House Officer
SIR	South Indian Railway
UPML	United Provinces Muslim League
WAC	War Advisory Council

All India Muslim League Working Committee 1940

President	Mohammad Ali Jinnah
Secretary	Liaquat Ali Khan
	Members
Assam	Abdul Matin Chaudhury
Baluchistan	Qazi Mohammad Isa[1]
Bengal	Abul Kasem Fazlul Huq Khwaja Nazimuddin Abdur Rahman Siddiqi[2] Mohammad Akrum Khan[3]
Bihar	Muhammad Ashiq Warsi[4] S. M. Shareef[5] S. M. Lateef-ur-Rahman[6]
Bombay	Ali Mohammad Khan Dehlavi Currimbhoy Ebrahim
C. P. & Berar	Syed Abdur Rauf Shah
Delhi	Begum Maulana Mohammad Ali
Madras	Haji Abdus Sattar H. Essak Sait
N.W.F.P.	Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan Khan Sadullah Khan
Punjab	Sardar Sikander Hyat Khan Malik Barkat Ali Nawab Shah Nawaz Mamdot[7]
Sind	Abdoola Haroon
United Provinces	Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan (Raja of Mahmudabad) Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman

[1,3,5,6&7] Appointed on 30 April 1940. See F. 173/60, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2&4] Held office till 29 April 1940.

Chronology of Important Events
1940

January

2 Jinnah conveys the sympathies of Muslim India to President Ismat Inonu of Turkey for the victims of the earthquake in Anatolia.
Kamal Gadelic, Secretary General, Office of the President of Turkey is moved by Jinnah's message of sympathy.

3 Panipat Muslims express their fears over the local Hindus' *Holi* procession (going berserk and unleashing violence against the Muslims).

7 Muslim residents of a village in Budaun District of U.P. complain about the demolition of their mosque and interference with their prayers at home by the Hindus.

Jinnah criticizes Jawaharlal Nehru for the failure of talks on resolving the League-Congress differences; releases correspondence exchanged on the subject.

8 Khaliquzzaman accuses Congress of having slammed the door on a Hindu-Muslim settlement; commends Jinnah for having released his correspondence with Nehru.
French Indian Muslims request that Jinnah intercede on their behalf with the French Government to get their grievances redressed.

10 Abdus Sattar Essak Sait reports to Jinnah about the conspicuous observance of the Deliverance Day on 22 December 1939; says that the South Indian (non-Brahmin) Justice Party of Ramaswami Naicker had joined in the observance whole-heartedly.

16 In a newspaper article, Gandhi commends the League's efforts at making pacts with the parties opposed to the Congress policies and thereby transforming the League into a national rather than a communal party.

19 In an article published in the *Time and Tide* of London, under the caption, *Two Nations in India,* Jinnah reiterates that Hindus and Muslims are two different nations; questions the wisdom of forcing western democracy on

India regardless of the Indian conditions; and insists on the two nations sharing the governance of their common motherland.

20 The Muslim public and E.V Ramaswami Naicker's Self-Respect Movement of Hindus in Penang, Malaya, invite Jinnah to visit Malaya to hear his message.

21 Jinnah decries the Gandhian concept of India being one nation, avers that it is a sub-continent rather than a country of several nationalities, Hindus and Muslims being the two major nations.

23 Jinnah appeals to the Muslims around the country as well as to the non-Muslims not to have anything to do with the Congress Independence Day on 26 January, which is intended to delude the people with phoney promises of independence.
Leading a Muslim League delegation to Kathiawar, Jinnah declares that the press is now controlled by the Congress and stresses the need for an independent press to project the League policy and programme.
Arguing that Muslims of various provinces can never cut themselves from their Hindu or Christian brethren; Gandhi regards Jinnah's view of India as home to more than one nation according to their religious beliefs as a temporary phase in the annals of the Muslim League.

30 Rejecting Gandhi's concept that the Indian Muslims could never cut themselves away from their Hindu or Christian brethren, Jinnah believes firmly that Muslims are entitled to a proper place under the Indian sun.

February

2 A meeting of the Foreign Committee of the AIML and the authors of nine different constitutional schemes, presided at by Abdoola Haroon, proposes the launching of a struggle to achieve the fundamental rights of the Muslim nation.

3 Complaining about the repression of the Palestinian Arab nation, Mufti Amin el-Husseini seeks Jinnah's intercession

with the British authorities in Palestine on behalf of those valiant people to end the repression.

AIML Working Committee consider the correspondence regarding the Government of India Act,1935, between Jinnah and Linlithgow, ending with the latter's final reply of 23 December 1939 and find it unsatisfactory for want of further clarification and elucidation.

6 AIML Working Committee declare that the Indian Muslims are not a minority but a nation; regard the parliamentary system of government, as obtaining in Britain, as scarcely suited to the genius of the people of India; demand that the Muslim majority areas be constituted into Independent Dominions; insist on constitutional safeguards for the Muslim minorities in non-Muslim zones and vice versa; and propose that the various units in each zone form component parts of the Federation as autonomous units.

7 Jinnah releases, for publication, the correspondence regarding constitutional and other related issues exchanged between him and Linlithgow during the last three months.

23 Jinnah elaborates to Linlithgow on the League Working Committee's stance that as a pre-condition to the League's full cooperation and support to the war effort, the British Government give a definite assurance that no policy declaration would be made or any constitution framed and enforced without the approval or consent of the Indian Muslims. The Working Committee demand also that a solution to the Palestine problem be found to the satisfaction of the Arabs and that no Indian troops be used outside India against any Muslim power or country.

March

22 In his address to the 27th annual session of the AIML at Lahore, Jinnah reaffirms that the Muslims are a nation, according to any definition of a nation, and that they must have their own national homeland, territory and state.

24 At its 27th annual session at Lahore, the AIML declares that no constitutional plan would be workable or acceptable

to the Muslims unless it provided for the Muslim majority areas in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India being constituted as "Independent States" in which the constituent units were autonomous and sovereign . AIML warns the British Government that no arrangements of a piecemeal character be made in Palestine which are contrary in spirit and opposed to the pledges given to the Muslim world.

26 Describing the Lahore session of the AIML as a landmark in the history of Muslim India, Jinnah affirms that the League had taken the decision it had in right earnest and would fight for the goal it had set for the Muslim nation.

31 Commenting on Chakravarti Rajagopalacharia's criticism of the partition scheme envisaged in the Lahore Resolution as dividing the baby in King Solomon's parable, Jinnah observes that CR does not represent the real Hindu opinion or the opinion of the Congress high command.

April

19 With regard to the views expressed by the League Working Committee, Linlithgow has nothing further to add about review of the constitutional position after the war and the British Government policy in Palestine. The Viceroy doubts if any government or parliament would attempt to force a constitution on the Muslims under which they would not live peacefully and contentedly.

May

1 Jinnah appoints a 21-member Working Committee for the following year.

27 Jinnah leaves the provinces with a dominant Muslim League voice free to cooperate with the British Government pending the latter's response with regard to the specific assurances that had been sought by the League.

June

5 Linlithgow announces the formation of District War Committees to provide guidance and assistance on every aspect of war conditions and for organizing the people for common safety as well as the war effort.

16 League Working Committee hold the view that without

an agreed all-India , as distinct from province-wise, basis between the League and the Government for the defence of the country, the objectives of the proposed Provincial and District War Committees would not be achieved.

17 After considering inquiries from the various Provincial and District Leagues and from individual party members regarding participation in the War Committees, the League Working Committee decide that, pending further instructions from the President, Muslims should not serve on those Committees.

In view of the misunderstanding created by press reports about the Muslim Premiers' meeting with Congress President, the League Working Committee decide that no member of the Committee should discuss or negotiate a Hindu-Muslim settlement with the Congress without the permission of the League President.

28 Drawing attention to the dispute between the Punjab Government and the Khaksar leadership, Jinnah asks the latter to invest him with the authority to intervene on their behalf.

July

1 Jinnah sends a tentative proposal to Linlithgow suggesting that no pronouncement or statement be made contrary to the fundamental principles of the Lahore Resolution; a categorical assurance that no scheme of constitution be adopted without the prior consent of Muslim India; association of the Muslim leadership as equal partners in the Government at the centre as well as in the provinces; Muslim representatives on the proposed War Council, Viceroy's Executive Council and non-official advisers to the Governors to be chosen by the Muslim League.

5 Fazlul Huq and Sikander Hyat Khan address a joint appeal to Jinnah seeking removal of the "conditional and temporary" ban imposed by the AIML Working Committee on Leaguers participating in the War Committees.

6 While disagreeing with Jinnah's tentative proposal that

Muslim members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, the War Council, or the Governors' non-official advisers be taken from the League, Linlithgow promises to give full consideration to any suggestions that Jinnah might put forward in this regard.

8 Sikander Hyat Khan protests to Jinnah at not having been permitted to let V.D. Savarkar to act as a go-between the Punjab Premier and the Congress.

11 In his reply to Fazlul Huq and Sikander Hyat Khan, Jinnah clarifies that in case the British Government seek League's full cooperation, they have to give the assurances asked for and share authority as equal partners in the Government at the centre as well as in the provinces.

17 Drawing Linlithgow's attention to the vigorous Congress propaganda, Jinnah suggests that the tentative proposal made by him be made public.

24 Feeling that the publication of Jinnah's tentative proposal might give rise to some misunderstanding, Linlithgow suggests that he informs the League Working Committee, in confidence, of their talks on the subject.

August

8 The British Government authorize Linlithgow to invite representative Indians to join the Governor-General's Executive Council, and to set up a War Advisory Council containing representatives of the Indian States and other interests in the national life of India as a whole. The British Government express their willingness to give full weight to the views of the minorities in any future constitutional scheme and sympathise with the desire that any such scheme should primarily be the responsibility of the Indians themselves.

14 Linlithgow reaffirms to Jinnah that his statement safeguarded the Muslim position in relation to the future political dispensation and also provided a basis on which the Muslims could participate in the Government at the centre. The Viceroy discounts appointment of non-official

Advisers in the provinces for the time being. Outlining his plans for an expanded Executive Council and the War Advisory Council, Linlithgow asks Jinnah to nominate Muslim League representatives on the panel of appointees.

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

1

M. A. Jinnah to Ismat Inonu

Telegram, F. 1130/68

2 January 1940

President [Ismat] Inonu,
Turkish Government,
Angora

Please accept deepest sincerest sympathies Muslim India Anatolia suffering. We share sorrow Turkish people.

M. A. JINNAH

2

Kamal Gedelic to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 1130/57

[ANGORA,]
2 January 1940

Deeply touched by your sentiments of sympathy[1] for which I am charged by the President of the Republic [of Turkey] to thank you.

KAMAL GEDELIC
Secretary-General, Office of the President

[1]See No. 1.

3

Liqaullah Osmani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 976/13-4

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
2 January 1940

Sir,

Perhaps, it is a known fact that the Hindus of Panipat for the last four or five years have been conducting processions of *Holi,* which is quite an innovation, and without licence too. Some say that it is an old custom, but if it had been so, it would have been provided with

a licence, since the Govt. of Punjab had made it obligatory for all the old processions to carry a licence, and by the same order the new ones were totally stopped. Thus, this *Holi* procession, being without licence, is an open challenge to law and order.

2. The Muslims can never agree with [*sic*] this procession. They [Hindus] can never tolerate to [*sic*] see this [type of] procession being observed in memory of Abraham (peace be upon his soul) who had been thrown in[to] fire by Namrood [Nimrod].

3. Ever since this procession has been started, the peace of Panipat has been endangered. Some communal disturbance is sure to take place on this occasion. The memorable disturbance of 1937 will long be remembered with bitterest feelings by Muslims of Panipat. Oppression and injustice of [the] Punjab Govt. will always be fresh in memories. All the Muslims who fell victim in this fracas were absolutely innocent and totally unarmed. Govt. of Punjab or the local authorities shall fail to account for the justification of opening fire. Feelings will remain strained until this procession is banned.

4. Until and unless this new procession is stopped and bonfire of *Holi* is prohibited on thoroughfares, it will be concluded that Govt. is the cause of this cleavage and if the conditions deteriorate the responsibility will come to [*sic*] the Govt. and the local authorities.

5. Since the said circular was released, all new processions were refused, and those which had newly started were stopped by order.

6. Orphans and widows of those deceased who fell victim to the 1937 disturbance should be provided for [*sic*] their sustenance and Govt. should undertake to educate such children at their [own] cost.

7. If the Govt. is determined to allow this procession, being overawed by the propaganda of Hindus, they, at least, should impose such conditions on the celebration of *Holi* as they have imposed on Muslims on the occasion of *'Id al-Azha*, in connection with cow-slaughter. Time should be fixed for lighting the *Holi* bonfire in Hindu *mohallas* and for the celebration of *Phag*[1] so that the Muslims and sober Hindus could keep off from [*sic*] the stormy scenes.

It is most strongly hoped that due consideration will be paid [*sic*] to the facts and this new procession will be banned in the interest of peace and order and to avoid bloodshed.

I beg to remain,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

LIQAULLAH OSMANI PANIPATI

[1]A seasonal Hindu festival.

4

Ebrahim Jamal Haswaray to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/10-12

JOHANNESBURG,
TRANSVAAL,
SOUTH AFRICA,
2 January 1940

Dear Sir,

On the 24th [of] December last, I have [*sic*] had the honour and privilege of transmitting to your goodself a cablegram, the tenor of which is embodied herein for confirmation:

> At a mass meeting, the following resolution was unanimously passed: This mass meeting of Transvaal Muslim League records with profound gratitude and appreciation the many unforgettable services which the Honourable Mohammad Ali Jinnah has rendered to Islam by awakening [arousing] mass political consciousness among the Muslims of India and by bringing them together under the All India Muslim League, the voice of Muslim India, and prays that God may grant him health, long life and strength to carry on the great work of ensuring an equitable place, safeguard[s] and protection for all minorities in the future constitution of a free India, thereby laying the foundation for lasting peace and goodwill in the national life of India.

In view of the multifarious and recondite Hindu organizations having their existence in this country, as they are in India, with the nefarious object of misleading Muslims into a covert Hindu nationalism, with the Hindu Mahasabha as the centre and pivot of direction, it has now become imperative and essential, owing to the dangerous and detrimental nature of the propaganda intensively carried on subterraneously by these clandestine organizations against Muslim leaders of India, in particular, and against Muslim interests and rights in general, and as this propaganda is having [a] perverse and subversive influence on Muslims, who are not versed in politics, for our organization to come forward and endeavour to

play the part which its designation signifies, with the view of [*sic*] preventing Muslims from falling prey to the studied falsehood and camouflaged propaganda of the Hindus.

Because of this realization, we held a mass meeting of the Muslims of Transvaal under the aegis of the League on the 24th December last to celebrate the 64th birthday of the leader of Muslim India and to lay bare the studied falsehood and perverse nature of the propaganda, systematically carried on by the opponents of Muslim rights and interests and we are glad to say that the meeting has been able to open the eyes of Musalmans.

To illustrate how active and organized is the *demarche* of the Hindus, I beg to give one instance to enable you to gauge the enormity and dimension of the sinister character of the manoeuvre.

When our notice for convening the mass meeting of Transvaal Muslims came out, a Hindu deputation approached Sir Rama Rau, the Agent-General for the Government of India in the Union, with the object of preventing the meeting taking place, and the Agent, being a Hindu, was not slow in his attempt to frustrate the meeting. He at once invited some Muslims and asked them to publish a manifesto [*sic*] condemning the Muslim conveners of the above-referred meeting, and requesting Muslims not to attend it. Sir Rama Rau had two objects in view when he embarked on this adventure—firstly, to stop the meeting and, secondly, to divide the Muslims among themselves [*sic*]. But, thank God, Sir Rama Rau could not cajole his invited Muslims into his plot. This is what a Hindu Agent-General is doing against Musalmans, who is supposed to be here to look after the interests of all peoples from India domiciled in this country.

In order not to lengthen this letter, I refrain from going into various instances of Hindu mischievousness, malice and antagonism.

In conclusion, I pray to *Allah* to enlighten those Musalmans of India, who are playing into the hands of the so-called Indian National Congress, the outward puppet of the inward Hindu Mahasabha, whose ultimatum to the Musalmans is that if they wanted to remain Muslims, they must go and settle down in Mecca and if they wanted to remain in India, they must become *Ganga-din*.[1]

Those Musalmans who are in the clutches of the Congress are, I believe, honest men, but unfortunately they do not seem to take the trouble of going deep into the political and economic fabric of Hindu society.

A Hindu will never buy anything from a Muslim nor will he willingly allow a Muslim to benefit from him. The only thing he takes from a Muslim is the Muslim blood, i.e. interest and

compound interest. A Hindu has thoroughly boycotted a Muslim and ascribes that boycott to his religious command and behest. Hence, from the behaviour of the Hindu it is quite obvious that in his economic scheme a Muslim has no place. And economic life is 99 per cent of the life itself.

The safety of the Musalmans, as you rightly say, lies in the incorporation in any future constitution of India [of] the fundamental and irrevocable safeguards and protection for Muslim social, economic, cultural and religious rights and interest[s], as without these protections—which should be the organic part of the constitution—Muslims would be mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, and by Hindu political domination the Muslims would become further accretion to the number of the depressed classes, which Hinduism has brought about to the disgrace of humanity and equity.

We are with you, body and soul, in your great struggle for the vindication of the rights and interests of all minorities, great and small, in the future constitution of India and pray that *Allah* may crown your efforts with success.

We also pray that *Allah* may grant you and your colleagues health, strength and long life to achieve this object.

I would suggest that you affiliate this organisation with the All India Muslim League.

I remain,
Yours fraternally,
EBRAHIM JAMAL HASWARAY

[1]Muslims should convert to Hinduism.

5

Rajendra Prasad to S. A. Latif

F. 102/7-8

SWARAJ BHAWAN, ALLAHABAD,
CAMP BAJAJWADI, WARDHA,
2 January 1940

My dear Dr. Latif,

I have been studying your *Muslim Problem in India,*[1] which you were good enough to send me some time back. In order to understand the full significance and the implications of the scheme

of cultural distribution, I shall be obliged if you kindly furnish me with some more details regarding the points mentioned below:

1. Do you include [the] whole of the Punjab, as at present constituted, in the N[orth] W[est] Block, or do you exclude any portion of it? It is not quite clear what are the areas which are to be excluded from the N.W. Block and what the areas and population of the excluded portions will be?
2. What are the districts of Bengal which you exclude from the N[orth] E[ast] Muslim Block?
3. What are the districts or States which will constitute the Delhi-Lucknow Block? What would be their area and how is the number of 12 millions of Musalmans to be settled in it calculated? It seems that you include in it the cities of Delhi, Agra, Cawnpore and Lucknow.
4. Am I right in understanding that in the Deccan Block, you include the whole of the Nizam's State and Berar? What would be the area of the strip of territory, running through the districts of Karnool, Cuddapah, Chitoor, N. Arcot, and Chingleput, down to the city of Madras and what is the existing population of the area to be so joined with the 4th Block?

   After the exchange of population, when it is completed, what do you contemplate to be the area and the population of each Block, whether Hindu or Muslim? I am, of course, assuming that there would be no Muslim in any Hindu area and no Hindu or Sikh in any Muslim area.
5. Another question, which has not been, as far as I am able to see, discussed is the question of cost of transfer of populations. In framing the scheme, you must have taken all this into consideration and I should like to be enlightened on the estimated cost of transfer. Other questions, which arise in this connection, are:
   a. Is the emigrant to be paid anything beyond the cost of transport? It is assumed that he will carry with him all his movables and will be provided with land in the Block to which he is transferred. Will he be compensated for the immovables, which he will leave behind?
   b. Who will pay the cost? The Block to which he is transferred or the Block from which he goes or both—and if the last, in what proportion?
6. After once the different Blocks have been constituted, will Hindus be permitted to go and settle in Muslim Blocks and

carry on business and *vice versa*? Will Muslims be permitted to have purely religious propaganda for conversion purposes in Hindu regions or not and *vice versa*?

7. It seems that you have allowed the *Harijans* to remain where they like, whether in the Hindu zones or Muslim regions. Does it mean that you treat them as non-Hindus? In giving the figures of population I shall ask for separate figures for Muslims and *Harijans*, whom you permit to remain in Muslim zones.

So far as the areas and population are concerned, I could perhaps work them out myself, if exact description of the Blocks in detail is available, but, I believe, you must have got them out in framing the scheme. I should be obliged if you could supply me the information and save me the trouble of working them out. As I am at present engaged in studying your scheme, along with other schemes of a similar kind, I have taken the liberty to write to you for additional information, so that I may form correct opinion on and understand, as I have said, all the implications of the scheme.

I am staying here at Wardha till about the 15th of this month and I shall be obliged for your reply here.

Yours sincerely,
RAJENDRA PRASAD

[1]S. A. Latif, *Muslim Problem in India*, Bombay, 1939.

6

I. I. Chundrigar to Sikander Hyat Khan

F. 847/34-35

7 CHOPATI,
BOMBAY 7,
3 January 1940

Dear Sir Sikander Hyat Khan,

May I remind you of the conversation Sir Abdoola Haroon had with you at Bombay some months ago regarding the wretched plight of the Musalmans of Bhavnagar, a first-class State in Kathiawar. The bearer, Mr. Lakhani, is a pleader from Bhavnagar and can be thoroughly relied upon.

On 14-5-[19]39, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel went to Bhavnagar as President of the Praja Parishad and was taken in a procession through

the principal streets of the town. There was a riot near the Nagina Masjid *en route*, and two persons were killed and about 15 injured. After the riot started, the procession was abandoned and the people assembled ran helter-skelter. The Hindus ran away. The Muslims who were standing nearby took refuge in the neighbouring mosque and the shops. The Police surrounded the places and arrested all of them.

Mr. Vallabhbhai made a thundering speech alleging that there was a deep-rooted conspiracy behind the riot. The State authorities were terrified and did everything in their power to appease Mr. Patel. Many of the arrested persons were not identified by any of the Hindus, who were in the procession. Police constables were utilised for identifying Muslims who were arrested, some Police constables going so far as to identify 20 or 22 Muslims as rioters, though the riot is alleged to have been finished in three minutes and these Muslims were not known to them before.

Secondly, the identification parades were held in such a manner as to give scope for foul play.

Thirdly, the State got the order for bail, passed in favour of some of the accused, set aside on flimsy and absurd grounds.

Fourthly, the Muslims petitioned to [*sic*] the Maharaja Sahib to appoint some independent judge from outside the State to try this case. This request was not only refused but the case was sent to the Additional Sessions Judge, who was formerly a dictator [*sic*] of the Congress and was a blind worshipper of Mr. Patel.

Fifthly, this Additional Sessions Judge admitted irrelevant evidence on several occasions and throughout trial exhibited a bias against the accused.

Sixthly, the case was tried with the aid of four assessors, two of whom were Parsis, one Muslim and one Hindu. Of the 57 accused who were standing trial, all the four assessors (including the Hindu assessor) pronounced 38 accused to be not guilty, but the Add[itional] Sessi[ons] Judge convicted 13 of these 38 accused also, against the opinion of the assessors.

Lastly, not satisfied with this, the State has filed an appeal against the acquittal of the persons who were let off by the Sessions Judge and for enhancement of sentences against the convicted persons.

All this shows that the Muslims cannot get any justice from an officer of this State, which [*sic* for who] has throughout exhibited a bias against the Musalmans. The Muslims are applying to H.H. the Maharaja Sahib of Bhavnagar to appoint a European Judge of the Bombay High Court to try the appeal of the convicted Muslims.

They are also applying to Hon. Mr. Gibson, A.G.G., Western India States Agency, to advise the State to accede to their request. Sir Abdoola Haroon said that you would, at the proper occasion, write to Mr. Gibson to do his best to get justice to the Musalmans. May I now request you to kindly do the needful and oblige.

Yours sincerely,
I. I. CHUNDRIGAR

7

Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 1130/55

TELLICHERRY,
3 January 1940

Congress exploiting Turkish earthquake. Satyamurti issued appeal. Request you appeal all-India collection by Muslim League.

SATTAR SAIT

8

Mahmood Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 1130/54

MADRAS,
3 January 1940

Suggest observing Sunday as Turkish Sufferers Day for conducting house-to-house collections by League volunteers for relief fund throughout country. Request press statement.

MAHMOOD HASAN
Deccan Times

9

D. V. Gokhale to M. A. Jinnah

F. 924/6-7

604 SADASHIV PETH,
POONA CITY,
3 January 1940

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

I feel that I would do a great injustice to you if I do not convey my deep appreciation of your great valour in giving a chance to the real public opinion to come forth by the demand for a Royal Commission and Deliverance [Day] appeal. It is my firm opinion that everyone must get proper chance to develop his individual personality and from that point your move was justified in enabling the aggrieved to express themselves. I very warmly congratulate you for this.

I feel that the British Parliament will alone be able to solve most impartially our artificial problems; and therefore it is our first duty to selflessly help the Empire which stands for peace, justice, freedom and civilisation in maintaining the honour of democracies, keeping faith in the august and impartial Parliament of the British nation.

I feel that there is no real antagonism between Hindus and Muslims when each knows the real value and importance of the other and desires to pay due respect to mutual rights and privileges. I look—as well as other Hindus—at the great Muslims with respect and desire the same sentiment in return from them.

I wish you excellent health.

Yours sincerely,
DATTATRAYA V. GOKHALE

10

Liqaullah Osmani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 976/12

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
4 January 1940

Dear Sir,

I beg to forward a copy of letter[1] addressed to Governor [of the]

Punjab etc. reg[arding] Panipat dispute. You will, I am sure, give a lead in the matter and exert your influence in getting stopped *Holi* bonfires and the new procession from thoroughfares and oblige the Muslims.

I hear that you are coming to Hyderabad. If so, will you kindly inform me, and let me have a talk on the matter. Perhaps, a way out is discovered.

Expecting a reply,

Yours sincerely,
LIQAULLAH OSMANI PANIPATI

[1]Not traceable.

11

I. A. Dairkee to M. A. Jinnah & Others

F. 883/1

NEEMUCH,
5 January 1940

A meeting of the Muslims of Neemuch Cantonment was held under the auspices of the local Muslim League on the 5th January 1940 and the following resolution[s] were unanimously passed. The meeting was presided [over] by Chaudhri Mehboob Bux, President, local Muslim League.

RESOLUTIONS

1. That the members of the Municipal Committee, Neemuch, are intentionally ignoring the rights of the Muslims and working against their interest and consequently the Muslim population of the place are greatly concerned.

2. That this meeting vehemently protest[s] against the resolution passed by the Hindu members of the Municipal Committee, who are in majority, for reduction [*sic*] of the cow slaughter.

3. That by passing the resolution for reduction of the cow slaughter, the Municipal Committee has injured the feelings of the Muslims and rendered loss in their trade and religion and placed a restriction to the providence [*sic*] of their primary and daily necessity. The resolution for reduction of cow slaughter, therefore, should be immediately cancelled.

4. That this meeting requests the British Government to allot three seats for the Muslims to represent and safeguard their interests as

the Hindu members who are in majority are working against their religious and economic interests. Therefore, the election should be separate [*sic*].

5. That this meeting expresses the feeling of dissatisfaction against Honourable Resident in Central India as the Honourable Resident has not interfered and has allowed a free hand to the Municipal Committee which is working against the economical [*sic*] and religious interests of the Muslims.

6. That this meeting appeals to His Excellency the Governor General and the Honourable Resident in Central India to kindly pay their sympathetic consideration to the above resolutions and take considerate action for the safeguard of the Muslim interests and the cancellment [*sic*] of the resolution passed by the Municipal Committee, Neemuch, for the reduction of cow slaughter.

I. A. DAIRKEE
Secretary, Muslim League, Neemuch

12

Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/31-2

MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
6 January 1940

My dear leader,

When Sir Jagadesh Prasad was here recently, he had long meetings with Mr. C. Rajagopalacharia. It appears that these two gentlemen are moving actively in the direction of a rapprochement between the Govt. and the Congress. Sir Prasad, I understand, is going to Bombay on the 9th instant and that he will meet the Viceroy there. Besides, it is reported that on the 18th instant, a statement on the Indian question will be made in the House of Commons. In view of this, I wish to know what you would like us to do so that Indian Muslims could effectively prevent a climb-down on the part of Great Britain.

Besides, there is the Independence Day on the 26th instant. What should be the attitude of the Muslims in regard to that day's celebrations.

The air has been thick with the rumour that the Govt. is

contemplating the appointment of more official Advisers. In case they do, what should be the attitude of Muslim League? I dare say the Govt. will give effect to this proposal on an all-India basis after consulting you and after finding out from you, if the Muslim Leaguers can cooperate with the Government in provincial administration in seven provinces.

I wonder if it is possible for you to give South India a week. Season here is pleasant and it will continue to be so till about the 15th February. South India is very anxious that you should come.

With affectionate regards,

Yours very sincerely,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

13

Mohamed Burhanulhaq to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/29-30

JUBBULPORE,
6 January 1940

Dear Jinnah Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 30th December 1939[1] and am grateful for the trouble you took in penning it yourself. Though it has pained us to miss you, I do hope and pray to God that your health may be improving and [that] you are now in the best of health after rest at Matheran.

The Conference, as you might have read in papers, had been successful. Following among others attended:

From outside the Province

1. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Chief Minister, Bengal
2. Abdul Aziz, Barrister, Patna
3. Zahoor Ahmad, Barrister, Allahabad
4. Moulana Hasrat Mohani, Cawnpore
5. Moulana Hamid Badauni, Badaun
6. Moulana Sibghatulla, Lucknow
7. Molvi Maherul Qadiri, Hyderabad Deccan
8. Dr. Mohemad Abdul Haq, Delhi
9. Shah Amjad Ali, M.L.A., Lahore

From C.P. & Berar

1. Syed Abdul Rauf Shah
2. K. S. Abdul Rahman Khan, M.L.A., Khamgaon
3. Iftikhar Ali, M.L.A., Jubbulpore
4. Mohammad Asghar
5. Khan Bahadur Hifazat Ali, M.L.A.
6. Khan Bahadur Nawab Siddiq Ali, M.L.A.

and various leaders from all over the Province.

Our audience was never below ten thousand and on the most important night of 3rd January, when Hon'ble [Fazlul] Huq came, there were not less than 20 thousand people in the big *pandal*, specially erected for this purpose.

The Conference was a unique success and everybody has been pleased with the nature [*sic*] of arrangement and the vast audience assembled. There were not less than 700 volunteers in full uniform who did yeoman service day and night.

From the messages we have received and compliments showered on us we are thankful to God for the success we could attain in such [a] short time and particularly after the communal riots which we had in [the] last month.

Everybody missed you but they breathed a sigh of relief and expressed heartfelt gladness when I told them that you have kindly promised to come for one day before going on South India tour. Please therefore keep in mind our pitiable position and keep one day for us when making programme for South India.

We passed an important resolution, amongst others, expressing sympathy for Turkey, and funds were collected. We may remit you about a thousand rupees in a few days because we do not know to whom to send. Through you we think, straightaway, the money will go to proper authorities.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMED BURHANULHAQ
President,
District Muslim League

[1]Not traceable.

14

R. M. A. L. Abdul Latteeff Farouk to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/37

MELAPALAIYAM,
7 January 1940

Respected Sir,

It touched me to the quick [*sic*] when the news, that our Turkey is subjected to a terrible earthquake, and a lot of our Muslim brethren there are thereby frightfully affected, reached me a few days before.

I awaited, all this while, that you would exert your good influence to collect money to send to Turkey.

Finding that no such attempt has yet been made by you, I beg to request [you] to inform me whether it is not advisable to start a collection to help our suffering Muslim brethren in Turkey, and thus show practical sympathy to them.

Awaiting your reply,

Yours sincerely,
R. M. A. L. FAROUK

15

Lal Muhammad to M. A. Jinnah
[*Original in Urdu*]

F. 896/35-37

BADAUN, U.P.,
7 January 1940

Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I belong to Village Pipal, P. S. Wazir Ganj, Tehsil Basauli, District Badaun. Thakur Jagan Singh is the local zamindar. We poor Muslims have a total of fifteen houses here while there are 4,000 Hindus. There is an old mosque in the said village. Since the Congress came to power, Hindus have not let the Muslims offer their prayers. They demolished the boundary walls of the mosque and took away all the bricks. The main gateway to the mosque, one

minaret and washroom were also demolished and two houses were built within the premises. The floor, 3 minarets and 3 domes are still intact. The mosque is now used as a cattle-pen and dung-cakes are pasted within. The trust land attached to [the] mosque measuring some 700 *bigahs,* is in the possession of Hindus. The mosque was subject of a litigation which lasted more than five years. It was restored to Muslims by the *Munsif* but they lost the case in the court of the judge who was a Hindu. When he arrived in court, I, as the plaintiff, saluted him. The judge responded with acerbity, indicating that we had won the case because the *Munsif* was a Muslim and that he would see what to do with the appeal. Two years later, he ruled that Muslims had never offered prayers in the mosque like Shahidgunj mosque and, therefore, Hindu possession was legal. We then appealed to the High Court, which dismissed the case after a month.

We now appeal to you to save us from the excesses being committed against us. Hindus do not let us offer prayers even at home. They do not let us slaughter animals for food. Cattle are fastened within the mosque and dung heaped. Our cattle are not allowed to graze in the jungle. Some *pucca* graves in our cemetery were opened up and the bricks taken away. The dead body, with coffin, of my grandson was exhumed. The matter was reported to Police and a telegram sent to the Collector. The SHO came, had a discussion with the Thakurs, drew up a document, got our thumb impressions thereon, and interred the dead body again. The Collector was informed, by the Police, that the dispute had been resolved, both parties concurring. A mendicant, Inayat Shah by name, belonging to Sangrampur, went inadvertently into the mosque to offer prayers. He was severely beaten up. We are threatened with death if we enrol as members of the League. The crops on my 50 *bighas* land were forcibly harvested and the produce taken away by Hindus. We, being a tiny minority, cannot perform our religious rites. We fear for our lives all the time. These people are now contemplating demolishing the mosque itself. The *Punchayat* has had a meeting and decided on obliteration of the mosque. Sir, the mosque is a big one. Three domes and three minarets are still there and can be easily photographed and can be used as a proof to save us from our daily troubles. God has sent you to help and protect us. The mosque should be somehow restored to Muslims. Our brethren who have stopped offering prayers out of fear should be allowed to do so. There are many things which I cannot reduce to writing and which I and my brethren

in the village will relate when an inquiry is held.

May God preserve you to protect us always,

Yours,
LAL MUHAMMAD

16

Hasan Mohiuddin Abbasi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/43-45

ROSHAN BAGH,
ALLAHABAD,
7 January 1940

Sir,

In the December [1939] number of the *Twentieth Century*, a leading monthly journal, published here, appeared a remarkably brilliant article on the subject of *The Congress and the Muslim League*. The article in question was a resume of three lectures by Mr. C. R. Reddy, Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University, delivered before select audiences at Madras about the middle of November last.

Long before the article appeared in the *Twentieth Century*, it was being talked about in local political circles. I read the article in proofs and being struck by its objective approach to the problem, detached treatment and an unbiased handling, I forthwith approached the writer for permission to reproduce it in pamphlets. I need not tell you its value, as a political polemic [*sic*] of a high order and of infinite value to the Muslim League cause.

I am told by Mr. K. Ishwar Dutt, Editor of the *Twentieth Century*, that he has already sent you a copy of the particular issue of the *Twentieth Century* wherein the said article by the pen of Mr. C. R. Reddy has appeared. As I have already told you, I have a mind to produce a few thousand pamphlets of this article for distribution all over the country. The venture will cost 200 rupees. I am afraid I have no money to finance the proposal. If I had the money myself, I would not have written to you and carried out the stunt all alone.

Meanwhile, I have read another article by this very gentleman, which has appeared in the January 1940 number of the *Twentieth Century*. I also understand from Mr. Ishwar Dutt that he will be pleased to reproduce these two articles by Mr. C. R. Reddy in a book form. He told me that he has been given the permission by the author, who is rather anxious for the wide dissemination of his viewpoint. But a

little money, to the extent I have written to you, is the fly in the ointment [*sic*]. I do not know whether Mr. Dutt has sent you the second article, I mean the January issue of the *Twentieth Century*. I suppose he would have sent it to you. If he has not, I shall see to it [that] he does so in a day or so.

As you know too well, the Muslim League cause suffers from a hopeless lack of propaganda. There is little in the vernacular press, hardly any in the English press, barring the solitary *Star of India*, Calcutta. Among the highbrow and intellectual circle, there is none. No wonder a considerable section of the Muslim intelligentsia, youthful and otherwise, is indifferent, if not actually hostile, to the Muslim League cause.

However, if you think that a wider publicity of these two articles, by the pen of Mr. C. R. Reddy, will incalculably help the Muslim League cause, you might consider the proposition of providing the requisite funds, i.e. 200 rupees, for the purpose. If the suggestion meets your approval, you might send the money to me or to Mr. K. Ishwar Dutt, Editor, the *Twentieth Century*, 113 Lukerganj, Allahabad, who is agreeable to the idea.

With respectful regards,

Sincerely yours,
HASAN

PS. Hope and pray this will find you in the best of health and happiness.

17

Vice-President, Jubbulpore District Muslim League to A. K. Fazlul Huq

F. 1098/81-2

JUBBULPORE,
8 January 1940

Dear Maulvi Sahib,

While here, I brought to your notice the anti-Muslim propaganda carried on by Mr. Hukum Chand Narad, an out-and-out Congressman and true henchman of the ex-Ministry, C.P. Before our conference was held, I wrote to the General Manager, the Associated Press,

Bombay, and informed him that due to Mr. Narad's prejudice against the Muslim League and Islam, he would not be permitted to attend our conference, but, if the agency wished it, I would wire them the official proceedings on behalf of the Muslim League. They sent me a curt reply, stating they did not want the proceedings from me, and were reporting this to Messrs M.A.Jinnah, your kindself, and Sir Sikander Hyat. I am taking out all particulars of Mr. Narad and his propaganda against us, etc., and will send to the A[ssociated] Press my reply, and copies to you all. You were down here and saw things for yourself as regards this man. On the night of January 3rd, he was present at the conference and asked you for an interview which you promised to give him the following morning, asking him and the *Statesman* and the *Times of India* correspondents to meet you at the Circuit House. You are aware that he deliberately failed to see you and had the audacity to write, in all the papers he represents, "that he interviewed you and you refused to say anything". You know this is a deliberate lie and concerns a man of your exalted position. From this, you can well imagine how he deals with other news items of Muslim interests. I would, therefore, ask you to kindly address Mr. J.Turner, the General Manager, Associated Press, Bombay, in strong terms, regarding this affair, and point out to him that Mr. Narad is correspondent of the *Hindustan Standard*, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, the *Advance*, the *Leader*, the *Bombay Chronicle*, the *Sind Observer*, the *Hindustan Times*, the *Nagpur Times*, the *Hindu*, the *Indian Express* and about eight other papers, besides representing their agency and the United Press Agency, through one Mr.R.P.Guru, a teacher of Christ Church School. Therefore, practically speaking, all papers read by the Indian public are controlled by one man here and no opportunity is afforded to Muslims to have their news published. If you could tell them that you were addressing Sir Sikander Hyat Khan to reduce the Government subsidy in the Punjab to the Associated Press and were doing the same in Bengal and were getting a Central MLA to move a cut motion in the Central Assembly, it would probably bring them to their senses, as publicity is a very important subject for our League. You could ask them to give you a list of their reporters throughout India and see whether Muslims or Anglo-Indians are appointed, compared to Hindus.

It is only through a strong letter by you that they will come to their bearings.

If you would think it fit, send us a copy of your letter and I will

have it published in all papers.

Thanking you.

I am enclosing a copy of account as published and your speech[1] by Mr. Narad in the *Leader* and other papers to compare with the *Statesman* report.

Yours sincerely,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Vice President,
Jubbulpore District & Town Muslim League

[1]Not traceable.

18

Secretary, Memon Seva Sameetee, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/69

BANTVA,
8 January 1940

Dear Sir,

In reply to an appeal made by our respected leader Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah for the Press Fund, we formed a committee to do anything possible to aid the fund, and thank God our efforts have become [*sic*] a success to some extent. We are still trying and hope for something better.

In the meantime, kindly let us know how to make [*sic*] disposal of the money collected and to be collected. When will the press scheme [be] started, and till that time what to do with the money already collected? If [it is] to be sent to somebody, kindly let us know to whom and when?

Waiting for the reply,

Yours faithfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Secretary,
Memon Seva Sameetee

19

Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1090/143-4

LUCKNOW,
8 January 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am very glad that you have released the correspondence which you had with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I have always felt that freedom for India means a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem. In the absence of such a settlement, it is not only idle but positively dangerous for the future of India to demand independence for the country. The doors for a settlement have been closed by the Congress and nobody knows how long it means to pursue this wild policy. It is high time that we prepare ourselves for fighting out Congress slogans.

We have started a Local Relief Fund for Anatolia and am glad to inform you that the appeal is meeting with fairly good response. All the moneys are being sent either directly by the donors to the Governor or indirectly through the League. An appeal from you would go a long way to[wards] help[ing] the collection of funds. I hope you will agree with the idea and issue an appeal to the Muslims to subscribe to the fund.

A few days back, the *Statesman* published the news that you were about to release the correspondence you had with His Excellency the Viceroy. I do not know how far it is true. I am of opinion that the correspondence should be placed before the Working Committee before publication, unless you think otherwise.

Yours sincerely,
KHALIQ

20

M. Y. K. Salim Chishtie to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/16-20

MEHR CHAND STREET,
RAILWAY ROAD,
LAHORE,
8 January 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Emboldened by the Qur'anic postulate that "All believers are brethren" and further supported by the Divine command, "Enjoin on each other truth", I have taken the liberty of writing this, rather a lengthy letter, to you and crave your indulgence for thus intruding upon your very precious time.

This letter being from one who is an utter stranger to you, it would not be out of place, I think, if I begin it by writing a few words about myself by way of introduction.

I have been connected with the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore, for more than ten years in the capacity of Head of the Tabligh Department and Principal of the Isha'at-i-Islam College (an institution run by the *Anjuman* for the training of Muslim youth as missionaries and preachers of Islam).

The late lamented Dr. Iqbal's memorable presidential address of [30 December] 1930 [at the AIML session at Allahabad] convinced me of the following facts:

a. That the Muslims of India are a unit quite distinct from other units inhabiting this vast country.
b. That the exclusive features embodied in their religion and culture which go to make their *Weltanschauung* [a particular philosophy or view of life or of the world], entitle them to call themselves a nation and as such they cannot merge their identity in the big ocean of Hindu nationalism.
c. That they must evolve their corporate life on lines prescribed by Islam, which, in Iqbal's own words, is "itself destiny and consequently cannot suffer any other destiny".

During these past ten years, I have had the good luck of being continually invited by various Muslim institutions in the Punjab and N.W.F.P. to deliver lectures and I have invariably and consistently

brought the truth home to my co-religionists that the Indian National Congress, brought into being by [Bal Gangadhar] Tilak, [Lala] Lajpat Rai, [Madan Mohan] Malaviya and [Motilal] Nehru and guided by Mr. Gandhi—the arch-communalist and the originator of 'Hindi Hindustani' with its wholly un-Islamic ideology [*sic*] and un-Qur'anic [*sic*] principles of life, is only another name for Hindu Mahasabha, and the act of joining it on the part of Indian Muslims would be nothing short of committing suicide. I have also made it clear to them that its so-called struggle for independence may result in the independence of this country from the British yoke—which is highly improbable—, but it would certainly not amount to the independence of Islam in this country. Therefore, they must work for their salvation on lines prescribed by their own religion which provides them with a political programme side by side with a religious one. Simultaneously with my lectures I have been continuously expressing these views of mine through so many articles as well, published regularly in various vernacular magazines throughout the length and breadth of the province and the burden of my lectures and writings can be summed up in one simple advice which is as follows:

> Muslims! Muster strong under the one banner of the All India Muslim League.

Permit me to make a digression at this point. Indian Muslims are one of the most backward communities in this country both educationally and intellectually and to such a people, ideologies, how much so ever [*sic* for however] exalted they may be, can have but a poor appeal as their imagination is not sufficiently developed to form a true estimate of their value. They rather need something tangible and palpable—in other words, a practical programme whose fruit may be visible even to the short-sighted.

Moreover, whatever good the League has been able to do to the Indian Muslims can be realised and appreciated only by the educated few. The masses know nothing, or practically nothing, about it, for the simple reason that they are intellectually incompetent to do so.

To catch their imagination and to make itself popular with them—the vast majority—and to win their whole-hearted co-operation, the League must come forward with a programme which may be able to make a direct and sure appeal to them, which may rouse them to action on the right lines, which may remove the long-standing charge brought against it by the Congressite Muslims that the League

has done nothing for the amelioration of the masses and is only a convenient tool used by the rich to exploit the poor.

Lastly, when the Congress has had the boldness to launch the Muslim mass contact movement, whose sole aim and object is to poison the mind[s] of the masses against the League, the League must do something practical to counteract the pernicious effect of this movement.

In Islam, Church and State are one [*sic*]; so the League can safely and aptly include the much-needed programme of the religious uplift of the masses in its policy and schedule of duties.

You are our Quaid-i-Azam, so I am quite justified in looking up to you for the right sort of lead in this matter and I would at this juncture draw your special attention to your own speech broadcast on the occasion of the last *'Id al-Fitr,*[1] in which you exhorted the Muslims to ponder over the nature of the guidance shown by the holy *Qur'an* to mankind. May I request you to go through this letter of mine in the spirit embodied in your own exhortation?

May I request you—and I would do it with all the force of my pen—to use your influence to enable the poor illiterate masses—98 per cent of the total population of Muslims in India—to read the *Qur'an* for themselves, as they cannot lead others if they are themselves blind?

This brings me to the threshold of my heart's desire—my object in writing this letter to you—and I forthwith submit my humble suggestions to that effect for your very sympathetic consideration.

In my opinion, it is high time for the League to come forward as the champion of the faith and culture of Muslims and to achieve this end it should:

i. start *Dars-i-Qur'an* for the masses in one big mosque at least in each big city throughout the length and breadth of India;
ii. open night schools for the masses where they may learn to read the *Qur'an* and acquire some knowledge of the life of the holy Prophet (peace be upon him);
iii. establish at least one school of Islamic politics, to be named the Mohammad Ali School of Politics, each in all the provinces of India where the promising youths of Islam may receive the right sort of training in Islamic politics based on the *Qur'an*. To me at least, it is a pitiful sight to behold speakers and lecturers posing as Muslim leaders while they are quite ignorant of the connotation of Islam and Muslim themselves;
iv. found and maintain an institution for availing the services of

those restless souls who are hankering after carrying the message of Islam to the millions of Untouchables[2] whose conversion to our faith can easily solve the vexed problem of Muslim minority in India, but they are wasting their energies for nothing simply on account of the absence of any organisation to utilise their services in this field.

It would not be out of place, if I mention the fact that during these ten years I have received innumerable applications from Muslims from all over India to send them out as *Dai'yan-i-Islam* (Muslim propagandists) to the Untouchables living in this country.

In short, these are the four means of making the League the household word in every Muslim home and the life-breath of the body politic of Muslims in India; and silencing our opponents once for all with regard to their invectives hurled against it every now and then.

If these suggestions of mine receive your consideration and finally meet with your approval, I would gladly put before you a detailed scheme in order to give a practical shape to them and I further assure you of my unflinching services and whole-hearted co-operation in this respect. Nothing can give me greater pleasure than to be in a position to serve my *millat*—the only way open to a Muslim for self-realisation on this earth.

I have intentionally refrained from dwelling upon the urgency and utility of my suggestions, as that would turn this letter into an essay—too long to be read by you, and, moreover, I will only be carrying coals to Newcastle thereby.

Assuring you of my sincerity and honesty of purpose and praying for the blessings of *Allah* on you and all the believers,

I remain,

Yours in Islam,

M.Y.K.SALIM CHISHTIE
B.A. (Hons.)

[1]Jinnah, with the Viceroy's permission, broadcast his first *'Id* message from All India Radio on 13 November 1939, in which his focus was on the young "who will henceforth have to bear the burden of our aspirations". See Waheed Ahmad, ed., *The Nation's Voice: Towards Consolidation*, Vol. I, Karachi, 1992, 412-4.

[2]The appellation given to the lowest caste of Hindus, euphemistically named Harijans (children of God) by Gandhi.

21

K. E. M. Mohamed Ibrahim Maricar to Secretary, Foreign Department, AIML

F. 873/23-5

48 J. LEMAIRE STREET,
KARIKAL,
8 January 1940

Dear brother-in-Islam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I came to understand through the Tamil weekly *Darul-Islam* of Madras, the works undertaken by your Department in the interest of Muslims.

I am convinced that the interest of French Indian Muslims would not have escaped your best attention and that you are aware, I presume, that there are in France many Muslim organizations and that there is a section called Section *Musulamanne* created in the Colonial Office of the French Ministry.

I like to know whether you have connections with the abovementioned Department and organizations. For, it is through them, as far as I know, that you can represent to the French Republican Government the grievances of French Indian Muslims and do the needful [*sic*].

Muslims in Karikal form an important minority community by its economic superiority in all walks of life. It is they who contribute to the Karikal administration half of the government revenues. They are in fact big merchants doing business locally and at Singapore through their branch offices. They are also big land-holders. But, owing to their backwardness in education, they are loose [*sic*] and are losing a great part of their resources, mostly through law-courts. They are well exploited by a political party called Mahajana Sabah composed mostly of lawyers and supported by the Congress leaders and prominent men, like the ex-Premier C. Rajagopalachari of Madras and by the Foreign Department of the all-India Congress organization. The President of the Mahajana Party is an advocate, Mr. Joseph Xavery, a Christian, and the Secretary Mr. Leon Saint-Joan, also an advocate. This Party is supported in France by Mr. Leon Blum, ex-Premier of France. The opposition party is the

Hindu-Franco Party which is equally [*sic*] led by Mon. Thomas Aroul, President of the French India Assembly or *Consoil* General, a devoted Christian by birth.

Here, in French India,[1] the ruling class for the last fifty years is the Christian community, which is officially favoured by a strange separate electorate and representative privileges. Politically, they can be compared to the Brahmins of the Madras Presidency.

Let me, if I do not inopportune [*sic*] you, Sir, say some words about the electorate system in French India. The voters are divided into two categories: the first category or the First List Voters, as they are called, are about 100 in Karikal and 300 in Pondicherry. They do not exist in other French Indian settlements, say [*sic* for namely] Chandernagore (Bengal), Mahe (Malabar) and Yanam (Andhra). Their qualification for voting is that—(1) they should have renounced their Indian rights in favour of European civil rights, thus agreeing to two years' military training after which they become reservists in the French Military, (2) they should have either passed the French B. A. (Baccalaureate) examination or been enrolled in the French Government civil service for three years.

The rest of the people, 12,000 in Karikal and 60,000 in Pondicherry, is [*sic* for are] classed as Second List Voters.

What an anomaly under the Republican Government, which have for its watchwords Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, is the fact that 100 First List Voters are entitled to elect to all the elective bodies (Assembly, Municipality, and Local Boards) as many seats as the 12,000 Second List Voters in Karikal. This is also true of 300 First List Voters against 60,000 Second List Voters in Pondicherry.

Most of the First List Voters are Christians and a good lot are Hindus. There are hardly one or two Muslims in Pondicherry, and none in Karikal, as *Renoncant*. The main cause of Muslims not being *Renoncants* or First List Voters is, in addition to their natural timidity, the fact that [to] become a *Renoncant*, a Muslim should share his properties equally [among] sons and daughters, a principle which is diametrically in opposition to that of Islam.

On the other hand, as I previously said, like Brahmins in Madras, Government service is the monopoly of Christians in French India. For instance, there are only two Muslim officers in Karikal and even that at a poor monthly salary of Rs. 30-40.

Among eight seats reserved for Karikal constituency in the Fr[ench] Indian *Consoil* General, i.e. Assembly, only one is occupied by a Muslim Member by the grace of Mon. Thomas Aroul, Leader of

the Hindu-Franco-Party and to whom that member is a puppet; without being so, he can't keep that seat.

You see well, Sir, the unfortunate position of Karikal Muslims who, although [they] pay half of the taxes, are represented by only one member in the Assembly and two petty officers in the Govt. service. Many other interesting and valuable informations you can receive from *'Ali Janab* Al-Haj B. Dawoodshah Sahib, Editor of the *Darul-Islam*, who recently visited this place.

The poorness [*sic*] of the influence of Muslims with the Government is mostly due to their neglect of the French official language, and because of this neglect they are well exploited by Christians who are leading the political parties. Apparently they propagate high motives [*sic*] but virtually they have no ideals. But one thing is certain: they are united in their exploitation of Islam.

In these circumstances, it is, I think, the duty of great humanitarians and leaders of Islam, like you, to come to the aid of French Indian Muslims by seeing that their voice, united under a common ideal, thanks to your efforts, is heard in French, by the means I suggested at the beginning. I hope and I am confident that you will not fail to do so.

But, as it is a common law in the Republican Government not to care for and or to talk of local politics in war-time, I think that you will be patient enough for the moment not to voice the grievances of French Indian Muslims, and satisfy yourself for the present with devising the means to do so and in the future preparing the ground for the same.

Meanwhile, I will be much obliged to you if you can supply me with the addresses of wholesale merchants of Algeria, Tunis[ia], and Egypt dealing in the business of *lungis* made in India, as I understand that your Department is now doing [*sic*] great efforts to rally the Muslim world closely through commercial relations.

Thanking you in anticipation and hoping that this first letter to you will assure a long-standing and useful correspondence between us,

I beg to remain, Brother-in-Islam,

Yours most sincerely,
K. E. M. M. I. MARICAR

[1]French India comprised Chandernagore, Pondicherry, Karikal, Mahe and Yanam.

22

S. A. Latif to Jawaharlal Nehru

F. 102/15-8

YUSUF MANZIL,
ADIKMET,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
10 January 1940

Dear Panditji,

I am grateful to you for your letter of the 25th December[1] received here while I was at Aundh.

I appreciate your frank criticism of the views I have advanced in the *Muslim Problem in India*. But there are one or two things therein which, I am afraid, you have missed. I too dislike imperialism. The difference is only this: you pit yourself only against British imperialism; I disapprove of imperialism in every form, British or Congress, Muslim or any other. I too want India to remain a single political entity; but I believe that this is possible only when all the communities feel united in individual security. It is why I am against the Pakistan Movement, as conceived by its original promoters, which in my humble opinion is a separatist movement, and would call for two federations in the country.[2] I am in favour of a single federation but composed [of] culturally autonomous states formed through inter-migration spread conveniently over a number of years. You are at liberty to call the proposal fantastic; but you will have to move towards it, even as you move towards a fatality, if—mark the condition—you do not attempt seriously at this hour to bring about a lasting settlement of the problem of communities in a less arduous style. The idea of cultural zones is a mild idea compared with that of Pakistan. But that will be thrown into the limbo of [*sic* for or] oblivion, and the spectre of Pakistan alone will stare you in the face tomorrow, if today you fail to use your opportunities to frame a constitution for the country agreeable to all.[3]

As an alternative to the idea of cultural zones, you say that you "would willingly agree to autonomous areas being carved out of larger provinces so as to give these areas cultural autonomy and a sense of freedom". So you agree with the principle of the proposed cultural zones; only, you propose smaller areas. The proposition is

worthy of examination. What are the areas you propose in each large province? How would you make them culturally autonomous without some sort of exchange of population? Will they be economically autonomous at the same time? Or what would be their share in the larger economic life of the province concerned or of the country as a whole? The Muslims may very likely take your suggestion as a sort of encirclement. What specific provisions would you make to give them a sense of freedom?

I certainly do not treat lightly the economic aspect of the country's future, or of what you unnecessarily style 'scientific culture'. That aspect is implied; but the Muslims would expect it to harmonize with their own culture. Turkey whom [*sic* for which] you cite in your favour turned a secular state only after she had got rid of her alien population. So far as I could understand the mind of the Muslim world, it is this: Where Muslims are in majority, as in most Muslim countries, their politics is their religion; but where they are in minority or have to live in the midst of an overwhelming non-Muslim population as in India, their religion or culture is their politics. They assume this attitude because religion with them is a way of living sanctioned by certain truths of life in which they believe, and they therefore let every circumstance subserve it. You know of Islam only in terms of feudalism, of Persianised-cum-Hinduised Islam. That marks a period of neglect and wastage. There is now a new spirit abroad among the Muslims. They are anxious to build their future on their democratic, rather than feudal, heritage, and live in peaceful relations with their neighbours, thereby promot[ing] the united good of the whole country. You can easily negotiate with a people developing such an outlook. No hide-and-seek policy will bear fruit.

As a possible relief from the present impasse, and a solution to our immediate difficulties outside the idea of cultural zones, large or small, I had invited your kind consideration to the outline of an alternative constitution given in the last chapter of the *Muslim Problem in India*. You are silent over it. It is meant to be a stepping-stone to full freedom for the whole country and also to democratization of the Indian States on [the] line of least resistance. The outline is elastic [sic for flexible] enough to apply even to Dominion Status[4] which I think is within our easy grasp if only we could settle our differences.

I possess no credentials from any political party but judging from the trend, at any rate, of the Muslim mind and of the minds of other minorities, I should hope that a settlement might be effected if the

Congress should allow its thought [to] dwell sympathetically on the proposed outline of a settlement. Even that can be modified, if warranted by mutual sincerities. My impression is that you simply do not know how to enlist the co-operation of Mr. Jinnah. He is as good a patriot as you are, and as sincere in his determination to see India emancipated. But some of you try to baffle him, and he baffles you in return, and we suffer in consequence. Leave aside the idea of the cultural zones—large as I have said, small as you say—but concentrate on an alternative, even on the lines I have suggested, and something may yet turn out to the satisfaction of the country as a whole. Independence you will get—who does not want independence?—but it will be dust and ash without unity. If you do not approve of the lines of rapprochement proposed, suggest something better. But pray do not make much of mere catchwords. They will not help us. You say you would like to see "a united democratic India with the fullest protection of cultural rights and the interests of all communities". Show how you would work this out, and suggest what would secure the fullest protection of cultural rights, and the interests of all communities? I think you will do a great service to India if you should come out with concrete suggestions. The country wants a distinct lead from those who wish to speak for her.

I trust that there is nothing confidential about what you have written or what I have replied. They are stand-points of students, of those who wish to serve a common cause. Dr. Rajendra Prasad has asked for elucidation of certain points connected with the idea of cultural zones. He expects a reply while he is still at Wardha till the 15th instant. Since I have no wish to repeat to him what I have touched upon in this letter, I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of this to him along with a copy of your letter. I shall send you a copy of what I reply to his own letter, of which also I shall furnish you a copy. My idea is to know your combined [*sic*] mind, even as ultimately reviewed by Gandhiji, so that I might feel competent to apprise the Muslim mind of what you think, and even discuss personally the whole subject with Mr. Jinnah. The hour demands pooling together.

With deep regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. A. LATIF

[1]Annex.
[2]See S. A. Latif, *Muslim Problem in India*, 27-28.
[3]Ibid., 280.
[4]Cf. Statute of Westminster, 1931.

Annex to No. 22
Jawaharlal Nehru to S. A. Latif

F. 102/10-3

ANAND BHAWAN,
ALLAHABAD,
25 December 1939

Dear Dr. Latif,

I am grateful to you for sending me your book the *Muslim Problem in India*. I have read this book with interest and have tried to understand your argument. I am afraid I am wholly unable to appreciate it. You say in your letter that you are not a politician but you have written as a politician, and accepted as facts many assertions which have yet to be proved.

With much that you say regarding the background, I might agree and yet the inferences you draw do not seem to be justified. The background is important but still more important is the future for which we build. It is not clear in your essay what political or economic structure you are ultimately aiming at. And, as you know, economics today governs politics. The fundamental problem of India today is not political but one of poverty and unemployment and low production and vested interests, both foreign and Indian, which prevent progress. There is nothing in your essay which touches these problems. You seem to take it for granted that the British imperial domination should continue, though it may function less than it has done in the past. Apparently you take for granted a continued existence of the Indian States as they are.

I proceed from different premises completely. Historically speaking, the Indian States are complete anachronisms in the world today. As you know, similar political entities in Europe and elsewhere ceased to exist long ago. The Indian States represent a feudal regime which cannot be reconciled with greater production and just distribution. A feudal regime is wholly inconsistent with any type of democracy or even with capitalism in its modern form, much less with more socially advanced forms. British imperialism is an effective barrier to economic growth in India, apart from its political consequences.

You have criticised Hinduism as opposed to democracy. Your criticism is largely justified in so far as the organisation of Hindu society is concerned. The social ideal behind Islamic society has been more democratic. But politically Islamic States have been, in the past,

feudal autocracies which had nothing to do with democracy. Where democracy is creeping into the Islamic States, it is on the basis of modern scientific political theory which separates the State from religion, though keeping religion intact for the individual and the group. Turkey is an outstanding example of an Islamic State which has deliberately ceased to call itself Islamic as such. The same tendency is visible in other Islamic countries, more or less.

A parallel to all this can be found in Europe one hundred and fifty years ago or more, when Christendom as a political theory dominated the State, but was gradually separated from the State.

I feel, therefore, that your background is somewhat medieval and does not fit in at all with modern theory or practice, and does not take into consideration the fundamental importance of the economic side.

It seems to me that inevitably both the so-called Hindu and Muslim cultures will be powerfully shaken and influenced by the scientific culture which has impressed itself on the world today. So long as it does not do so we shall remain backward economically and, therefore, politically and also culturally. In so far as this happens, a certain homogeneity is produced. This does not mean that the essential traits of our culture, whether Hindu or Muslim, should be suppressed or should disappear. That would be unfortunate and would lead to India becoming culturally a rootless country. I think that India can only progress truly if those roots of real culture are nourished and led to imbibe the culture of modern science. It is essential, therefore, that nothing should be done to suppress these cultural traditions, Hindu or Muslim, though their extravagant and undesirable accrescences might well be done away with. In any event it is highly improper for the Hindus even to attempt to vary any cultural growth of the Muslims, just as it is improper for the Muslims to make a similar attempt in regard to Hindu culture. Healthy changes cannot be imposed from outside but must come from inside the group.

I agree with you, therefore, that the fullest latitude should be allowed to group cultures. I do not see why this should not be done within a framework of political unity and freedom.

Your scheme of re-distribution of population and areas in India seems to me somewhat fantastic from the practical point of view, apart from its other features. I do not see any particular difficulty in giving freedom to these group cultures without having the surgical operations that you suggest and which are wholly impracticable. As

a matter of fact, India, as constituted today from the point of view of division of population, provides many balancing factors which go to protect communities and cultures. Personally, I would willingly agree to autonomous areas being carved out of larger provinces so as to give these areas cultural autonomy and a sense of freedom.

The subject is a vast one and can hardly be dealt within the course of a letter. It seems to me, however, that every approach to it must keep the dominant economic factor in mind—the poverty of India and how to remove it as rapidly as possible. We forget this at our peril. The alternatives that we have to face are: a united democratic India with the fullest protection of cultural rights and the interests of all communities, and an attempt at the Sovietisation of India in order to deal more directly with the poverty problem. I prefer the former.

Please excuse the errors in typing that [may] have crept into this letter. I dictated [it] in a hurry.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Dr. Syed Abdul Latif,
The Hyderabad Academy,
Hyderabad, Deccan

23

Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/31-3

TELLICHERRY,
10 January 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am very happy to tell you that the response to your call for the observance of the Deliverance Day was tremendous in Malabar. In this one district, more than 200 meetings were held and prayers were offered [in] more than 300 mosques. You must have received a number of telegrams and copies of resolutions from a great number of places in Malabar. Those resolutions may kindly be transmitted to the Central Office so that they may be included in the report that the Nawabzada may be preparing about the observance of the Deliverance Day. Our instruction to the Primary Leagues was to send copies of the resolutions to the Governor, the Viceroy and to you.

Deliverance Day had a very great propaganda value in that it roused our people even in the remotest parts of the country to a

sense of their rights and grievances. The tyranny of the majority and the failure of democracy as envisaged by the Act of 1935 have become topics of household conversation everywhere. The Non-Brahmin Party has no following in Malabar. But in other districts where they have any following, they joined these celebrations whole-heartedly.[1]

I am glad that Mr. E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker, the leader of the Non-Brahmin Party has come to you. As yet they have not recovered from the crushing defeat that they suffered in the 1936[2] elections. Excepting a few urban areas, they have no great following in the districts. All the District Board elections which were held last year have gone against them. Their organisation is very weak. They are undoubtedly picking up strength but the process is very slow owing to the distrust created by them during the decade that they were in power under diarchy—I hope that they will not try to mislead you into believing that they are a power in this part of the country. They can be a power if they make the tremendous effort that is necessary and if their leadership is relinquished by the aristocrats and zamindars who are keeping it now. However, a sort of coalition with them will be most helpful to us. They were the next strongest party in the Madras Legislative Assembly.

I am very glad to have [*sic*] to inform you that two Muslim M.L.As. and one Muslim M.L.C. from Malabar who formerly belonged to the Justice Party have now resigned from the Party and have joined the Muslim League Party in the Legislature. So far as Malabar is concerned, excepting those who are in the Congress Party, all Muslim M.L.As. and M.L.Cs.—7 in number—are now in the Muslim League Party. We are trying our best to get other Muslim legislators also to resign from the Justice Party and join the League Party. This undoubtedly weakens the Justice Party in the Legislature and this may be one of the reasons for the visit that their leader is paying [to] you.

We are now in the thick of the District Board elections in Malabar. The electorate is joint and excepting 6 or 7 constituencies, the majority of voters in 47 constituencies is over-whelmingly non-Muslim. The Congress has set up candidates in all these constituencies. We have set up our candidates in all the 6 or 7 constituencies where the Muslim voters are in a majority. In all the remaining constituencies, the Congress candidates are being opposed by independent candidates to whom we are giving all possible help. It is a very keen contest. The Congress Party is sure to have the majority but their

majority will not be as big as they had at the last election. Besides, the election propaganda will help disillusion the masses who are now under the hypnotic spell of Congress hypocrisy. These are the considerations which have made us interfere in this election.

I am afraid I have taken up a great deal of your time. But lately I have not troubled you much; that is my excuse.

Hope this finds you in good health,

Yours sincerely,
H. A. S. ESSAK SAIT

[1]Jinnah called for observance of the Deliverance Day on 22 December 1939 "as the day of deliverance and thanksgiving as a mark of relief that the Congress Governments, have at last ceased to function". This received enthusiastic support from South India's (non-Brahmin) Justice Party, led by Periyar Ramaswami Naicker, and All India Depressed Classes League. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice* I, 417-8.
[2]The first general elections in India, under the Government of India Act 1935, were held in January-February 1937.

24

Mahomed Ali Chaiwala to M. A. Jinnah

F. 847/14

15 MILITARY SQUARE LANE,
FORT, BOMBAY,
10 January 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending you herewith a draft of the letter[1] proposed to be written by you to several Muslim leading and influential men in South Africa as per the list of names given to me by Mr. Aziz Gafur Kazi. The names are enclosed herewith.[2] Please return the draft duly altered by you and also the accompanying list of names so that I may prepare the letters and send the same to be signed by you. If you desire the said letters to be typed on your letter papers, please send me about 2 dozens of such letter papers with their corresponding envelopes.

I am also sending you herewith a draft[3] of the proposed letter to be addressed to Sir Adamjee Haji Dawood for your perusal and alteration. Please also return the same duly altered so that I may get the same typed.

If you have a typist at your place,, you may, if you so desire, get the same typed and forward the same by post, if you think so best.

If you have by now traced the name of Chamarbagwalla, please

send the same to me to enable me to make enquiries in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
MAHOMED ALI CHAIWALA

[1&3]Not traceable.
[2]See F. 847/15, *QAP*. Not printed.

25

Mohammad Gazi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/33-5

SHUJAATJUNG,
10 January 1940

Sir,

May I take the liberty to address a few lines to you which I understand are vitally essential for the existence of Muslims in India.

There has been a lot of hubbub and cry both in press and on platform about the Congress oppression on [*sic* for of] Muslims wherever they happen to be in minority and the Congress was in power. This, combined with the present trend of events, has created a feeling of hatred between Hindus and Muslims, reacted adversely on the Muslim minds and depressed the spirit which in spite of Muslim minority in India was a terror to Hindus. In short, the hatred combined with dissipation has shaken the very foundation of the Muslim superiority in courage, martial spirit, universal brotherhood and ambition. As history tells us, Muslims have always been conquerors wherever they went and swept away all opposition which met them. They never cared for the number or the power of the enemy. Instances are not lacking wherein a handful of Muslims have driven away thousands and tens of thousands of enemies. What was this due to? It was due to their Islamic spirit, self-confidence and determination. Even a few decades ago, a Muslim was a terror to a Hindu or Hindus. Now the times have so changed that a Hindu has the courage to stand up against a Muslim and, if time comes, he would attack a Muslim—an action which was never dreamt of in the past.

We have therefore to find out ways and means whereby we can rouse the spirit of Muslims so much so that we attain the same standard as we had in times of the great Caliphs.

Another thing which is derogatory to the Muslim spirit is that we

are lagging behind in the fight for freedom and those who were looked down upon by us as cowards are now stealing a march on us. How disgraceful it is! We, who were the torch-bearers of freedom, are now being guided by the down-trodden men of *Bania* class. We would be well-advised if we could wake up even now and regain our lost position.

The most unbecoming and sad line of our character is that we are [an] inactive and dormant body. We have never entered into the arena of action and all our resolutions, proclamations and declarations are mere scraps of paper. We have lost the power of sacrifice and are merely playing the role of spectators in our political life unaffected by the fact that Hindus, to whatever class, creed or body they might belong, are full of action and have also offered sacrifices at the altar of freedom. Can we influence the Government or the Hindus by our woeful tales, passing resolutions and releasing statements to the press? Certainly not. We had better either allow us [*sic* for ourselves] to sink in [to] oblivion or gird up our loins and enter boldly into the field of action regardless of the consequences which may befall us or our families. Then and then alone we can justify our existence on the surface of the earth.

Our demands can be met and rights safeguarded if we can regain our lost prestige. Even if we keep ourselves out of the Legislative Assemblies and other government services, we could still overwhelm the Hindus due to the sheer strength of our spiritual power. The Hindus will not be able to do us any harm. The force of our martial spirit will make the governing powers bow before us to beg for protection rather than providing us safeguards.

We are Muslims, we should live as Muslims and we should die as Muslims. God has created us preceptors of mankind and there is no power on the globe that can bring us down from the throne of freedom, truth and sublimity. We cannot merge ourselves with any [other] community, body, or institution. We must stand alone on our own legs and prove to the world what we are worth. Long live Muslims and long live and active [*sic*] Muslim League.

I hope you will very kindly give your thorough consideration to the following three propositions:

1. Rousing the spirit of Muslims befitting the Muslim honour.
2. Fight for freedom.
3. To infuse life into the half-dead Muslim League.

To enable us to shake off inaction and dormancy if possible we should collect our scattered brethren under the banner of the Muslim League. I know that they are very few, and there may be black sheep, too, amongst them and that we can very well carry on with our present strength which counts about 95% of Muslims in India. But if we can, by our actions, prove that we mean business, there would be no trouble in collecting these persons who have gone to other camps merely because of our inaction.

We are not against unity with the Hindus in India but want an honourable settlement whereby we would enter into terms as an equal partner and not as a minority community; for, with our Islamic spirit we can crush any opposition howsoever big it is. We are descendants of Mohammed Bin Qasim and not of Raja Dahir.

I appeal in the name of Islam that you will please take suitable action in the matter.

Sincerely yours,
MOH[AMMA]D GAZI
M.Sc., LL.B.

26

M. A. Jinnah to Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman

QAD (120)

BOMBAY,
11 January 1940

Dear Khaliq,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 8th January.[1] I am glad you appreciate the unreasonable attitude taken up by the Congress as disclosed by the recent correspondence between Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and myself. Well, we have to face the situation as best we can.

As regards the question of my appealing to the Musalmans for funds for relief of the Anatolian calamity, the matter is receiving my consideration, and I hope to be able to decide it within a few days. The trouble is, who is to be responsible for collecting the funds; otherwise, of course, naturally I am wholeheartedly in favour of doing all we can to help the Turkish people.

With regard to the last matter referred to in your letter regarding the correspondence between the Viceroy and myself, I have already decided to place the matter before the Working Committee before its

publication, and I have written to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan to call, if possible, a meeting of the Working Committee about the end of this month. I hope that you will make it a point to attend it.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 19.

27

Hasan Reyaz to M. A. Jinnah

F. 833/14-5

PARK MANSIONS, DELHI GATE,
DELHI,
11 January 1940

My dear Sir,

I see that I have not written to you since you left Delhi, but I have observed this silence deliberately as I knew that you had been undergoing a very great strain for the last many months. I did not, therefore, like to add more to it.

We, in the Central Office, are going on as usual. The *Manshoor* is growing, though slowly, yet steadily; and I am sure you will be glad to know that it justified its existence on the Deliverance Day. All the primary, district and city Leagues, registered in my office, got the authorised translation of your statement, and of the resolution and instructions issued by the Honorary Secretary in that connection, through in time, so that there was uniformity in the deliberations of the Deliverance Day meetings all over India. Your statements preceding the Deliverance Day, if I may say so, were exceedingly good and the idea of celebrating the day itself a very happy one indeed. It was a thundering demonstration of the popularity of the Muslim League and of the resentment of the people against the attitude and policy of the Congress high command and its governments. Heaps of letters have been received in the Central Office, reporting the success of the Deliverance Day from every nook and corner of the country. It would take months, if I undertake to publish them in the *Manshoor*. Therefore I am only publishing the names of places in acknowledgment of receipt of these reports.

So far the Muslim League has fought well, and successfully too, but our struggle seems to be a long-drawn one. It might go on for years and years and perhaps for ever! If the Musalmans want to live in this country as an honourable people, they ought to remain always on their guard, alert and fully armed. History shows that a people may either fight with success in an entirely disorganized state or when they are fully organised.... You have led the disorganized Musalmans to victory in a manner which is simply marvellous. But the Musalmans are also getting organised, and they are yet in the preliminary stage which is dangerously slippery. It was at this stage that the Khilafat leaders failed in 1922. I have full confidence in your wisdom and foresight and hope you will do all that is needful, but as a very humble worker of the League I deem it my duty to tell the leader, without any reserve, what I see, feel and think. I hope you will not misunderstand me.

During the last two years, the League has become a truly all-India organisation, but there is no properly organized central office to look after the work, with the result that there are gaps, unevenness and irregularities in it. There are many problems to be tackled and there is a lot of original work to be done. The President cannot do all and look after everything personally nor can the Honorary Secretary, even though the Honorary Secretary may be a public-spirited, conscientious and loyal one such as ours is. It requires a whole-time staff possessing political insight and initiative to help the leaders to accomplish this great work, on the success of which depends the realisation of all the hopes and aspirations of Muslim India.

With all good wishes for a happy and prosperous new year,

Yours sincerely,
HASAN REYAZ

28

S. M. Zauqi to M. A. Jinnah

SHC (1237)

GHAUSPURA,
HYDERABAD (DECCAN),
12 January 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

After my return from Bombay, in the third week of December last,

I felt unwell and was unable to send you my greetings in time on the happy occasion of your 64th birthday. I hope you will now accept my belated, though most sincere greetings. I pray to God to spare you to live and work with us for many more years to enjoy still greater victories and successes.

Allow me also to congratulate you on the successful termination of the 22nd December Deliverance Day. It was a masterly stroke—a grand idea well-conceived and admirably carried out.

Now, they want us to point out [to] them a suitable alternative for democracy. The question naturally arises, why should they want it and why should we waste our valuable time in fruitless controversy when they have decided to reject all our proposals? It has been their role ever since they came into existence. What right have they to sit in judgment over us when they have already announced their one-sided decision in favour of what they call a constituent assembly without waiting even to hear our side of the case? Why should we submit our case to them when they have neither the power to give us what we want, nor the capacity or even the will to understand our view-point? In fact nobody else in the world can give us what we want. It is our own affair and we alone shall take it when we are properly organized as true Muslims.

Fundamentally, there can only be two conceptions about forms of government:

1. Sovereignty of God
2. Sovereignty of man

Autocracy, aristocracy, oligarchy, democracy, dictatorship, fascism, Nazism, socialism, syndicalism, bolshevism, and all other modern"isms" fall under the second category, viz. sovereignty of man and are driving the world to destruction. To choose a form of government from this set is to choose an evil from among a number of evils. That every form of human government is liable to corruption is borne out by historical facts. Just survey the successive changes in Europe, when government by Christian priests (misnamed theocracy) went[down to] the intolerable depth of corruption, it was succeeded by monarchy. When monarchy degenerated into tyranny, it was gradually replaced by aristocracy. Aristocracy in its downward march became oligarchy. Oligarchy, in turn, went [along] the usual downward course of human government and died its natural death to give place to democracy. Democracy, as was inevitable, subsequently assumed the form of ochlocracy or mob-rule. This eventually led to anarchy and a strong autocrat disguised under

the modern name of dictator became necessary to evolve order out of chaos. So the autocrat came in again to give a fresh start to the cycle already gone through before. Surely, it will serve no useful purpose to keep the world confined within the same vicious circle. Man-made constitutions and laws have failed and shall fail again. The world of today stands badly in need of something loftier.

Bitter historical experience coupled with sad ignorance of higher realities of life prompted a witty French philosopher to remark: "If God did not exist it would be necessary to invent Him".[1] Thank God, we are far ahead of that philosopher in our knowledge of the realities and stand in no need of the wittily suggested invention. We are firm believers in the real existence of God and we cannot afford to lose touch with Him in anything and everything that we think or say or do. We are, in fact, the only true exponents of the sovereignty of God and we alone are capable of giving to the world that peaceful atmosphere which [is] the crying need of the hour. We are in proud possession [*sic*] of that genuine and perfect divine God which alone can provide relief to the troubled world and raise the standard of humanity to a much higher level.

As Muslims, it is enough for our satisfaction and encouragement to have the authority of the holy *Qur'an* in support of what we say. Ponder well over what the Almighty says in the holy *Qur'an:*

"Satan promiseth you destitution and enjoineth on you ludeness. But *Allah* promiseth you forgiveness from Himself and promiseth you bounty and abundance". (Chapter II, Verse 268). "We have pointed you out the right path, so follow it and follow not the whims of those who know not". (XLV-18). Now just look at the appreciative terms in which *Allah* refers to the Muslims' superiority over those with a different outlook:

"Ye (Muslims) are the best people raised up into mankind. Ye command that which is right and ye forbid that which is wrong and ye believe in *Allah*". (III-110). "And those (Muslims) who, if we give them power in the land, establish worship (of one God) and pay *zakat* (poor tax) and command what is right and forbid what is wrong. And *Allah's* is the sequel of events (XXII-41). "And thus have we appointed you a central people that ye may be witnessed unto the rest of the people (of what the Apostle of *Allah* has revealed unto you) and that Muhammad (the Apostle of *Allah*) may be witness unto you (of what has been revealed unto him by *Allah*"). (II-1/43). That is the position assigned to us by our Lord and Creator. So, Muslims have to be the leaders of mankind, not [the] followers or collaborators

of those who deviate from the right path or belong to a different school of thought. We may not be able to carry on our noble mission just at present and may still have to work very hard to enable ourselves to do our duty but our present inabilities do not, in the least, affect the lofty ideal set before us.

With such outlook as ours, we cannot come to terms with those slaves of the West who have no ground of their own to stand upon, whose ideas are borrowed and whose words and deeds are clumsy imitations of the West. People who are incapable of conceiving other alternatives besides fascism and bolshevism, who attach undue importance to a mere counting of heads and regard not reason but numbers as the only criterion of justice, and whose conception of religion differs fundamentally from that of ours cannot realise our position and can have no sympathy with our legitimate aspirations. People who have confined God within the four walls of their churches and temples and have restricted His jurisdiction to the narrow limits of private relationships between the Creator and the created can never appreciate the comprehensiveness of Islam and can never be expected to come to terms with Muslims on a reasonable basis. Gandhi's oft-repeated theory that all religions are equally good is clearly anti-Islamic, and does not stand the test of reason. There can only be one truth. Conflicting and contradictory beliefs and actions cannot all be true and equally good at one and the same time. A mischievous theory like that amounts to a negation of religion. If Savarkar's recent utterance in Calcutta is to be considered [as] an index of the modern Hindu mind, Hinduism ceases to be a religion and becomes merely a social order in which devotion to the Fatherland takes the place of devotion to God. They have lost touch with their own real self. They are often inconsistent and sometimes they do not even understand what they say. They talk of *Ram raj* and democracy in the same breath and the more intelligent amongst them think of *Ram raj* and talk of democracy but they do not realise that democracy can never be *Ram raj* and *Ram raj* was never democratic. It will be useless to waste [*sic*] arguments on people of such a mentality.

When a man or a group is not amenable to reason, what is the remedy according to the advocates of the gospel of "Truth and Non-Violence"? We know the remedy and we shall not fail to apply it when exigencies of the situation demand it.

Islam is a divine power—a world force. We are an international people deputed to save the world of which India is merely a part. The fact of our being Muslims first and Muslims last cannot come in

the way of our remaining good Indians. In fact, a Muslim who is not a good Muslim cannot be a good Indian and cannot be a good citizen of the world. One who is not true to oneself and not true to one's God can never be expected to be true to anything else. The hurdles that are being raised against us today in India are merely shadows of the more serious evil lurking elsewhere. We have to strike at the root and in doing so we shall have to fight single-handed with a grim determination to reach the goal unperturbed by the opponents' cunning ferocity, by their number, by their sinister organization, by their howling press and false propaganda. We know that truth always conquers in the end and we have full confidence in our ultimate success.

But to do this, we shall have to infuse true Islamic spirit into the Muslim masses and shall have to arouse in them a proper sense of responsibility. The present deplorable plight of the Muslims all over the world is not due so much to the outside destructive forces operating against them as to the lack of appreciation of their own value and of the immense constructive powers which Islam bestows upon its faithful followers. They sometimes seem to forget that they are a distinct people, unique in their conception of life, and unique in possession of gigsts [*sic*] which if developed and used properly will change the entire state of affairs and convert the world into a far better abode for mankind. We have to do a lot to bring about the desired change in the mentality of such Muslims as have been snatched away from us by the various baneful influences of the day. With the reformed mentality of our people, our most important task of organizing them will become much easier. Unfortunately, this important work has not yet been started in a properly organized and effective manner. In this matter, I have some plans of my own which I hope to be able to discuss with you in the near future.

Hoping you are well. With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
[S. M. ZAUQI]

[1]Francois Voltaire (1694-1778), the most famous figure of the 18th century French Enlightenment, said, "If God didn't exist, man would have to invent Him," in *Candide*, where he satirized traditional religious beliefs.

29

S. A. Latif to Rajendra Prasad

F. 102/20-5

YUSUF MANZIL,
ADIKMET,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
12 January 1940

My dear Doctor Sahib,

Kindly refer to your letter of January 2,[1] regarding the scheme of cultural distribution. My reply as under follows the order in which you have raised your points for elucidation.

ITEMS 1-4

On pages 35-36 of the *Muslim Problem in India*, I have said: "The creation of the above Hindu and Muslim zones should fulfil the political aspirations of every cultural unit, and provide for each a free homeland in extent of the habitable area proportional to its strength in the total population of India. The demarcation indicated here of the different zones is merely suggestive in character and may be determined properly by a Royal Commission appointed for the purpose". When initiating the idea, I could not have gone into minute details. At such a stage, it is the idea which is more important. The details will have to be worked out when the idea is accepted by the parties concerned. This may be done either by a Royal Commission or a national body working in four Committees, each for one of the four suggested blocs. I have calculated rough figures for the Muslim blocs on the basis of the last census, and have taken into consideration the probable rise in the Muslim population during the present decade, and the probable strength of the non-Hindu non-Muslims who would continue to remain where they are. I may, however, make it clear that it is the actual figures that will ultimately determine the demarcation of areas. I may now take up your items seriatim.

ITEM 1

I would concentrate all the Hindu and Sikh population of the N.W. Bloc minus Sindh in the Hindu and Sikh Indian States of the Punjab, and the Jammu portion of the State of the Maharajah of Kashmir and Jammu. The arrangement will necessitate an alteration in the boundaries of that State. The Kashmir or Western portion of the

State which is predominantly Muslim in population will need to be transferred to the present Punjab, and by way of compensation, a portion of the British Kangra Valley contiguous to Jammu added to the Maharajah's territory on the basis of respective land values. The balance, if any, may be adjusted by payment in cash by the government concerned.

The Hindus of Sindh can accommodate themselves in the adjoining area of Gujerat and Rajasthan when the Muslim population is shifted from there.

ITEM 2

The demarcation of Western Bengal to be assigned to the Hindu Bengalis is a matter of detail.

ITEM 3

The demarcation of the Delhi-Lucknow Bloc is also a matter of detail. But it will have to include the State of Rampur and a contiguous area which should cover Delhi, Agra, Cawnpore and Lucknow, and exclude the sacred Hindu places of Benares, Hardwar, Allahabad and Mathra. The Bloc is intended to accommodate the Muslims of U.P., Bihar and Central Indian Hindu States. The demarcation of the proposed Bloc is a matter of detail. Preparatory to the exchange of population, the British portion of the proposed Bloc should be constituted into a province having for its prime minister a Muslim.[2]

ITEM 4

The Deccan Bloc is indicative of the position where alone concentration of the Muslim population below the Vindyas and Satpuras could be effected, if we have, at the same time, to allow the Maharattas, the Andhras, the Kanaras, the Malayalis and the Tamilians homogeneous states with exclusive boundaries of their own.[3] Madras has been chosen as an outlet to the sea for this Bloc, because any other arrangement would destroy the homogeneity of the Hindu zones just referred to above. The suggested demarcation is based on the assumption that the Harijans of the proposed Muslim Bloc might choose not to shift from where they are, and will, therefore, include the quota of population that will have to be assigned to this Bloc. The actual demarcation is, of course, a matter of detail and will have to be settled between the Nizam of Hyderabad and the governments of the British areas to be affected.

ITEM 5

COST OF TRANSFER OF POPULATION

This is again a matter of detail which will have to be worked out by the Commission or the Committee to be. I may recommend to you the *Report of Commission Mixte Pour L'Exchange Des Populations Crecques Et Turques 1923* for general guidance. It will give you an idea as to the nature and extent of compensation which will have to be given to migrants for property in all forms left behind by them. It is not necessary that the migrant should carry with him all his moveables. Heavy moveables such as furniture and cattle may easily be disposed of by him before making a move. The compensation will be permissible only in respect of the immoveables such as land and houses, or any legal rights there in any form. In respect of such property, committees jointly approved by the governments involved will have to be appointed for each village and town, and registers prepared of different properties with their valuation assessed. The registers of such properties in the Blocs concerned will be made accessible to all those affected by the exchange. An agriculturist, for instance, leaving a particular Bloc will know what plots of the value of his own left behind are available on the other side. Before migrating, he will be given a chance to make his own selection and register his name for the land preferred in a certain order. And for making his choice in person, a period of one year will be given to him to visit the place he would like to settle in and to register his name for any particular plot of ground he would choose for himself. The bare expenses of his journey to and fro will be met from a common fund pooled, on the strength of a special taxation, by the governments of the two areas concerned. The evacuation will proceed piecemeal, village by village; so much so, that the process for any single Bloc might be spread over ten years or even a longer period. While leaving, each migrant would get from his former government a statement to the effect that he was leaving behind property worth so much and in such and such form. The statement or certificate will entitle him on the other side from his new government either the amount in cash or equivalent property as might be decided upon by the migrant.

This, in a rough way, will be the arrangement to be followed in effecting inter-migration and apportionment of compensation

ITEM 6

I have already indicated my answer to this question in the *Muslim Problem in India*. A Hindu or Muslim, or for that matter even a

foreigner, will be permitted to take up residence in every Bloc for purposes of business or education and similar objects. But he will be there as a national of the Bloc or country he comes from.

Propaganda for conversion, I would restrict; but full freedom of conscience would be allowed. If any individual or body of individuals in consequence change their religion, they will be entitled to migrate into a Bloc where they could live with those following their new religion, or allow their citizenship in the original Bloc to be governed by a "Public Law of Indian Nations" enacted for such purpose which should allow them the fullest rights of citizenship.

I would request you to read the 'Safeguards' once again given on pp. 36-37. For the sake of convenience, I reproduce:

Under the proposed order the following provisions will need to be embodied in the constitution:

1. *Public Law of Indian Nations*: Individuals belonging to one or other of the several nationalities may, for special purposes, live in zones to which they do not culturally belong. Such individuals will be afforded security of person and right of citizenship under a 'Public Law of Indian Nations' to be adopted by the Central Government.
2. *Religious Shrines, etc.:* All religious shrines, monuments and graveyards belonging to the Hindus or the Muslims and left behind by either will be preserved and looked after by each federal state under the supervision of the Central Government.
3. *Christians, Parsis, Buddhists, etc*: The smaller nationalities such as the Christians or Anglo-Indians, Parsis and Buddhists will be afforded by each state, Muslim or Hindu, all the necessary religious or cultural safeguards which they might need to preserve their individuality. They will at the same time have the right to ask for a cantonal life for themselves, if they should desire it at any time.
4. *Harijans:* The various Depressed Classes and Untouchables, styled *Harijans*, dispersed as they are all over the country and forming countless racial varieties and possessing no common culture between them, and being mostly landless, will be given perfect liberty to choose the Hindu or Muslim zones to form their permanent homelands where they will enjoy the fullest right of citizenship, even as the Christians or Anglo-Indians, Buddhists and Parsis [do].

ITEM 7

I have allowed the *Harijans* to remain where they like. They are

mostly a landless class and raise no serious question of compensation. My impression is that those living in areas to be reserved for Muslims may not find it profitable to shift along with the caste Hindus.

I have no right to call them either Hindus or non-Hindus. They will have to determine which they are.

If they, as a body, wish to leave the Bloc allotted to the Muslims, I should certainly raise no objection. Similarly, if they wish to stay where they are, I would let them do so. Indeed, I would give them a permanent interest in the land under some equitable distribution of the landed wealth of the Bloc concerned.

I think, I have answered all your points. If there is anything further that I may do, I am always at your service.

But I ask: why do you grow so pessimistic? Is our statesmanship so poor as to think only of what I consider a fatality? Can we not live together as we are on a humanistic basis agreeable to both of us? Will you be happy without me or I without you? Gandhiji having read the *Muslim Problem in India* writes to me:

"There are such fundamental differences between us that argument becomes useless. God will dispose of us and decide what is good for us".

He has despaired too soon. Tell him that we can create our own fates. They are not super-imposed, at all events, in such affairs. We perish by our own hands. And I do not wish either you or me to perish. Think of some suitable constitution for our country to be devised by easy means, a constitution which will give both of us equal freedom.

With deep regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. A. LATIF

Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
President, All India Congress Committee,
Camp Bajajwadi, Wardha

[1]No. 5.
[2]See S. A. Latif, *Muslim Problem in India*, 48.
[3]Ibid., 31-2.

30

K. Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/70

OVERSEAS IMPORTERS & TRADERS LIMITED,
82 COLOOTOLA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
12 January 1940

My dear Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

There cannot be two opinions regarding your venture to start a Muslim Press. I fully endorse your views. But so far as I have studied the cause of the failure of the Muslim journalistic enterprises I found that [the] only cause of their failure is that they are not run as commercial undertakings. They crave for charity.

The only appeal such journals make is that people should subscribe[to] them simply because they are Islamic journals. I do not see anything wrong in starting a powerful Muslim Press on pure and sound commercial basis. If a joint stock company is floated and first-class up-to-date daily and/or weekly are published, they will not only render untold benefit to the Muslim nation, but at the same time would bring monetary benefit to investors, provided of course the management is sound. If they fulfil the needs of their readers their success is assured, as they will make their need felt.

If the publications contain first-class reading matters plus they voice the Muslim cause, they will fulfil their purpose. They would not have to depend on charity, making their fate always dwindling; rather, if they are run on sound commercial basis not only would they become permanent but their fate will be secured.

If a shop-keeper has to sell a thing which the customer needs the sale is assured. So with journalism. If you give the reader what he needs he must buy your paper. As your circulation increases, so [does] the advertisement revenue, and thus the paper becomes self-supporting.

Before concluding I may add that please do not take the above lines as sarcastic comment or the like. I am the last person to do that. The respect you command in my heart is more nearly[*sic* for nearer] to

worshipfulness, hence this frankness.

Wassalaam

Most respectfully yours,
K. RAHMAN
Manufacturers' Representative

31

Syed Azizur Rahman Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/45-6

MULEKHAND, KOLABA,
BOMBAY,
13 January 1940

Sir,

As the Viceroy is to renew his efforts for Indian unity and since even Dr. Savarkar is to see you in the same connection, the strain and demand on your time and patience will be very heavy indeed. [May] God grant you strength, vision, and success.

Any compromise on League's claim to represent Muslim India will result in future dis-integration of the community—and Muslims eventually will be wiped off the Indian soil as they were done away with [*sic*] in Spain.

Sir Moh[amma]d Abdul Qadir (Lahore) is a non-party man and should command communal, official and country-wide confidence. Please write [to] or see him and get him to persuade *Ulama*, Ahrars, Khaksars, Shias, Sind and Frontier*walas* and the nationalist Muslims to support League contention for Muslim representation, at least for the time being. Sir Moh[mma]d Qadir is eminently fitted to do this, most successfully. May God help him.

Please declare *Baqar 'Id* day for offering special prayers for communal solidarity and inter-communal goodwill. For God's sake, give a clarion call to Muslims outside the League to come and share the power, to come along with the League, in the name of the community, no matter if they should join this organisation. This is no time to stand on dignities [*sic*] much less on personal considerations.

May these humble, practical suggestions meet [with] your approval.
Long live Jinnah!
Long live *Ameer-i-Millat*[of] Hindi Muslims!

Yours in faith,
S. A. R. SHAH

32

Tajuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/72

DISTRICT MUSLIM LEAGUE OFFICE,
JUBBULPORE,
13 January 1940

Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter dated 11.1.[19]40,[1] addressed to our President, I beg to submit herewith copies of all the correspondence[2] we had with the Associated Press of India.

The correspondent of Associated Press, Mr. H. C. Narad, has been an active worker of the Congress. He being the Publicity Secretary of the Mahokoshal Provincial Congress Committee, takes special pride in vilifying the Muslim League and its workers.

I have collected [a] few facts which I will supplement by more, soon.

Thanks for the trouble you have so kindly taken in the matter.

Yours obediently,
TAJUDDIN

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Enclosures 1 & 2. Also see F. 1098/73-6, *QAP*. Not printed.

Enclosure 1 to No. 32
General Secretary, Reception Committee, Muslim League Conference, to the Editor, the Leader, *Allahabad, & Others*

F. 1098/77-8

JUBBULPORE,
25 December 1939

Dear Sir,

Your Jubbulpore correspondent whom we presume or doubt to

be no less than the arch-enemy of Muslim League and Musalmans, named Hukum Chand Narad, who takes pride always in sending news and views against Musalmans and Muslim League, has again played havoc regarding the last riot of Jubbulpore but the worst offence which he [has] committed is by sending maliciously false information telling the intending visitors and leaders that Muslim League Conference which is to be held on 1st, 2nd and 3rd January 1940 is cancelled *sine die* under instructions from Mr. M. A. Jinnah. This wire has been purposely sent to create a false notion and upset all our arrangements and to put us in [*sic* for to] great loss. When we had spent thousands of rupees on all our work, it has put us to heavy loss in addition to mental worry.

We propose, after opening [of] the Courts, to start legal proceedings against you and the said correspondent, which please note.

It is needless to say that you refuse even to publish our prepaid press messages which, if published along with this false information, would have mitigated the evil done by him.

You have full right to keep your paper and news agency a full-fledged Hindu organisation but we expected that in love for propaganda such mean tactics will not be played [*sic*].

The Muslim League Conference is to be held on 1st, 2nd and 3rd January, 1940, which date you may even now announce, but take it from me that this announcement should not be taken as withdrawal of our right to sue you.

Yours faithfully,
[UNSIGNED]
General Secretary,
Reception Committee, Muslim League Conference

Enclosure 2 to No. 32
Associated Press, Bombay, to General Secretary, Reception Committee, Muslim League Conference

F. 1098/79-80

JUBBULPORE,
29 December 1939

Dear Sir,

We have received your letter of December 27, that you cannot permit our correspondent to attend your local conference.

If your assertion that our correspondent has an anti-Muslim bias

is based on the statement contained in your circular letter of December 25 that our correspondent has incorrectly reported the cancellation of the conference, then you will perceive that your conclusion is false.

We are prepared to give the fullest investigation to any complaint which your body may desire to make against the impartiality of our correspondent but we are not prepared to accept your conclusions in advance of this evidence. Furthermore, it is in no circumstances our practice to accept reports and to issue them under the caption of the Associated Press unless these reports are supplied by our correspondent. That being so, it seems to me that if you are unable to permit our correspondent to attend your conference, then we shall not, of course, be able to carry reports on your conference in our service.

We shall notify the newspapers accordingly and propose to send copies of all this correspondence to Mr. Jinnah, to the Secretary of the All India Muslim League, to Sikander Hyat Khan and to Mr. Fazlul Huq.

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
General Manager, Associated Press

PS. If you adhere to your refusal to give facilities to our correspondent, please telegraph us on the 30th or 31st.

33

Hafiz Mohamed Siddiq to Associated Press of India & Others
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 833/16-7

TAUFIQ MANZIL,
CAWNPORE,
14 January 1940

Dear Sir,

Perhaps you will remember that in the days of the Civil Disobedience campaign of the Congress, the news about the Congress meetings, processions and other activities, which were [*sic* for was] being supplied to the papers, either by the Associated Press of India or through other means, it was clearly mentioned whether the Muslims and other minorities also took part or not and what was their percentage. But unfortunately this is not being done now, and every Congress

meeting and procession is being described as a 'public meeting' and 'public procession' and in this way the world is being drifted [*sic*] to a misunderstanding.

A press or a news agency has full right to propagate for the Congress as far as it likes but it has no authority to associate the Muslims and other minorities with the things with which they have no concern at all.

Will you kindly direct your correspondents that about all such meetings, processions and other activities they should, in future, clearly point out to what extent the Muslims and other minorities took interest, particularly for the 26th January 1940 when the Independence Day will be celebrated by the Congress.

Yours faithfully,
HAFIZ M. SIDDIQ
Member, Provincial Muslim League Council, U.P.

34

M. A. Jinnah to H. Abdoola Haroon

F. 274/103

BOMBAY,
14 January 1940

Dear Sir Abdoola,

I have got the information—of course I do not know how far it is true—that there was some trouble at Manora among the Muslim [naval] ratings, as some officers of the Navy there interfered with the prayers. I have not been able to get any reliable information but I am told that some of the members of the Muslim League at Karachi know about it.

I would therefore like you to let me know what the correct facts are.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

35

Kazi Abdul Gaffar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/89-92

CAMP POONA,
14 January 1940

Dear Sir,

It is obvious you will take advantage of the offer of Mr. [Subhas Chandra] Bose and Mr. [V.D.] Savarkar towards forming a coalition Union of Indian nations. I would suggest the name as Indian National Union. This will be a good blow to the Congress domination. It is advisable to call a meeting of representatives of [Hindu] Mahasabha, the forwards, the Depressed Classes, the Parsis, Christians and Anglo-Indians, including those of Maratha group and the liberals. At this meeting all the points that need consideration may be discussed and decided. I am of the opinion that for the present a Working Committee suitably represented may be formed, the decisions of which would be binding on all the communities to follow. The leadership of this may be kept in three or four hands, your goodself, Savarkar, Bose, Ambedkar and one liberal. As regards the Muslim-Hindu communal questions, there are two main points of quarrel: The drumming before the mosques; (2) the cow-killing.

The first can be decided straightaway; that the worship places of all religions must be given respect by all by stopping the drummers a few paces nearby, including the churches and fire temples. The second cannot be decided and may be kept lose [*sic*] in the hands of local leaders, to decide a quarrel if it does arise at any time by advising the followers to do self-sacrifice in the interest of the others and this can be managed by two or three local representatives of each community who can be selected as leaders for each town or area to settle down [*sic*] matters of dispute. The opinion of public can be gathered on such points by leaders on the spot to handle it jointly and as tactfully as practicable. The differences arising may be referred to the Working Committee or "Supreme Command of the people".

This Union can be mentioned "of people believing in God", against the Bolsheviks, the Congressmen, who have tried to interfere in religious matters of all communities, particularly the Hindus [*sic*]. As regards political questions affecting various communities, none apparently knows them better than you do. All the same, I would

deal [with] them with perfect duplicity [*sic*], so that our own aims should not be lost as well as the present aim of knocking out the Congress should also become effective and decisive.

Trusting this finds you in the best of health and wishing you a long, healthy and happy life in the interest of the community and the country,

Yours faithfully,
KAZI ABDUL GAFFAR

PS. It may also be mentioned here that the leaders and town representatives will take [it] as binding on themselves to do their utmost to help the Depressed Classes by educating them and bringing them to their [own] standard of living; of course they should have decent areas for living and places for praying; that should be arranged straightaway by raising funds. It may be brought home to Mr. Bose, if he be against accepting office or the dominion status, that it is absolutely essential to win authority immediately if he does want to gain a following and bring the Congress high command down, which is doing at present greater mischief to the people of this country than any one else.

36

Mohamed Burhanulhaq to Francis Verner Wylie
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 1098/95

JUBBULPORE,
15 January 1940

May it please Your Excellency,

We have collected some funds for the relief of Turkish sufferers in the recent earthquake and we asked Mr. M. A. Jinnah requesting him to tell us to whom to remit the same. He has been pleased to instruct us to send the same to Your Excellency as contribution collected on behalf of the District Muslim League. We therefore enclose, as first instalment, a draft of Rs. 1000 (one thousand) with the request that the same be sent to proper authorities through Government channel.

Please excuse the trouble we are giving Your Excellency.
We beg to remain,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
MOHAMED BURHANULHAQ
President,
District Muslim League

37

Mohamed A. Memon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/48

71 KAMBEKER STREET,
BOMBAY,
15 January 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Holy *Moharram* is drawing near. A very sad occasion though it is, almost all Muslim streets have their own decorations and *Majalis*, at about three places each, and more than a lakh of rupees make its way out of Muslim pockets. If this function is systematically and economically organised, the Muslims can spare a vast sum of at least three-fourths of a lakh and thereby they can lend honourable help to their brave Turkish brethren who have now been victims to nature's anger. This is the summary of my article published in the *Jam-i-Jamshed* (special edition) today, and here is the cutting[1] of it. On a similar occasion during the month of November, I had sent two letters to the League Secretary, Bombay, but so far the letters remain unanswered, and naturally I concluded that my suggestions were not worth the Muslim League's consideration and then adopted this course. The reason why I venture to take your most valuable time (for which I beg your pardon) with this letter is that the point under consideration here is not only economic but political too, and since the League is striving hard for its own Press Fund, I believe this is the best occasion to get a very substantial amount towards the Press Fund as well. I hope the local Muslim League authorities will take this matter into their hands.

May I await a reply to this letter at least?

Yours very humbly,
MOHAMED A. MEMON

[1]Not traceable.

38

S. Pattabhiram to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1084/30-4

THE ASHRAMA, LUZ CHURCH ROAD,
MYLAPORE,
MADRAS,
15 January 1940

Dear Sir,

I had the temerity to despatch to you telegrams from Coonoor last month regarding the celebration of the Day of Deliverance, and I trust that you duly received them there. The Muslim League Branch in Coonoor is an enthusiastic body, and the officials thereof insisted upon my taking the most prominent part in the celebration not only of the Day of Deliverance but of your birthday[as well], and I could not but comply with their wish, out of my whole-hearted admiration for yourself. Perhaps, you may remember that I wrote to you from here, in 1935, a very exhaustive note concerning my political faith. To me, then, your attitude in respect of Indian politics is as broad as daylight, with its patent integrity of motives as well as of purpose. I have confessed to my illustrious friend and well-wisher, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, the *Dewan* of Travancore, to my absolute notion that you alone could do what nobody else has been able to do in India, and that you alone would appear to have been destined to play the role of checking the Congress Working Committee. If you and I are ever to meet each other, and to talk over the cardinal principles of my political faith, to which the *Dewan* of Travancore has remained no stranger all along, you will be able to realise what an overwhelming earnestness of conviction has always (underlain) [*sic*] my entire outlook on Indian politics. Did I not tell Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in Ootacamund in May last year that you alone could accomplish in British India the comparative wonder of reining in the vagaries of the Congress Working Committee? My prognostications in respect of your activities relating to the Congress leaders have been proved to be true to the very letter, and none who has ever understood me could be taken by surprise, therefore, by the unreserved and stintless esteem which you happen to extort from me by dint of your surpassing merit and political perspicacity. It needs no ghost to come and tell us that, were it not for you, at this

moment, in this hour of grave peril, the Congress Working Committee should have precipitated a crisis, involving the country in all the woes of another outbreak of civil disobedience.

I enclose herewith a copy of what I have written out as an address[1] to be delivered on the Day of Deliverance, of what indeed was taken to have been delivered on that day. I laid aside that address, and I went on speaking to the people in Tamil, dwelling on some of the salient points contained in it. I should like to ask you to read it with extraordinary care, and to have it published as a tract for the Muslim League, and it may be circulated everywhere, and particularly at the next session of the All India Muslim League. It may be presented to the delegates assembled therein from all parts of the country. I hope that you will be able to devote your very real and concrete attention to the reading of the address that I am sending on to you, now. I may tell you in this context that I shall be placing copies of it before Lord Meston and Mr. Geoffrey Dawson, the editor of the *Times*, whom I happen to know, with a large measure of access into their inner chamber. I may observe that I have had the privilege of being introduced to Lord Meston by H. E. Lord Carmichael, and Mr. Geoffrey Dawson is a son-in-law to H. E. Sir Arthur Lawley (Lord Wenlock) who entertained the warmest regard for my father-in-law, V. Krishnaswami Iyer.

I have some strong and very valid claims upon yourself; for Gopala Krishna Gokhale used to identify my father-in-law with himself most intimately as regarded his whole public life, and he looked upon you as the ambassador of the Hindu-Muslim amity. I read last night in the *Madras Mail* that you would be going to Madras towards the end of this month. I should like to urge upon you the desirability of your tour of South India, in continuation of your visit to Madras. I look forward, most eagerly, to your visit to Madras in order that I may cultivate your friendship to the most far-reaching ends.

I should like to ask Lord Meston, who has expressed to me his interest in the political "battle" in which I have been engaged, to see that copies of the address which I am sending to you, now, are circulated in Great Britain and in the United States. A few years ago, Lord Catto was so exceedingly kind as to despatch to the Morgans in the United States copies of my contributions to the *Madras Mail* on the problems of Indian politics. Lord Meston may exert himself so much as to place it before the Members of the British Cabinet, and, if possible, before [US] President [Franklin D] Roosevelt.

I should like to exhort you to conduct yourself suitably unto the

highest expectations which have been already raised in almost every quarter where the Congress totalitarian methods have caused the most acute and painful misgivings in the minds of those who cherish the traditions of liberty and of the highest [*sic*] parliamentary government in India. For over several years I have held the view that India is no congenial soil for the growth of democracy on the British model, and I have expressed it to Earl Peel,[2] in particular. Yours is just now the most golden and priceless opportunity of organising, if you will, the Party in opposition in India, to which all those who have been put out of countenance by the Congress Working Committee are certain to contribute whole-heartedly. I should hazard the conjecture that the Indian States may well be inclined to regard you as their positive redeemer, and, with the help and the co-operation of Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, which I would rather mortgage myself to secure for you, out of his grasp and understanding of my political ideas and passion, you can go a long way towards the most urgent goal of the mobilisation of the Party in opposition in India. Said Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyer to me last Sunday evening, "The attitude of the *Dewan* of Travancore has infused fresh strength and courage in some twenty Indian States!" If you would deign to assimilate and absorb into the sanctum of the Muslim League every force and institution in the country which honestly thinks that it has been not only put out of court but despised, insulted and injured by the totalitarian Congress Working Committee, need I hesitate to assure you that you are bound to meet with amazing success in regard to the taming of these typical nabobs of the Congress Working Committee, Mr. M. K. Gandhi and his right-hand colleagues and followers?

I am interested in making your visit to Madras a phenomenal success. I would arrange for a public gathering at which I would fain ask Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyangar to preside. He will very gladly, and you may point out the menace of the totalitarian Congress activities. You may seriously think of enrolling him as a member of the Muslim League, in so far as he, at one time, chanced to gain your confidence, and succeeded in convincing you of the patriotic comprehensiveness and capacity of his vision. You may seriously think of going to Madura and Srirangam, especially, where the Congress Ministry, in office in this Presidency, has distinctly outraged public conscience and liberty. I am interested in your visit to Travancore also, where your presence will be calculated to expose the hollowness, the farce and the hypocrisy of the so-called State Congress agitation. I shall be writing to the *Dewan* of Travancore

about it myself.

I should like to conclude this note with the expression of my desire that you should allow me the freedom of communicating to you my thoughts on Indian politics, directly and personally. You are the man of destiny, being yourself the divinely-ordained political prophet of the spirit of democracy in our land. I flatter myself with the idea that the moment of our meeting in Madras will be fraught [*sic*] with great consequences not only to the future of the Muslim League and to the unbroken continuity of all that the Muslim League stands for, but to myself. For I am apt to believe that I may be drawn very near to you, what with the faith that animates me in relation to our most vexed politics. When my father-in-law left for Delhi for the Imperial *Durbar* held there in December, 1911, he did that time entertain the liveliest hopes that he would be able to impress the most noble the Marquess of Crewe, who, then, accompanied the King, Emperor, George V, as the Secretary of State for India. You are as puissant as the Marquess of Crewe, to-day, and I am fond enough to hope that I shall be fortunate enough to impress you satisfactorily, if I should happen to meet you and to talk to you here in Madras. For the purposes and the objectives which I have prized are so inviolable and superb, and you fall in with myself so thoroughly as our political opposition to the totalitarian Congress leaders. Heaven knows how inestimably the country stands indebted to you at this instant for the unfaltering courage with which you have taken up the gauntlet that the Congress dictators have thrown down. May you live long, for a great many years, blessed enough to achieve whatever has remained dearest to your heart in respect of our politics, to organise the most formidable and withering [*sic*] opposition that Mr. M. K. Gandhi has ever met with, and to lay the foundations of the one Party in opposition in India!

With every earnest good wish, and with the warmest, grateful esteem,

I am,
yours very truly,
S. PATTABHIRAM

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Secretary of State for India, 1922-24; 1928-29.

39

Homi Taraporewalla to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1058/8-10

RAWALPINDIVALA BUILDING,
TRIBHUVAN ROAD, BOMBAY,
15 January 1940

Dear friend, Mr. Jinnah,

I, Homi Taraporewalla, telephoned you on Monday morning and you asked me to send you my queries in black and white. I take this opportunity to do so. In a letter like this, only a bare outline can be discussed. Anyway, I straightaway come to the point.

In Europe, at present, war is fought in terms of ammunition but in India, too, a mighty war is raging. This is a wordy warfare which is much disastrous to the welfare of Hindus and Muslims alike. This state of affairs should be stopped, and the sooner the better. Dear friend, believe me to be best friend of the Muslims of India even when I say some harsh words about them, because they are all enshrined [*sic*] with deep love for them. I claim to know Mahatma Gandhiji's mind. To him Muslims of India are as dear as the Hindus. If Hindu-Muslim unity can ever be achieved, it is only during his life-time that we can hope so. If you will walk in his direction one mile, he will walk in your direction two miles. It may sound displeasing to you but nevertheless it is the fact.

One fails to understand why you should insist on the Muslim League grievances against the late Congress governments being examined by a Royal Commission and not by the judges of the Federal Court of India. Are the latter partial towards the Congress? That can be the only valid reason for your doing so. Others tell me that you want to make the world believe that India is divided into watertight compartments and therefore unfit for her political aspirations. In other words you want to obstruct the progress of India. I hope that this is all false. Why does not the Muslim League like the idea of Constituent Assembly? The cry is 'Hindu majority, Hindu majority'. It is an open secret that in any kind of constitution framed for India, the Hindus by virtue of their numerical strength will always be in a majority. We all are sons and daughters of the same mother, viz. India. It is but natural that two brothers in a house should quarrel at some time or other but their dignity lies in

co-operating with one another after the storm is over. So we should never say that Hindus are more untrustworthy than the English who live five thousand miles away. What does it matter who is in power? A Hindu *raj* or a Muslim *raj* should mean the same thing as long as the legitimate rights of the opposite parties are protected and respected. I believe the Constituent Assembly idea can satisfy us all. Its provisions and implications, as I understand, are these: let the whole of India elect her representatives, say about one thousand. The quality is required and not the quantity. Therefore these one thousand in their turn may elect fifty or one hundred as the necessity may require [*sic*]. These fifty or one hundred will frame the constitution. What about the minority? Yes, the Hindus will be in a majority but while framing the new constitution for India, all the rights and interests affecting the welfare of the minority will be determined by the minority representatives. Thus the Muslim rights and interests will be determined by the majority of Muslim representatives. Should there be any difference, the League of Nations[1] will be asked to decide. Such being the provisions of the Constituent Assembly idea [*sic*], one fails to understand why the Muslim League should discard this view. I hope, you will throw light on this problem. You see, in this case, there is no question of the majority community exploiting the minority.

To come to the grievances again. Are all the grievances of the Muslims of India more important than India's freedom from foreign bondage? Hindus and Muslims are both deprived of their bread and butter by our common enemy—the British Imperialism. Signs are not wanting to show that sooner or later the Congress may launch *Satyagraha*[2] movement. What shall be the attitude of the Muslim League if at all it comes to pass? I remember, my friend, that the Working Committee of the Muslim League once passed a resolution wherein all the Muslim League members were required to use *Khaddar*[3] made by the Muslims of villages. A Muslim weaver is as dear to us as any other Indian and therefore we would like that all the Muslims of India should encourage, if not the Indian village crafts, at least the articles made by the Muslim brothers. I hope that that resolution will be emphasized once more and not remain a paper resolution.

You will be surprised to learn that I am a Parsi youth. But what does it matter whether I am a Parsi, a Hindu or a Muslim. We are all Indians first and everything else afterwards. Excuse me for the trouble

given. Thanking you, brother, in anticipation,

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

HOMI TARAPOREWALLA

N.B. As your reply will be in the public interest inasmuch as it will throw more light on the much discussed problems, I hope with your kind permission to send it to the press. Anyway, I leave it entirely to your hand, if I should do so.

[1]Formed after the First World War to promote international peace and cooperation. The United States of America never joined it. It proved feckless when faced with the emergence of jingoistic regimes and the rise of aggressive nationalism in Germany, Italy and Japan, which led to the Second World War. The League was formally dissolved in 1946 after the United Nations had come into being in 1945.

[2]Passive resistance, especially to British rule in India, as a policy. The concept of passive resistance derives from the work of the 19th century American writer, Henry David Thoreau.

[3]Hindi word meaning homespun cloth.

40

Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/101

MOUNT ROAD P. O.,
MADRAS,
16 January 1940

My dear leader,

I am very much obliged to you for your kind letter. Your instructions with regard to non-official advisers will be carefully remembered by me and carried out. It has been reported that you met the Viceroy in Bombay[1] and had a long talk. I dare say that the Viceroy will remain firm about the assurances given to the Muslim League. Perhaps, he may have consulted you about the likelihood of appointing non-official advisers in the provinces.

I have seen in the papers that you are likely to go to Hyderabad next week. I have also been invited to attend the annual session of the Majlis Ittehad[-ul-Muslimeen] of Hyderabad and I shall be glad

to avail myself of this opportunity to meet you there.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

[1]Linlithgow did visit Bombay, in early January 1940, and announce, in a speech at the Orient Club, that "full Dominion Status... of the Statute of Westminster variety" was the ultimate aim of the British Government for India, and that they were prepared "as soon as practicable" to reopen the entire scheme of the Government of India Act 1935. See Stanley Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, Karachi, 1989, 178.

41

Mir Maqbool Mahmood[1] to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/99

COUNCIL HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
16 January 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

In continuation of my talks with you at the Victoria [Railway] Station [Bombay], when you were leaving for Matheran, may I request your early consideration of the proposal to explore the possibilities of a minorities pact, including the minorities in British India and the States. Later, should you consider it advisable, you could negotiate with the other non-Congress parties, such as the Liberals and the Mahasabhaites, on the basis of minorities pact.

The meetings of the Standing Committee of the [Chamber of] Princes are due to take place in Delhi from the 24th to 26th instant (both inclusive). I shall be grateful if you will kindly intimate to me whether you are likely to be in Delhi during these days.

Kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
MIR MAQBOOL MAHMOOD

[1]Secretary, Indian Chamber of Princes.

42

M. K. Gandhi to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (121)

SEGAON,
16 January 1940

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hate to write 'Mr.' before an Indian name. It is so unnatural. Hence I have been writing of you as *Janab* Jinnah Sahib according to the usage taught me by the late Hakim Sahib.[1] But Amtul Salam tells me that in the League circles you are always called Quaid-i-Azam. And you will see from the enclosed how the finishing touch[es] was [*sic*] given by a telegram I received from Gulbarga. I hope you will accept my assurance that what I have done has been done in good faith and out of regard for you. If otherwise, I shall respect your wishes.

The purpose of writing this letter is to send you the enclosed advance copy of the article I have sent to [the] *Harijan*. I have written it to further the end I have read in your recent message[2] and actions. I know that you are quite capable of rising to the height required for the noble motive I have attributed to you. I do not mind your opposition to the Congress. But your plan to amalgamate all the parties opposed to the Congress at once gives your movement a national character. If you succeed you will free the country from the communal incubus and in my humble opinion give a lead to the Muslims and others for which you will deserve the gratitude not only of the Muslims but of all the other communities[as well]. I hope that my interpretation is correct. If I am mistaken, you will please correct me.

This is a purely personal, private, friendly letter. But you are free to make public use of it if you think it necessary.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[1]Hakim Ajmal Khan (1863-1927); renowned Indian practitioner of indigenous (*Yunani*) medicine; nationalist leader; President, AIML, Amritsar, 1919; President, INC, Ahmedabad, 1921.

[2]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 428 & 430.

Enclosure to No. 42

A WELCOME MOVE

On the Deliverance [and] Thanksgiving Day, declared by Jinnah Sahib, I had the following wire from Gulbarga Muslims:

Deliverance Day greetings, Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah *Zindabad*.

I took it as a message sent to ruffle my feelings. The senders little knew that the wire could not serve its purpose. When I received it, I silently joined the senders in the wish, 'Long Live Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah.' The Quaid-i-Azam is an old comrade. What does it matter that to-day we do not see eye to eye in some matters? That can make no difference in my good-will towards him.

But the Quaid-i-Azam has given me special reason for congratulating him. I had the pleasure of wiring him congratulations on his excellent *'Id* day broadcast.[1] And now he commands further congratulations on forming pacts with parties who are opposed to the Congress policies and politics. He is thus lifting the Muslim League out of the communal rut and giving it a national character. I regard his step as perfectly legitimate. I observe that the Justice Party and Dr. Ambedkar's party have already joined Jinnah Sahib. The papers report, too, that Shree Savarkar, the President of the Hindu Mahasabha, is to see him presently. Jinnah Sahib himself has informed the public that many non-Congress Hindus have expressed their sympathy with him. I regard this development as thoroughly healthy. Nothing can be better than [that] we should have in the country mainly two parties—the Congress and non-Congress or anti-Congress, if the latter expression is preferred. Jinnah Sahib is giving the word 'minority' a new and good content. The Congress majority is made up of a combination of caste-Hindus, non-caste Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis and Jews. Therefore, it is a majority drawn from all classes, representing a particular body of opinion, and the proposed combination becomes a minority by commending itself to the electorate. Such an alignment of parties is "a consummation devoutly to be wished."[2] If the Quaid-i-Azam can bring about the combination, not only I but the whole of India will shout with one acclamation: "Long Live Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah." For he will have brought about permanent and living unity for which I am sure the whole nation is thirsting.

[M. K. GANDHI]

[1] See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 412 & 414.

[2] The words appearing within quotation marks, which have been inserted editorially, are from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

43

Moulvi Muhammad Abdullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/96-97

PATAN
BARODA STATE,
16 January 1940

Sir,

I, the undersigned Moulvi Muhammad Abdullah of Patan (N. G.), beg to state the following for [your] kind consideration.

We are well aware of the general catastrophe which has ruined Turkey and we deeply regret and also pray whole-heartedly that God the Great may redress [*sic*] their pain with His benevolence.

We have read your appeal to help the *bahadur* Turks and as such here in Patan we are amassing [*sic*] the Turks Relief Fund which we hope to send it [*sic*] to you with the hope of adding to the Fund which has been recently started by you.

We have an idea to travel in several villages for the same purpose and hope to collect a good sum. We definitely want to bring to your kind notice that we shall stand in need of a regular receipt from your office for the sum, whatever will be sent to you in due course.

To encourage us in our work we hope that we shall be favoured with a favourable reply soon. We have begun the work and to expedite it your reply is necessary.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
MOULVI MUHAMMAD ABDULLAH

44

Mirza Kazim Ali Baig to M. A. Jinnah

F. 976/16

HYDERABAD, DN.,
16 January 1940

Respected Sir,

I feel it an honour to address you in this letter. As the Convenor of the Guroh-i-Husaini, I beg to put some facts before you as an introduction

to the Guroh.

This assembly of Shia Muslims of Hyderabad has originally convened for religious purposes but owing to last year's political disturbances it was automatically turned into a semi-political body to function as a joining link between the two prominent sects of Islam, namely Shias and Sunnis. During the last disturbance of Lucknow, the duty of keeping the two sects of our community reconciled were [*sic*] entrusted to this assembly and by dint of tact and careful handling we managed to keep the tranquilant [*sic*] atmosphere of our community.

On this occasion of your visit to Hyderabad in connection with the annual session of Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, I as the convener of this assembly hopefully beg you to patronize us and with a word of your encouragement give us the most coveted honour for the Muslims of India.

May I hope that you will give some minutes and address our assembly and the Musalmans of Hyderabad from our stage under the presidentship of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung.

Believe me, this happy gesture will help us a lot to prolong [*sic*] and consolidate our mission of peace and cordial relations [between] different sects of Islam.

Needless to say that our mission is unity and solidarity of Islam.

I request you to kindly fix the date and inform me at your earliest convenience or by telegram to enable me to make the necessary arrangements.

I thank you, respected Sir,

Yours obediently,
MIRZA KAZIM ALI BAIG
Sirguroh,
Guroh-i-Husaini

45

Muhammad Ghulam Quadir Chaudhury to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/103 A

MAUNGDAW,
AKYAB, BURMA,
17 January 1940

Sir,

The members of the Anjuman-i-Isha'at-i-Islam, comprising the three

townships of Buthidaung-Maungdaw-Rathedaung, beg to forward herewith through you, our and their accredited leader, our and their sincere and heartfelt sympathy and fellow-feelings to our Turkish brethren in Anatolia in their recent misfortune caused by the earthquake and floods and pray that you would be graciously pleased to convey the same to the proper quarters.

May I enquire of you where we will have to send the money to be raised by us towards the Turkish Earthquake Relief Fund?

Thanking you very high [*sic*] in eager anticipation of an early information,

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
MUHAMMAD GHULAM QUADIR CHAUDHURY
Honorary Joint Secretary,
Anjuman-i-Isha'at-i-Islam

46

S. A. M. Jaffree to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/108

DELHI,
18 January 1940

Dear Sir,

The Council of the Provincial Muslim League Delhi, at its last meeting, has resolved unanimously to recommend the name of Quaid-i-Azam Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah to be the President of the Session of the All India Muslim League to be held at Lahore in March 1940.

Yours faithfully,
SYED ABDUL MOHIE JAFFREE
Honorary General Secretary

47

Abdul to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/78

BOMBAY,
19 January 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Just a few lines, Mr. Jinnah, before you leave for Delhi. We are very much worried to think that once again these wretched Congress Ministries will be in power; there is a strong rumour that they are coming back to office again. Now, dear Mr. Jinnah, the key is in your hands; please see that they do not come again. You don't know what harm they have done to us. Your Deliverance Day of prayers was such a success that I only hope they do not come back. I beg of you, Mr. Jinnah, not to come to any settlement with these horrible Congressmen. You are sent by God to protect the minority, so please do your best and see that they are not back in office. They are all saying that they will be in office in Feb[ruar]y or March. Please, Mr. Jinnah, I pray that they may not come again.

May God bless you, Mr. Jinnah, and give you courage to face the difficult times we are facing.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL

48

S. Adbuthananda to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/111-2

17 CHULIA STREET, PENANG,
MALAYA,
20 January 1940

Respected Sir,

In British Malaya, there are 6,24,069 Indians as per 1931 census, of whom Hindus are 509, 202; Muslims 56, 566; Sikhs 18, 180; Buddhists 1, 204; Christians 36, 614; others 2,303. Hindus are lawyers, doctors, peasants, merchants and labourers. Muslims are rich merchants,

businessmen, artisans, labourers and others. Sikhs are constables, *durwans*, merchants, artisans and bullock-cart drivers. This is a short sketch of the situation of the Indians in the British Malaya.

2. In 1929, Mr.E.V.R.[1] of South India came and established his Self-Respect Movement among the Hindus, after the veteran poet Rabindranath Tagore had been in Malaya to raise donations for his Bolpur academy[2] and Mr. Prakhasam of the *Swarajya*, daily of Madras, for raising shares for his limited concern, which the Muslims of Malaya had subscribed greatly.

3. In 1938, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru came to Malaya and returned to India after a wide tour in Malaya, arranged by the Central Indian Association. During his tour he preached the aims and objects of the Congress and carried support from all the Indians in the British Malaya.

4. Your message of the 'Deliverance Day' awakened the Muslims, when they were arranging [*sic*] your 64th birthday, in parallel [*sic*] to the birthday celebrations of Gandhiji and Jawaharlal, which were celebrated under the auspices of the Indian Associations in Malaya. Towards it, they formed working committees in all parts of Malaya, and in uniform [*sic*] undertook the responsibility of celebrating the 'Deliverance Day' and the birthday and sent you, Respected Sir, cables and messages with other letters of information. The local English and Tamil papers voiced these celebrations as inopportune one[s], while those of Congress trend wrote against. [*sic*]

5. It is now desired by the Muslim public and the Self-Respect Movement in Malaya that you should grace the land with a visit. The reception committee which will be formed towards it will arrange a tour for you by air, rail and motor, to the important cities of Malaya and group the public to meet you and satisfy their long-felt desire to hear you and be satisfied by the ideals you will infuse regarding the at date [*sic*] questions. The Chinese, the Malays and the other Eurasian and European population of Malaya will also be invited to meet and hear you.

6. On knowing [of] your consent to visit Malaya, a reception committee will be formed to place [*sic*] its invitation to you for your approval and necessary publication and other undertakings.

7. You will be asked to travel by air via Calcutta, Rangoon, Bangkok, Alor Star (Kedah), and reach Penang. After a reception and stay in Penang you will have to travel by air to Singapore, which is the capital city of Malaya and one of the finest harbours in the world. Your return journey to Penang will be arranged by motor and rail, in order to take the plane to Bombay via Bangkok, Rangoon, Calcutta–all booking and other expenses will be borne, for yourself

and a Secretary to accompany you, in advance by the reception committee.

8. This is, in short, Respected Sir, our earnest attempt to receive you and make the Indian public residing in Malaya meet you and hear your message, as they did in 1938 the lectures of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Awaiting your affirmed reply to proceed on our attempts. Thanking you,

Yours cordially,
S. ADBUTHANANDA

Note: The signatory had the privilege of meeting you at the Nagpur Congress when the Right Hon'ble Colonel Wedgewood Benn and the Right Hon'ble Captain Knight visited and Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar presided.

[1]E.V.Ramaswami Naicker (1880-1974), leader of the Justice Party of South India.
[2]Santiniketan, near Bolpur in Bengal.

49

M. A. Jinnah to M. K. Gandhi

QAD (122)

BOMBAY,
21 January 1940

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

I am in receipt of your letter of 16th January[1] and the advance copy of the article you have sent to the *Harijan*. I not only thank you for your courtesy but also for your anxiety to further the end you have been reading in my message and actions. I, however, regret to have to say that your premises are wrong as you start with the theory of an Indian nation that does not exist, and naturally, therefore, your conclusions are wrong. I should have thought, however, that you at least would not be led away by one-sided newspaper reports and canards. There is so much in your article which is the result of imagination. It is due partly to the fact that you are living a secluded life at Segaon and partly because all your thoughts and actions are guided by [your]"inner voice". You have very little concern with realities, or what might be termed by an ordinary mortal [as] "practical politics." I sometimes wonder what can be common between practical politics and yourself, between democracy and the dictator of a political organisation of which you are not even a

four-*anna* member. But that is, I suppose, because you do not consider the Congress worthy of your membership.

I am glad to learn that you were not ruffled by the "Deliverance Day" greetings sent to you from Gulbarga. It was indeed noble of you to join in the silent prayer, "Long live Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah." Although these are trivial matters, I nevertheless appreciate that you have realised the true inward meaning and significance of the Deliverance Day.

It is true that many non-Congress Hindus expressed their sympathy with the Deliverance Day in justice to our cause, so also the leaders of the Justice party and the Scheduled Castes and the Parsis who had suffered. But I am afraid that the meaning which you have tried to give to this alignment shows that you have not appreciated the true significance of it. It was partly a case of "adversity bringing strange bed-fellows together," and partly because common interest may lead Muslims and minorities to combine. I have no illusions in the matter, and let me say again that India is not a nation, nor a country. It is a sub-continent composed of nationalities, Hindus and Muslims being the two major nations. Today you deny that religion can be a main factor in determining a nation, but you yourself, when asked what your motive in life—, the thing that leads us to do what we do, —was whether it was religious, social, or political, said: "Purely religious!" This was the question asked [of] me by the late Mr. Montagu when I accompanied a deputation which was purely political. "How you, social reformer," he exclaimed, "have found your way into this crowd?" My reply was that it was only an extension of my social activity. I could not be leading a religious life unless I identified myself with the whole of mankind, and that I could not do unless I took part in politics. The gamut of man's activity today constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into watertight compartments. I do not know any religion apart from human activity. It provides a moral basis to all activities which they would otherwise lack, reducing life to a maze of 'sound and fury signifying nothing'.[2]

More than any one else, you happen to be the man today who commands the confidence of Hindu India and are in a position to deliver the goods on their behalf. Is it too much to hope and expect that you might play your legitimate role and abandon your chase after a mirage? Events are moving fast, a campaign of polemics, or your weekly discourse in the *Harijan* on metaphysics, philosophy and ethics, or your peculiar doctrines regarding *khaddar*, *ahimsa* and spinning are not going to win India's freedom. Action and statesmanship

alone will help us in our forward march. I believe that you might still rise to your stature in the service of our country and make your proper contribution towards leading India to contentment and happiness.

Lastly, I thank you for your anxiety to respect my wishes in the matter of the prefix you should use with my name. What is in a prefix after all, a rose called by any other name smells just as sweet. So I leave the matter entirely to you, and have no particular wish in the matter. I really do not know why you are worried so much about it. I, however, notice that the present prefix you are using is according to the usage taught to you by the late Hakim Sahib. But, surprisingly enough, during his lifetime and till long after his death, you addressed me as "Mr.", then quite recently you addressed me as "Shree", and in between as "friend", but please do not bother about this matter.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 42.
[2]The words appearing within quotation marks are from Shakespeare's *Macbeth*.

50

Zahir Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/80

MOZAFFARPUR,
21 January 1940

Esteemed Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that a commander of the Khaksars has been staying at Mozaffarpur for about a month and because he has convinced a large number of students and public of the usefulness and practicability of the aims and ideals of the Khaksar movement, many have enrolled themselves as the members of the said party. Due to lack of information on our part, we are at a loss to understand whether the aims and objects of the Khaksars are contrary to interest and objects of the Muslim League.

Will you kindly, therefore, inform us if we can become members

of Khaksar party and simultaneously remain quite [*sic*] in accordance with the ideals of the Muslim League.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Yours obediently,
ZAHIR UDDIN AHMAD

51

M. M. Abdul Hameed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 833/19-21

CENTRAL COMMITTEE OFFICE,
ALWAYE,
TRAVANCORE STATE,
22 January 1940

Dear Sir,

Since your letter, dated 9th January, 1939, from Malabar Hill, the Muslims in Travancore have organised themselves and Travancore State Muslim League has been formed with several branches affiliated to it in the *Talukas*. Thus, we have carried out your instructions in spirit and letter, namely to organise ourselves, and today the State Muslim League is a political force in the State.

Travancore, situated in the southern-most part of the Indian sub-continent, is geographically aloof from the rest of India and though [there are] four lakhs of Musalmans in this State, it is a pathetic story that they are left out of account by the rest of Muslim India. To give us an impetus to work and ameliorate our conditions and to give us leadership and link with Muslim India, the presence of a great leader is badly wanted and at this hour, when an all-Travancore awakening is witnessed amongst Muslims, we the Muslims of Travancore invite your great presence amidst us so that we can acquaint you with what is obtaining here among us and bless us with your advice. The fact that you grace us with your presence will surely exalt the Muslim League in the State and enhance its prestige among other political organisations. Further, it will serve as a connecting link in the body politic of Muslim India. Moreover, your visit would give an encouragement to the Muslims of Travancore, nay the Muslims living in States, and they can feel a sense of security

and well-being inasmuch as it would give them a consolation that there is one among Indian leaders to look after the destiny of State Musalmans.

When I wrote you on 24th December 1938, in my capacity as the General Secretary of the North Travancore Muslim Association (the name of the Association has since been changed as the North Travancore State Muslim League), you kindly replied then that it was not possible for you to comply with our humble request. We hear that you are shortly visiting Madras, and we learn that you will most probably visit Travancore as well. In case you have not decided to visit Travancore, I would earnestly request you to come down to Travancore and spend a few minutes with your Muslim brethren here.

This time, as you are visiting Madras, you will find it convenient to visit Travancore also. From Madras you can straightaway entrain the Cochin Express at night, and reach Alwaye the following morning. In the S.I.R. [South Indian Railway] system of railways, Madras-Cochin is the main broad-gauge line and hence the safer and more convenient route to North Travancore. Alwaye is the frontier station in North Travancore and is the headquarters of the North Travancore State Muslim League....

As President of the North Travancore State Muslim League, I request you to preside over the anniversary of the League and to kindly give us your valuable advice and guidance. We will take that occasion as a golden opportunity, when we can pay our loyal homage to you as our greatest leader and as the President of the All India Muslim League, the one and only authoritative organisation to speak on behalf the Indian Musalmans. We are prepared to hold the deliberations on any date suitable to you and we earnestly look for [*sic*] that golden day in the annals of Travancore Musalmans. After the deliberations at Alwaye, you can proceed to Cochin and by steam-launch through the backwaters of Travancore and, enjoying the magnificent scenery of the West Coast, you can reach Alleppey, Quilon and thence Trivandrum. Alwaye is the summer resort on the Malabar Coast and attracts many people from all parts of Kerala during the summer months of February to May.

Sir, we are expecting your great presence in all earnestness and with the fraternity characteristic of our race.

Thanking you and awaiting your kind and favourable reply at an early date,

I am,
Yours truly,
M. M. ABDUL HAMEED
President
North Travancore State Muslim League

52

A. K. Fazlul Huq to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (123)

CALCUTTA,
22 January 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of the 16th January.[1] I have had a talk with Sir Adamji Haji Dawood,[2] and I have done my best to induce him to subscribe substantially to the Fund. I am afraid, however, that he is very much worried about the future of jute. He seems to have embarked [on] heavy speculations and the price of jute is showing a tendency to decrease. People say that if the decrease cannot be arrested he may land in financial loss to the extent of a few crores. Nevertheless, he has got enough money still and he can pay if he only intends to do so. I hope, however, that the difficulties of which he is so apprehensive are more fancied than real and that he will not hesitate to help the great cause which you have taken up.

I intend to attend the meeting of the Working Committee on the 3rd February and explain to you my views on some of the emergent matters of Muslim interests. It is now definitely certain that the Congress Ministries will come back to office.[3] That has been always their intention and I never believed these hypocrites when they said that they will not come back to office unless some definite declarations of a particular kind were made by the British Government. They are a set of dishonest dissemblers and they will always find some excuse for what they do. The point which I wish to emphasise is the supreme necessity of urging upon the Viceroy not to allow Congress Ministries to be formed unless the Cabinet contains Muslim League representatives and unless the Viceroy guarantees that Muslim interests will not be injured in future as they have been in the past. I am

sending a resolution (for the consideration of the Working Committee) to this effect.

Yours sincerely,
A. K. FAZLUL HUQ
Chief Minister, Bengal

[1]Not traceable.
[2]An Indian Muslim industrial magnate.
[3]Fazlul Huq had evidently misread the political situation in India inasmuch as the Congress had given no indication of modifying their stance on the British war effort, on which their decision to withdraw from the Provincial administrations in November 1939 had been predicated.

53

Chandra Dhar Avasthy to M. A. Jinnah

F. 924/39-41

RAJ RISHI COLLEGE,
ALWAR, RAJPUTANA,
22 January 1940

Dear Sir,

A number of times you have said that your fight is against the Congress high command and not against the Hindu community, but I regret to bring to your notice that your followers frequently attack the Hindu religion and the Hindu community with impunity in their speeches.

Lately, I read in newspapers that the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the C.P. Muslim Conference held recently at Jubbulpore in his address attacked the Hindu religion stating that it was the religion of idolators and cow-worshippers.

Do you associate yourself with such outrageous remarks made against the great and ancient .Hindu religion, known for its catholicity and toleration, without any provocation whatsoever? Does it behove the spokesmen of the great Muslim organization (Muslim League) to hurt the religious susceptibilities of millions of their fellow-countrymen? Have they forgotten the golden saying, "Do as you would be done [by]"?

I request you with all the emphasis at my command to condemn such uncalled-for remarks made by the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the C.P. Provincial Muslim Conference and warn your

followers that drastic action will be taken against them by you if such remarks are repeated again [*sic*] in future.

It is needless for me to point out that my feelings are considerably hurt by this wanton attack on my religion which I love more than my own life.

By doing so you will earn the everlasting gratitude of millions of religious-minded Hindus.

Apologizing for encroaching upon your precious time and thanking you in anticipation,

Yours faithfully,
CHANDRA DHAR AVASTHY
Senior Lecturer in Commerce

54

P. Balasubramanya Mudaliar to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 1130 /70

MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
23 January 1940

Beg to invite your attention Gandhi's welcome to Viceroy's speech and Congress attempt to get back to power. Remind our talk stressing need for united and concerted action to prevent such calamity. Request instructions as to what we Justice Party should do.

BALASUBRAMANYA
Editor,
Sunday Observer

55

A. S. Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/119-20

NIMCHOWDI,
P. O. CHANDNI CHOWK,
CUTTACK, ORISSA,
23 January 1940

Sir,

Under the auspicious [*sic* for auspices] of the District Muslim League, Cuttack, a public meeting was held on 14.1.1940 at 7 p.m. in the Cuttack Town Hall under my presidentship in which many distinguished gentlemen, both Hindus and Musalmans, were present. Mr. K. Chandra Misra, *Vakil*, Mr. Nurul Huda, Pleader, Dr. A. Hakim and Mr. M. S. Haque spoke thrillingly on the troubles, distress and difficulties of the Turkish sufferers and a strong. Turkish Relief Fund Committee was formed [*sic*].

Mohammed Saleh Patel, a boy of 7, son of philanthropic merchant Seth Abdul Rahman Hajee Maki Patel, recited verses from the holy *Qur'an* and made a donation of Rs. 51, which sum he said was all which [*sic* for that] he had saved by getting rewards and prizes from his father by [*sic* for for] diligent studies. He further said that as thousands of children of his age in Anatolia would have been deprived of the happiness of the ensuing *'Id* on account of the terrible calamity, he wished that the amount should be earmarked for the suffering children of Anatolia and that his humble donation be forwarded to His Excellency General Ismat Pasha Inonu, President of the Turkish Republic, through you, President, All India Muslim League; and herewith I am sending a draft for Rs. 51 on the Imperial Bank of India, Bombay Branch, with my regards to you.

I remain,
Yours obediently,
A. S. KHAN
MLA
President, Anatolian Relief Committee

56

M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 310/4-5

PERSONAL/CONFIDENTIAL

25 January 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am told that the statement made by Abdur Rahman [Siddiqi], regarding the Day of Deliverance and Thanksgiving, is coming up for discussion before the meeting of the Working Committee on the 3rd February.

Personally, I did not like Abdur Rahman's action. He should not have been so hasty about it. Nevertheless, I have been wondering whether it will serve any useful purpose raking up the affair once again at this thirteenth [*sic*] hour. The Day of Deliverance was observed, as suggested by you, and to that extent those who thought otherwise have been proved to be mistaken.

Abdur Rahman's work in the Assembly here has been excellent. He has always stood up for the dignity and honour of the Muslim League. I am afraid that if action is taken against him it will weaken the position of the small group of League loyalists and give courage to the so-called supporters of the League who have violated its express orders regarding the War resolution, to act still more irresponsibly in the future. Abdur Rahman's action at worst was foolish but, if a controversy is raised, I feel that the action of some of the outstanding members of the Working Committee will have to be characterized as definitely disloyal and deserving of strong condemnation.

I am of the opinion that the item about Siddiqi's statement should not be proceeded with. Let bygones be bygones and let things be forgiven and forgotten.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
MIRZA AHMAD ISPAHANI

57

C. R. Reddy to M. A. Jinnah

F. 187/11-2

PRIVATE

MAHARANIPETA P. O.,
VIZAGAPATTAM DIST.,
26 January 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Please read enclosed cutting[1] from the *Hindu* of 24th instant. It and its Delhi correspondent are the feelers and propagandists of C. R. [Chakravarti Rajagopalacharia] and his school of thought in the Congress. Gandhi's role in recent times has been that of backing C. R. with his signature.

At the beginning of the impasse there was a distinct inclination to favour coalition cabinets with the League, that is when they had hopes of union with you. But the Deliverance Day appears to have led them to abandon hope of united action and think of fighting it out. Civil Disobedience is out of the question; they know they are too weak and it would be given short shrift by the people themselves. So they want to get back to office on the old lines and models with, if possible, increased powers, though what further increase is possible one cannot understand, unless it be a declaration of provincial republics. One can see their object, which is to dissolve or destroy opposition or independent organizations by use of a vigorous renewed secular power.

It is only since the 17th January that this war to the knife spirit has been apparent hereabout. Deliverance Day is to be the provocation for an effort at destruction. So the opposition to composite cabinets is being declared; and the tendentious Hindu puts the idea into the head of the Viceroy which it probably regards as empty.

Alas, votes are not the final category of history [*sic*]. I see no peaceful or integral future for India without composite cabinets and govt. by mutual consent and accommodation.

Will you let me know what is your idea of a provincial settlement? Is it a share of power or a shower of safeguards?

Yours sincerely,
C. R. REDDY

[1]Not traceable.

58

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 924/42

LUCKNOW,
26 January 1940

Dear Sir,

To-day, when India celebrates Independence Day, a section of the Musalmans prefers to stand aloof under your command. Your declaration that India is not a nation does not come as a surprise to the aspirants for independence, for what can one expect from a man born of slaves, inheriting slave mentality, from one who comes of a race who have all along served and are still serving the Europeans and Anglo-Indians as *Bawarchis* [cooks] and *Khansamas* [butlers]. Your masters, who find it advantageous to follow the policy of divide and rule, have been successful in converting you on [*sic* for to] their side. Your efforts to create dissension among the Hindus and Musalmans, who lived as good neighbours for years together, have borne fruit for the time being. You may be elated over your success, but God willing, *Indians* [*sic*] will some day realize their mistake in following a wrong lead and unite under one flag. *Bande Matram*

Yours faithfully,
A TRUE INDIAN

59

Asghar Bhatti to M. A. Jinnah

F. 957/4-5

11 COURT STREET,
LAHORE,
27 January 1940

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

You are undoubtedly the accredited leader of Muslim community. Therefore, we Muslim students have made a point of follow[ing] you and obey[ing] you under all circumstances. Realizing the hard times through which we are passing, we appreciate your sincerity. It

is your unflinching courage and straightforwardness which has attracted us towards you. Life has no charm for us, for no Muslim endears [*sic*] his life more than his community. Only a few days back you issued instructions to us not to have anything to do with the Independence Day,[1] because Mr. Gandhi's meaning of independence is complete Hindu dominance over Muslims and other minorities.

Fully realizing the significance of your valuable instructions, we the Muslim students of the Law College definitely resolved not to fall into this trap. And you will really be glad to know that except a few (those who are attracted and deluded by the artificial [*sic*] paintings), none of us participated in the Independence Day.

Hindus predominate in our College. We have no ill-will towards them. But every Hindu, wherever and in whatever capacity he is, is presumed to be a Congressman, i.e. a bigoted Hindu. They being in this garb decided to hoist the Congress flag on the buildings of our Hall. We remonstrated a good deal and told them that as the Congress does not represent the Muslim cause, therefore, it is not fair on their part to do so. But they proved incorrigible. We paid them in their own coin, removed the flag and tore it into shreds. Afterwards, none of them ever thought of hoisting the flag for a second time. We are forwarding a cutting[2] from the daily *Inqilab*, dated 28th January, bearing the correct news for your kind information.

We assure you once more that the student community will always follow in your wake, and will stand by you for the promulgation of the Muslim cause. You can well realize how earnestly do we wish for the Muslim dominance and pray and hope that the black sheep amongst us may soon be ousted through your superb intellect and sincere guidance. We also expect an encouraging reply from you with other possible instructions for our future guidance.

Yours sincerely,
ASGHAR BHATTI
for Muslim students of Law College,
Lahore

[1]Independence Day was then observed by the Indian National Congress on 26 January each year. Since 1950, it has been observed in India as Republic Day.
[2]See F. 957/6, QAP. Not printed.

60

B. K. Dadachanji to M. A. Jinnah

F. 933/4-7

35TH STREET,
RANGOON,
29 January 1940

Dear Sir,

Perhaps you remember that along with Mr. S.A.S.Tyabji in September 1938, I went in deputation to India in connection with the Indo-Burmese troubles.[1] I was then the President of the Burma Congress Committee which has now been dissolved.

During our peripatetics on that occasion, I was very happy to note that Hindus, Muslims and even Europeans in India were combined in condemning the anti-Indian attitude of the Burmese Government and the Burmese people, and with one voice—especially in the Central Legislature—forcing the Government of India to bring certain pressure to bear upon the Government of Burma, directly or through the Secretary of State, to stop the troubles, to take necessary steps to prevent similar troubles in the future and to give compensation to the Indian victims of the Burmese mad fury. You were then in Simla and took a prominent part in framing a certain formula which was accepted by the Government of India.

On my return to Burma I found a certain state of affairs which I felt was fast developing into a breach between the Hindu and Muslim communities, not only of a nature similar to that prevailing in India, but very humiliating to the good name and honour of India, playing into the hands of the Burmese and of the Europeans to a certain extent, and making it easier for them to play one Indian community against the other and ultimately giving all the grounds for justifying their anti-Indian attitude, and justifying their attempts to eliminate the Indian element from Burma.

With this and other ideas before me and desiring to warn the two communities of the rocks ahead, if they persisted in their squabbles in Burma, I contributed an article to the *Divali* number of an Indian paper. As I had criticised the anti-Indian ways and actions of a small group of Hindu communalists, the article was welcomed by Muslims, but was severely attacked by that particular section of Hindus. There were very many Hindus who complemented me for

having clearly analysed the situation. Maybe, a copy of this article was forwarded to you.

Without accepting or disputing your view that India is not a country or nation, I have always felt and acted as an Indian and for India.

I have the same regard for the Hindu, Muslim and other communities, as I have for my own community. I have been in Burma for about thirty years, and know something about Indians and Burmese. My endeavours have been to consolidate the position of Indians in Burma, and work in the interest of India and Indians in general, and for the betterment of Burma.

Up to 1935 or 1936 the Hindu and Muslim communities were working together as Indians. They, so to say, stood shoulder to shoulder and fought together for the recognition of their rights as Indians, and elections to the dyarchical Legislative Council were fought out on merits and influence, and never on the lines of Hindus and Muslims. At one time all the four Rangoon seats in the Legislative Council were occupied by four Muslims and there was no grouse on the part of Hindus.

I would say that even today the majority of Indians in Burma are very strongly opposed to any distinction or difference being observed between Hindus and Muslims. The most unfortunate and painful aspect of the present situation has been that hostilities are being fanned by a handful of fanatics in the two communities, and in spite of what others may say I cannot but say that in spite [of] better sense and understanding, large sections of the two communities have not the strength of character to curb and control the activities of these fanatics and others who make it a point to profit by tensions and squabbles. I think I am one of the few Indians who gets the opportunity of knowing the inner working of the minds of the prominent members of these two communities.

You must have read and maybe heard, too, by now about the existing troubles in Rangoon. I and other Parsi friends have been acting as mutual friends in bringing about peace and understanding. Mr. Hutchings, the Agent to the Government of India, has been unsparing in his efforts to bring about peace.

How I view the situation, I shall describe in the following few lines: These frequent troubles are causing a great deal of harm and humiliation to India and our countrymen, for we are losing the respect that was ours for centuries, and even after the British connection. It is quite natural that even if there was no anti-Indian feeling on the part of Burmese and Europeans, they must get disgusted with the Indian

inter-communal troubles, and would get annoyed and irritated as they disturb the peace of the country, upset the administration, trade and commerce of the city and the country. They would be justified in taking drastic steps to put down and prevent the future occurrence of these troubles. The Burmese Government would, on the other hand, make these troubles an excuse for passing anti-Indian laws, and make their [*sic* for the] residence of Indians in Burma very difficult which must affect their interests which extend to hundreds of crores of rupees. At times I feel that some of our Indian friends, moved by communalist passions, follow the policy of the cutting off the nose to spite the face. They do not worry as to the losses they would suffer, but rivet their eyes to the losses that the members of the other community will suffer, and the harm that would be caused to them.

So far as Burma is concerned, it is too late to talk of purely Muslim and purely Hindu interests. Though here and there a few Burmese may be inclined to favour Hindus in the Indian inter-communal fight, Burmese people as a whole have no preference for one or the other Indian community. There is a large Indo-Burmese community, and even there are a good few pure Burmese Muslims. These blood relationship ties have made exceedingly little [*sic*] difference in the eyes of the Burmese—I mean the Buddhist section of the people.

I am writing this to you at length with the request that the position and fate of about twelve lakhs of Indians and their interests in the country worth hundreds of crore of rupees be taken into consideration, and a sort of statement be issued by you recommending to the Indians in general, and the Muslims in particular, the advisability of shedding communal biases and for working hand in hand. I make this appeal to you, knowing that your opinion is likely to influence Muslim friends directly and Hindu friends indirectly.

Yours faithfully,
B. K. DADACHANJI
B.A., LL.B.
Advocate

[1]See Annex.

Annex to No. 60
Statement by M. A. Jinnah[1]

SIMLA,
[*6 September 1938*]

"Ever since the outbreak of trouble in Burma I have tried to follow it. Since then very full accounts have appeared in newspapers all over India, and I have now had an opportunity of meeting the representatives of Indians in Burma who are at present in Simla. And again today, to my regret, I notice from the newspapers as well as from telegrams that I have received that there has been a recrudescence of riots at Mandalay and Rangoon. The shocking accounts of brutality, murder, arson and destruction of property in Burma carried out in an organised manner cannot but leave the impression upon one's mind that the Government of Burma have failed to protect the life and property of Indian nationals in Burma. I wonder whether the Burmese Government will rise to the occasion now and maintain the name and reputation of Burma and, without further delay, see that these atrocities cease and that the Indian nationals who have survived are at least compensated for their sufferings, although the loss suffered in many cases is irreparable. I trust that the Burmese Government will carry out its elementary duty of bringing to book those who have inflicted untold misery upon innocent Indian victims and penalise the people and areas responsible for their misdeeds.

DEEPEST SYMPATHY

"To Indians in Burma I can only say that my deepest sympathies go out to them in their sufferings, that we in India will do whatever lies in our power to help our nationals in Burma, and that in the interests of both races I would appeal not only to the Burmese Government but to the Burmese people, for they have to live together with Indians as their neighbours, to condemn unequivocally those acts of brutality practised upon Indians and put a stop to them. And to the Indians may I also say that they should maintain their fortitude and adopt only honourable and lawful methods. In the meanwhile it is up to the Government of India to take up the matter firmly and press for action so that this may not form an easy precedent for future events of this character where different races and communities live together."—AP

[1]Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 271.

61

H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/42

786 NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
30 January 1940

Dear Sir,

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE PALESTINE FUND

I am recipient of a letter (copy enclosed herewith) dated 17th January 1940, from Mr. Abdul Rashid of Baghdad with whom I had entered into communication on the subject of remittance of money to Palestine sufferers. In his letter he suggests that the intended money might be sent to him but I do not agree with him.

Now kindly send me your view as to what I should do now. If you advise and agree with me, I may send £ 500, being first instalment, to Talaat Herb Pasha of Bank Misr. He will manage to do the needful as promised by him in his letter of 2nd December 1939,[1] copy of which I had sent you along with my covering letter of 4th January 1940.[2]

Awaiting [*sic*] to hear from you,
With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
H. A. HAROON

[1&2]Not traceable.

Enclosure to No. 61
Abdul Rashid to H. Abdoola Haroon

F.1092/43-4

BAB AL-AGHA,
AL-RASHID STREET,
BAGHDAD,
17 January 1940

Dear Sir,

I beg to refer to my letter of the 25th November, 1939,[1] in which I promised to enlighten you about the proper quarter where the fund should be sent, and I am very sorry that I have been too late to reply

to the question.

As you know, it takes much time where things become rather official and this is why this reply has been much delayed. After all I have gathered from reliable sources that the Mufti has some understanding of his own accord neither to send any letters outside nor to receive any from anywhere and that is the reason I could not procure any in respect of the fund which you wished to be sent to his care for distribution amongst the sufferers.

In this connection it is pertinent to point out that good collection of fund has been made here and in other Arab countries from both the private and official sources and it is under consideration to send the amount collected through a committee to be appointed in this connection in Iraq who will undertake their distribution after visiting the places affected in Palestine.

I would therefore suggest that you send the money to my care and I will hand over against receipt to the body to be selected eventually for the purpose and this is the only way to safeguard that the money is distributed to those who are eligible.

As regards the establishment of brotherly relations with the Islamic countries, I hope you have gone into full details in this respect and I am awaiting a reply so that I shall endeavour my best to bring about Islamic brotherhood with all the Islamic countries on the one hand and Indian Muslims on the other.

You will be pleased to know that Iraq and other Arabic speaking countries are exerting their level best to re-establish the Islamic connection which has been marred after the last Great War.

My dear Haji Sahib, if you really want that Muslims should safeguard their interests which have been threatened by the Congress Hindus, the only way open to us is to bring about rapprochement between the different Islamic elements inhabiting all the parts of the world and this fact will be borne out by the reality which is in the British Commonwealth of Nations, i.e. England, South Africa, Australia, Canada and New Zealand, and when this is a reality I do not know of any reasons why all Muslims, the world over, will not be united to safeguard their Islamic culture, religion, etc., etc., and all the things created due to the influence of Islam either in the East or the West of our holy land.

Please make early arrangements to open up an office for the above purpose and the initial expenses, which will be quite essential for propaganda and other things, necessary on the lines of the British Council which have opened up offices in all the

Arab countries and Turkey and are spending sufficient money. I estimate that the beginning will be started [*sic* for made] with a monthly sum of Rs. 500 all told, i.e. house the office, one *farrash* (*chaprasi*), subsidy to a newspaper having the above idea in view, and also the expenses for travelling, etc.

I once [again] thank you and hope that you will seriously take up the above matter, which has taken more than a year in correspondence, as I am convinced that the future of Islam in all the countries is very bright provided their sons legitimately work on reasonable lines and do not waste time.

Your brother in Islam,
ABDUL RASHID

Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon, MLA,
786 Napier Road,
Karachi

[1]Not traceable.

62

M. A. Jinnah to Osman Memon

F.137/16-7

BOMBAY,
30 January 1940

Dear Sir,

I and the members of the Muslim League press deputation returned to Bombay on Monday morning. On my return to Bombay, I consider it my duty to express my gratification at the great love and attachment evinced by you, your co-workers and the Muslim public of your place and the whole of Kathiawar[1] towards the Muslim League, which is carrying on a fight for the rights of the Musalmans. The enthusiasm displayed by the whole Muslim public of Kathiawar, wherever we went, was superb and has created a deep and lasting impression on my mind. Your hospitality was equally magnificent. I have to thank you and your co-workers and the Muslim public of your place not only for the hearty and cordial

reception given by them to the deputation and your magnificent hospitality but also for the great material help and co-operation offered in the collection of the Press Fund.[2]

The tour of the deputation to different places in Kathiawar has also helped to create a new awakening among the Muslim public of Kathiawar to take interest in the movement for the protection of the rights and privileges of the Muslims in different parts of India. I have also to thank all of you for the great trouble which you took to make the mission of the deputation such a splendid success. With the substantial help so willingly given by the donors, I hope our scheme will be a great success.

I send you herewith a form of the receipt containing the names and particulars which will be passed by the Honorary Treasurers of the Muslim League Press Fund as soon as the amount of donation—promised by you and the Muslims of your place—is forwarded to the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. Fatehmahomed Haji Yusuf Khandwani, at his address at 337 Memonwada Road, Bombay No. 3. If any change is to be made in the receipts please write to the Treasurer. Please send a bank draft or cheque or *hundi* for the amount, at your earliest convenience, as several schemes are pending before me for starting of the press and I cannot proceed further until the total amount of contribution promised is actually collected and deposited in the bank.

Thanking you again most sincerely on behalf of the deputation for the reception given and the trouble taken by you.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]A deputation of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League led by Jinnah had toured Kathiawar in January 1940 to raise funds for press and propaganda work.
[2]Adamjee Haji Dawood, an industrialist, had donated Rs. 20,000 towards this Fund. See F. 997/1-2, *QAP*. Not printed.

63

Dukhrai Basi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1057/100-3

NAGPUR,
31 January 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You will no doubt be surprised to get a letter from a Christian because outwardly we don't show much interest in politics. I

have been following your brave fight on behalf of the minorities, and hence I want to congratulate you most heartily, and may I dare to wish you Godspeed and [pray for] blessings on you, even though I am much younger than you are in age and in experience.

We are all aware of the injustices done to the minorities by the Congress. The Christians are sufferers no less than the others. We are bearing up because of the teachings we have before us. We are being oppressed and neglected badly. In many cases the Congress has stooped down to sheer meanness and selfishness. Most of them are out for money-making by foul means and then they go about proving their sacrifices for the sake of the country. For instance, with a bribe of even rupees five they will dismiss one out of [*sic* for from] job with [*sic* for on, under] any false pretence and engage another of their kind. They seek and create employment only for a Congressman. They have yet many promises to fulfil because of the votes which they have received. They are determined to see a Muslim or a Christian out of job regardless of their worth and qualifications. I live in this important town and I know a great deal of the working of the Congress mind. They would rather see a worthless man or a woman get an office and rejoice at the injustice done to the minorities. If the Christians will suffer at their hands and be deprived of their rightful dues, then we shall stand 100 per cent by the Muslim League and their efforts.

Do continue with your fight for the right until the injustices are removed. I wish the Christians will also come forward and express their many grievances, and pray for justice and deliverance from such misrule and ruthlessness as we minorities have experienced within the last two years or so. Even though the Christians may be very few in numbers, the Congress cannot overlook their support. India can witness a very far-reaching effect on [*sic*] the result of mistreatment and injustice done to the Christians.

If you wish you can give publicity to this letter. I don't care. Its purpose is to congratulate you and to wish you all success in your attempt to deliver the minorities from suffering and injustices at the hands of the Congress. I want to assure you of the support of millions of people.

Yours sincerely,
DUKHRAI BASI

64

S. H. Haider to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/140

147 RANI MANDI,
ALLAHABAD,
31 January 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I beg to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of your favour dated the 9th instant,[1] in reply to my letter of 28th ultimo.[2]

As your goodself has not fully appreciated as to why I invited your views on the subject of starting a daily, I must explain here the difficulties which we apprehend in the way of our success.

When the daily *Star* of Allahabad was started, it was anticipated that it will receive general appreciation and support of the Muslims, and specially of the Muslim League, as its policy was solely pro-League, and so in this anticipation it was started with a small capital; but beyond lip sympathy no substantial help or donation was to hand, although big and prominent personalities were approached and strenuous efforts made in this connection—owing to which the paper could not be raised to a first-class daily. However, somehow or other, they continued its publication, but the Congress, as you are aware, had a keen eye on its pro-League activities and finding an opportunity, the U.P. Congress Govt. issued instructions to the district authorities here to prosecute the editors. Even at that juncture no financial help was received and the *Star* had to cease publication.

Taking all these facts into consideration, we are afraid that if somehow we manage to start *Muslim Herald*, its fate would be the same as that of the *Star*, so to be frank I must tell you that we do not command such influence that our appeal for funds would be responded [to]. We wish to start the *Muslim Herald* on a sound footing and this we feel we cannot do unless we have your backing and support.

As already stated in my previous letter we still have at our disposal, although small, yet fully equipped press of the *Star* and the necessary staff, but what we want from your goodself is to give

us a monetary lift and to kindly endorse our appeal for funds and issue instructions to the Muslim League authorities in U.P., [the] Punjab and Bengal to help us as far as possible or send us a recommendatory letter. If you accede to this request, we are sure of immediate success and will be able to bring out the *Muslim Herald* within a very short space of time.

The mischievous propaganda that is being carried on by the Congress, and under its influence by the press, is sure to have an adverse effect on our unity and solidarity as we get only one-sided reports and statements to read, so it is our desire to start the paper as early as possible, but it all depends upon your support.

Hoping this will receive your due consideration,

Yours sincerely,
S.H. HAIDER
Doctor

[1&2]Not traceable.

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Dasoo & Mankrod to M.A. Jinnah

F. 1098/141

DIVA,
DISTRICT BROACH,
31 January 1940

Sir, we the undersigned Chairman and Secretary of Diva Primary Muslim League, have made a collection of Rs. 50 for Turkey [Relief] Fund. And we have sent it by money order. Please send it to its place [*sic*].

The Diva Primary Muslim League wish you long life and success in your work.

We are,
Your most obedient servants,
DASOO & MANKROD
Chairman & Secretary,
Diva Primary Muslim League

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Abdur Rahman Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 833/22-3

OFFICE OF THE PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE,
NAGPUR,
31 January 1940

Dear Sir,

While you are busy in solving the thorny problems which confront your [Working] Committee at Delhi, I beg to crave your indulgence and invite your attention to the formation of Syllabus Committee. Some time back you had asked Mr. Rauf Shah to move a resolution for the purpose. He has done so. In the meanwhile the Educational Conference at Calcutta appointed a committee under Nawab Kamal Yar Jung Bahadur. I attended the conference of Ittihadul-Muslimeen held very recently and met Dr. [S.A.] Latif and other Hyderabad people. In the interest of Hyderabad and Ittihadul-Muslimeen it is necessary that our Committee does not collide with the Educational Conference Committee. But according to the attitude of the League adopted at Patna the decision of the Educational Conference has no value with the League. And any scheme unless it has the seal of the League cannot gain popularity. I hope the Working Committee will find out a *via media*. You will be glad to know that Nawab Kamal Yar Jung has joined the ranks of Ittihadul-Muslimeen, which has greatly strengthened the hands of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung and delivered a death blow to his opponents in Hyderabad. Dr. Latif is prepared to help the Syllabus Committee if appointed by the Working Committee. Why not ask Nawab Kamal Yar Jung to preside [over] our Committee?

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
ABDUR RAHMAN KHAN
Khan Sahib, MLA
Publicity Secretary

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G. M. Sayed to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (124)

HYDER MANZIL,
MUSLIM COLONY,
KARACHI,
1 February 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

When you had been last time to Karachi on the occasion of the Sind Provincial Muslim League conference, I had an occasion of acquainting you with my personal feelings about the Muslim League. You were very [*sic*] kind enough to appreciate them and felt that I might continue to remain outside the Muslim League. The circumstances that then forced me to join the Muslim League are known to you. Soon followed [the] betrayal of K.B.Allah Bakhsh[1] and others who at one time talked loud of [the] need of solidarity of Muslims and, therefore, [the] necessity of my not being let out of the Muslim League fold. I submitted to these pretensions as I did not want my personal feelings, which I have always subordinated to larger interests, being made an excuse for frustration of the achievement of the noble object of the solidarity that was being much talked of. I sacrificed my personal feelings, not because it was a question of Muslim solidarity, but because I have always valued solidarity as an efficient weapon for achieving great good.

I was [the] last to join the Muslim League in Sind because of the value and feeling of sacredness that I attach to membership of any organisation. Having joined, I have stood by it and seen that its prestige and solidarity grow. I dare say that the Muslim League in Sind today can look up with pride of [*sic*] its existence.

I have no ambition of leadership and, so far, posts have never had any value for me, but as a soldier I feel I have my own privileges and responsibility. It is in that spirit that I have sat today to write to you my submission—the submission of a soldier to his wise general.

I know in India, no one of late has achieved the solidarity of Muslims as you have. No more are Muslims looked down [upon] and their existence ignored as was the case a decade back, and all this is due to your leadership. But I am sure you consider the acquisition of force as a means and not the end. I submit [that] time has come that instead of merely concentrating on development of force

of solidarity and discipline, we should direct ourselves to its employment for the achievement of our object: the service of our country. I, therefore, submit that time has come for changing tactics and diverting your unchallenged power of leadership to achievement of [the] ultimate end. By this I mean our joining hands with the Congress, the other all-India recognised and organised institution.

You must be aware of the sad happenings in Sind, of [*sic*] which every human being must feel sorry. I know the world is being fooled [in]to believing that the Muslim League is responsible for the horrible tragedies. I do not care for it as it is no new game in politics. I am a firm believer in action and reaction. So long as we are clean [*sic*] in our minds, we have nothing to feel perturbed for [*sic*]. It will not take long for truth to shine out. K.B.Allah Bakhsh and his Government whom I hold directly responsible for these atrocities have already started tasting the fruit of their devilish deeds.

I have referred to the above episodes as, being a Sindhi, I cannot escape the torturous feeling that every human being is bound to feel [*sic*] when he comes in[to] contact with such human sufferings that [*sic* for as] have occurred in Sind. The worst is that I apprehend more of them in the near future if the present intriguing [*sic*] situation is not cleared. I am conscious how the Hindus and Congress have contributed by their foolish and short-sighted politics to this sad end, but this is not the occasion for apportioning blame.

Not that I hold the Muslim League responsible for these tragedies, but I cannot help feeling that but for estrangement between the Congress and the Muslim League, the political exploitation responsible for the tragedies would never have been possible. What is true in Sind must be true in varying degrees for the rest of India. The two great organisations, by their able leadership and sacrifices, have become great national forces, both aiming at the same common goal, though working in their own different ways.

Unfortunately, instead of working together, they are likely to exhaust themselves by mutual quarrels, which is bound to lead to chaos. It would be a tragedy if, forgetting the goal, both the organisations exhaust[ed] themselves in fight[ing] with each other.

The best place for both the organisations to work together, or try that experiment, is our Province of Sind where the programme of both is to be identical, putting the Congress to its true test of professing their anxiety to devote themselves to the amelioration of [the] masses, which [*sic* for who] in Sind happen to be mostly Muslims.

It is difficult to adequately express one's feelings in words, but I

have tried my best to do so and leave the rest to you, my leader, whom I trust fully of being capable of reading and appreciating feelings of his soldiers.

Yours in the cause of the country,
G. M. SAYED

[1]Sind Premier, 1938-40; 1941-42; dismissed by Governor Hugh Dow in October 1942 after his protest to the Viceroy against the British policy of seeking to preserve their imperialistic hold on India in disregard of Indian opinion.

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Abdus Salam Sikdar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/88-9

KAMARGRAM KANCHAN ACADEMY,
ALFADANGA,
JESSORE (BENGAL),
1 February 1940

Most revered Sir,

This communicates to you our high sense of reverence for you. As a brother-in-Islam, your attention may be hereby requested to be much drawn to what beautiful things are going on in the University of Viswa-Bharati founded by Dr. Rabindranath Tagore,[1] the world-poet, at Bolpur in Bengal. It is happy [*sic*] that the University has maintained its friendly relationship with the University of Calcutta, but the departments of Industry, of Painting, and of Singing and Dancing are the surpassing features in the Visva-Bharati. Further, co-education prevalent in it has been, according to the statement of its professors, successful. What is actually being done by this University on the spiritual side of things may kindly be given some reflection on and the rate of progress of the Muslims required to be kindly directed accordingly.

Bigotry is, to our mind, the negation of religion. The Qur'anic injunctions on the question of singing and dancing may be interpreted more in the sublimely high spiritual side of things than on any bigoted point of view repugnant to the noble and highly proselytising [*sic*] spirit of Islam, the ideal religion, the religion of culture and peace.

Sir, you being the guide of the Indian Muslims as the President of the All India Muslim League and the defender of their interests,

your attention is besought to be focused on these points for the more liberal direction of (social) policies towards the governance of the Muslim Indian society compatible, as far as practicable, with the progressive Islamic societies of the world.

With very high regards,

I remain,
Yours most sincerely and affectionately,
ABDUL SALAM SIKDAR
B. L.

PS. The more developed Viswa-Bharati will be a pride of the East.The view of Sir Syed Ahmed [Khan] was, happily, very progressive and equally so Qur'anically [*sic*] progressive were the views of Justice Sir Syed Ameer Ali,[2] the exponent of the practical Qur'anic philosophy of life as allied to noble [*sic*] history. You are so eagerly looked [up] to.

With these words we look [up] to you.

[1]Indian poet-philosopher, 1861-1941; awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1913; founded Santiniketan, the world-famous school, near Bolpur in Bengal in 1901, where he hoped to provide an environment for the minds of the young to "expand into love of beauty and of God"; later, founded Viswa-Bharati, the Institute of World-Culture.

[2]Muslim jurist and author (1849-1928); Barrister-at-Law; Member, Imperial Legislative Council, 1884-85; first Muslim judge of Calcutta High Court, 1890-91; first Indian Member of Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, 1909-28; President, AIML Delhi, 1910; played a leading role in 1909 in securing separate electorate for Muslims.

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Burjor J. Shroff to Marquess of Linlithgow, M. K. Gandhi and M. A. Jinnah

F. 1057/109-12

NOOR MAHAL,
125 TARDEO ROAD,
BOMBAY,
1 February 1940

My Lord and Sirs,

After much reluctance and much struggle for about 90 minutes I settle down near my typewriter to communicate to you some plain facts, some impressions I gather as a man in the street, and my trite formula for the solution to the present *impasse* for your consideration.

Reluctance and struggle because my communications are and were considered not worth being replied to. I might be laughed out [*sic* for at] were I to say that my mind and physique were commandeered by some unknown force to write this to assist you in your efforts at the unification of the people (communities) of India and the harmonious working of the State.

2. The mountain-moving faith of our Victor Alexander [John] Hope [Marquess of Linlithgow] to unify our country by welding all the communities into a happy and contented family within the British Commonwealth is and will be an awe-inspiring wonder for all times. His superhuman effort has actuated me to write [to] you.

3. I beg leave to quote hereunder my telegram dated 28th April 1939, to both Gandhiji and Shri [Subhas Chandra] Bose at Calcutta where the A.I.C.C. [meeting] was being held:

> Do Gandhiji and Subhas know petty bickerings bleed India's heart? Saner elements endorse whole heartedly Gandhiji's viewpoint never to exploit Britain's weakness and embarrassment. Such manoeuvres spell incalculable disaster to British realm and India also.......Britain's defeat God forbid means unspeakable calamities to and serfdom of India by other vulturine powers, East and West.

The above telegram may clearly bring home to the Congress and the League the catastrophic seriousness of the present *impasse*. The present meaningless constitutional deadlock is, in reality, a highly-amplified propaganda loudspeaker for Hitler and more efficacious than even a hundred Dr. Goebbelses. It acts as the great armament factory for the Nazis in flaring up [*sic*] the martial spirit of the Germans, the munition of which is not meant for Britain only, but for the destruction of the British Commonwealth, including India.

4. You, Gandhiji, and we all have great respect [for] and faith in the British word of honour. When the Viceroy has reiterated, on the authority of the British Government, that the objective of His Majesty's Government for India is full dominion status of the Statute of Westminster variety within the shortest practicable period, is there anything more re-assuring than His Excellency's aforesaid announcement at the Orient Club [in Bombay] on the 10th instant [*sic* for ultimo]? Further, His Excellency had said that "as an earnest of their intention," the Executive Council will be enlarged.[1]

5. But since the pressure of some of his colleagues, Gandhiji seems to have changed his previous viewpoint. Is not the present deadlock a nasty method of exploiting and embarrassing Britain in her weak moments? We all expect that Gandhiji will assert his indomitable strength of character by respecting his own words: I would rather

face self-effacement than to pawn my words to placate the irrational colleagues.

6. As regards the rational formula for amicable *rapprochement* between the League and the Congress and the minorities, I will be happy to submit [it to] any of you only, provided any one of yourselves is enthusiastic to know it either personally or by letter.

7. Regarding the last sentence of my aforesaid telegram, may I quote the serious warning of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad in a press statement on 13-1-1940 on the Viceregal announcement at the Orient Club? "Dominion status of the character enjoyed by Canada, [or] Australia is, for all practical purposes, complete independence with the additional advantage of security by the defence forces of the Commonwealth. Complete independence, in the present state of India, would be suicidal; for, if India were out of the British Commonwealth of Nations, she would fall a prey to any aggressive power of the East or the West".

8. Mr. Jinnah requires a Royal Commission. There is nothing in it to fight shy [of] or to fret and fume over. Time and again, Gandhiji had to deplore, in the *Harijan*, on [*sic*] the faulty machinery and elements within the Congress steel frame which had led to his severance therefrom in spite of the entreaties of his closest colleagues. Suppose Shrimati Kasturba [Mrs. Gandhi] doubts the precision of a timepiece. Gandhiji thinks it otherwise. But she insists on its being sent to a trustworthy watchmaker for repairs. And, suppose, Gandhiji complies with her request under compulsion or persuasion. Now the timepiece will not be returned in a ruined condition; but instead it will be repaired or some minor adjustment and cleaning and dusting will be carried out. Gandhiji will then himself declare that a thing of precision is a joy for ever.

9. Similarly, the findings of a Commission will not ruin the ministerial machinery, but *au contraire* it will function more precisely and efficiently than ever before. It will place the ministerial prestige on an immaculate and formidable pedestal.

10. Let us meet half way. Mr. Jinnah, we trust, will sportingly accept the same Commission for inquiring into the working of the constitution in [the] Punjab, Bengal and Sindh also.

11. I may be permitted to suggest its composition as follows:

1. H. H. the Aga Khan III, health permitting, or
2. Lord Sinha of Birbhum [Bengal]
3. Sir M. B. Dadabhoy
4. Sir Maurice Gwyer [Chief Justice of India, 1937-43]

5 to 7. A nominee each of the Congress, the Muslim League,

and the Liberals.

8. Dastur Dr. Maneckji Dhalla, Ph. D. (of Karachi)

12. But instead of the proposed commission, would it not be more advisable to have a heart-to-heart talk at a joint meeting of the Working Committees of the Congress, the Muslim League, the Liberals etc. and decide whether or not a commission is necessary, at least at the present moment in the best interest of India? I appeal to Gandhiji and Mr. Jinnah to exert their individual powerful influence to make their colleagues meet in a friendly and fraternal spirit. I am at your service.

Namaskarum, Allaho Akbar

Yours sincerely,
BURJOR J. SHROFF

[1]See No. 40, note 1.

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O. N. Nambiyar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/ 145-6

NEAR AJMERI GATE,
DELHI,
1 February 1940

My respected brother, Mr. Jinnah,

I have just published a booklet, *From India's Press Gallery*—a survey of the Central Legislative Assembly's 20 years work with brief pen portraits of prominent personalities.

It contains a good deal about you, the Muslim League party, and the oppression of Muslims by Congress Governments after the inauguration of provincial autonomy. It can be used as a first class anti-Congress and pro-Muslim League propaganda, and I want you to buy, from your League funds, as many copies as you can.

All honour to you for your efforts to save India from the Congress. May they be crowned with success.

As a Hindu, I read last month, with humiliation and disgust, the atrocities committed by Congressmen, published by [A.K.] Fazlul Huq.[1]

Carry out, without further delay, your scheme to publish a daily

newspaper to fight, not only for Muslims, but also for all non-Congress men and women in India.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
O. N. NAMBIYAR

[1]Fazlul Huq's report, or rather statement, was titled, *Muslim Sufferings Under Congress Rule.*

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Saiyid Ahmad Bukhsh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/152-3

URGENT/PERSONAL

NIMUSAHI, CUTTACK, [ORISSA,]
2 February 1940

Dear *Janab* Jinnah Sahib,

I am the Honorary Secretary of the Orissa Provincial Muslim League, a member of the Orissa Legislative Assembly, and also a zamindar. I have applied to the Secretary, All India Muslim League, to affiliate the Orissa Provincial Muslim League and I believe the said application will be laid before the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. During the Congress Government in Orissa, the landlords have suffered [the] most. In view of what they have done, the intelligentsia of Orissa do not consider the Congress Ministry a blessing. As a landlord, I know the feelings of the landlords towards the Congress Govt. The Assembly has passed two Tenancy Amendment Bills, one for north Orissa and another for south Orissa. The Tenancy Bill for north Orissa has been passed into law and that for south Orissa has not yet received the assent of the Governor and is pending before the Viceroy. The underlying principles are of a serious expropriatory nature. But the Congress, being in majority, carried them in the Assembly, in spite of vehement opposition.

Under the Congress Govt., the landlords, being in minority, are without any protection. I had a talk with some of the non-Muslim leading landlords of the Province and they are willing to co-operate with your League if you can make adequate provision to safeguard their interests. Will you kindly suggest some means to represent their cause as a minority community and secure the help of the authorities concerned in whatever talks you may have with them. I believe I can induce them to join hands with us in our attempt to overthrow the haughty and arrogant Congress from their power.

If all the minorities make a common cause with you against the tyranny of the Congress Govt. and combine together, we can have sufficient strength to combat the Congress.

Hoping to be favoured with an early reply,

I beg to remain, Sir,
Yours cordially,
AHMAD BUKHSH

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Hasan Mohiuddin Abbasi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/155-7

ROSHAN BAGH, ALLAHABAD,
2 February 1940

Sir,

A certain gentleman by the name of Syed Haider, who happens to be employed in a local firm of newspaper agents and knows something about company matters, I am told, had written to you about the advisability of organizing an English Muslim daily in these provinces [U.P.], using the plant, machinery and the organism [*sic*] of the *Star*, Allahabad, which ceased publication in January 1939. I also understand that the said gentleman had been pleased to commend my capabilities as leader-writer, journalist and newspaper organizer for the above purpose. I did not know anything about it. It would appear that you were kindly pleased to acknowledge his letter, and dwelt on the imperative necessity of organizing a first class daily in these provinces, sooner than later. All these [*sic*] correspondence the above gentleman brought to me and showed me. I could not desire anything else.

As you would partly know, I am myself a victim of the paucity of Muslim newspaper enterprises in this country, deemed to be a first-class leader-writer, distinguished journalist and an outstanding newspaper organizer. I gave the best portion of my life to the service of Muslim journalism but failed. A sadder though wiser man, I am a convert to the idea that a newspaper enterprise, besides talents, needs a little money, and money, I am afraid, [is] a weak point with those who have money from amongst the Musalmans.

It is no use repeating the sad story of the *Star*. Without support, even without active sympathy of the monied Musalmans, I carried

on with my wretched rag [the *Star*] which during a year of its precarious existence caused loss of a good bit of sleep to the Congress cabinets of not only U. P. but Bihar and C. P. [as well]. You might recall that it was a copy of the *Star*, containing the Muslim allegations against the C. P. Government, which you personally gave to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose who, during his presidency [of the Congress], called upon you at Bombay [in May 1938] and which drew a very long explanation from Dr. Khare, the then C. P. Premier.

However, this is to tell you that my services which were kindly appreciated by you during the fairly long audience you were pleased to grant me at Patna, have always been at your disposal. I need not say that I await your commands when[ever] and wherever you might be pleased to give the order.

As to the subject of organizing a first-class daily [newspaper] in this Province, the proprietor, Mr. M. K. Siddique, who was convicted [and sentenced] to 4 months R. I. [rigorous imprisonment] with me, in the case launched by the U. P. Government, is a patriotic young man and is willing to place all his press resources at the disposal of any company launched for the purpose of starting an English daily.

Having in view the above, a joint stock company limited to the amount of a lakh of rupees divided into twenty thousand shares of Rs. 5 each, Re. 1 to be called on registration and a couple of rupees after a duration of three months, will answer the purpose. The proposal will ensure a successful career to the enterprise. I might as well tell you that the masses and a very considerable section of the middle classes are simply too anxious to part with their hard-earned earnings for the idea. In my public activities all over the Province, hundreds of such people invariably pressed upon me to start the show. But I have no stomach for public subscriptions. A regular registered joint stock company having public-spirited Musalmans on the Board of Directorates [*sic*] will answer my wishes. But the registration of the company and the requisite knocking about for settling the various preliminaries, selection of the right type of directors, printing of the necessary stationery, company prospectus and articles of association and the proposal form will need Rs. 2,000. Where to find that money and close, keen [and] sympathetic support are the big problems for me to solve? I wish you could write to men like Ch. Khaliquzzaman, M. L. A., Lucknow, K. B. Ghazanfar Ullah, M. L. A., Allahabad, Dr. Abdul Samad, Cawnpore, Mr. Rizwan Ullah, M. L. A., Gorakhpur, and still better people if you have them

in your mind. We will do all the knocking about arrangements, collection of funds and a hundred and one odds and ends of things. They will be a sort of Board of Control providing the little cash and supervising our activities. Talents, technical ability and printing paraphernalia we will provide, the needed cash we cannot.

I realize that about the time this letter will reach you, you will be awfully busy for reasons obvious and forcefully disclosed in your last statement from Rajkot.[1] But your latter-day keenness for providing a chain of first-class English newspapers to your beloved flock of ninety million [Muslims][2] is my excuse for inflicting this fairly long letter on your kind notice.

With respectful regards,

Sincerely yours,
HASAN MOHIUDDIN ABBASI

[1]At the end of a week's tour of Kathiawar in January 1940 by a deputation of the Bombay Provincial ML led by him, Jinnah issued a statement at Rajkot announcing that "within such a short time the total amount given to the Muslim League Press Propaganda Fund is nearly Rs. 1,50,000 which includes Rs. 20,000 given by Sir Adamji Haji Dawood. "See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 448.

[2]The population of Muslims in India was 90 million according to the census in 1931.

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M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 518/27

KARACHI,
3 February 1940

Sind Ministry rushing through bill extending Sind Frontier Regulation 1872 & 1892 to Sukkur District with Congress and Hindu Members' support. Speaker Sind Assembly ruled previous sanction of Governor General necessary. Consequently bill being referred to His Excellency for sanction. Pray submit our earnest request before Governor General withholds necessary sanction. Muslim public opinion strongly opposed to this antiquated and repressive measure and majority Muslim members of Assembly also against it. Hundreds of innocent people will be unduly victimized. Allahbux Ministry

adopting such measures to please Hindus and Congress to retain themselves in office.

MAHOMED AYUB KHUHRO
Leader, Muslim League Party,
Sind Legislative Assembly

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M. A. Khuhro to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 518/21

KARACHI,
3 February 1940

Muslim public opinion and my Assembly Party strongly favour reasonable compromise with Congress. League and Congress combined could form stable ministries in provinces following national programme ameliorating condition Muslim masses in majority provinces. Allahbux Ministry here exploiting disagreement between two parties. Respectfully urge for honourable settlement and save Sind.

MAHOMED AYUB KHUHRO

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Muhammad Amin el-Husseini to M. A. Jinnah

F. 478/3-5

SUPREME ARAB COMMITTEE OF PALESTINE,
BAGHDAD,
3 February 1940

The Supreme Arab Committee of Palestine have the honour to communicate to you their fears of the present situation of the Palestinian Arab nation which is now being submitted to rigorous and severe measures which tends finally to annihilate the best elements in it. Hundreds of men, although peace and security have been established since the declaration of the war, thanks to the efforts of the leaders who thought to pursue the policy of friendship with the democracies adopted by surrounding Arab Governments,

have been under trial. Still the Palestinian Government is sending Palestinian Arabs in hundreds to military courts where many of whom are being condemned to death in many cases for trivial [*sic* for trivialities], though the Palestine Arabs, as you know, have done nothing besides defending their own country which is being obviously invaded and doing their religious duty towards the Muslim holy places which are scattered all over Palestine. These capital punishments are responsible for the lives of not less than 150 Muslims. In *Ramadan* last, the British authorities have executed twelve martyrs in Palestine. Among those who were recently condemned to death and executed, there are the following martyrs:

1. Khalil Abou Jeben
2. Ahmed El Faris
3. Yusuf Mohammed Abdul Jabir
4. Ali Asad Khalil Abou Sureysir
5. Mohammed Abdul Karim El Sheick
6. Fayz Mahmoud Abou Omar El Halbouni
7. Ahmed Abou Kessab El Faraj
8. Sheick Mahmoud Ahmed Gazal
9. Asad El Gartir
10. Abdulrahim Abdul Jawad

Twelve other persons have been condemned to death and await their execution: namely,

1. Ali Abdullah Shahin
2. Ali Saad Ridwan El Salihi
3. Abdullatef Shoukukani
4. Ahmed El Asad Abou Sharkiyye
5. Mohammed El Zeidan
6. Jabar Hunyn El Ali
7. Mohammed Ahmed El Said
8. Mahmoud El Zeyn
9. Mohammed Hamid Abou Arab
10. Abdul Muti Abou Sherif
11. Abdulkader El Rayi
12. Mohammed Yusuf Suleyman

The military courts are still continuing this policy of extirpation. Those who are not being condemned to death, are condemned to severe long-term imprisonment, the number of whom has become now exceedingly great. Many are now under trial and many are awaiting their execution.

In these circumstances and after repeated appeals to the British

Government without avail, we turn our faces to you, after God, to render whatever assistance available to you, so that this courageous small people of Palestine should not perish. We have great hopes that, with the distinguished position you possess now, your word amongst the authorities will have its great influence. Could we rely upon this word to be kindly used for the deliverance of our people.

Wassalaamo 'Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu

MUHAMMAD AMIN EL-HUSSEINI
[*Grand*] *Mufti of Palestine*

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Enver Adil to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/45-7

MUMTAZ MAHAL, CIVIL LINES,
AGRA,
5 February 1940

My dear respected and revered Quaid-i-Azam,

Perhaps this letter will reach you when you are in the midst of shaping the destinies of those millions of your followers who have vested in you the custodianship of a great trust. But what this little piece of submission from one of your ardent admirers and blindest followers seeks to convey is not free from its own vital and perhaps far-reaching importance.

You would probably be aware, Sir, of the fact that the most reputed sword of Tippu Sultan,[1] whose name will immortally stand written in golden letters in the annals of Islamic history, has once more returned to India. Tippu Sultan, as I might venture to suggest, has been a most glorious figure in Islam, and his sword, with all its grandeur of golden Excallibur,[2] can be no less a source of inspiration and pride for this community. This sword has been given in the possession of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, a most irrelevant and inconceivable as much as intolerable claimant to this unique privilege. This sword, which like any other tradition or material of ancient sentiments and associations, has always been and would always continue to be a part and parcel of that ideology which must inevitably invoke reverence in every Muslim, must therefore be with those who are its real and rightful owners.

If we are going to yield today on a principle, which involves the

resignation of our holdings as a community and not individually, in favour of a non-Muslim, then we must adhere to the same principle and most tolerably recognize the trusteeship of our mosques and religious culture in the hands of a Hindu tomorrow. But this will upset our great leader, President of the All India Muslim League, and no Muslim is prepared to tolerate this. As a matter of fact, if the matter under reference has already annoyed him, then Muslims will not be prepared to recognize the possession of the Yuvaraja on the sword. Under these circumstances they call upon their leader to fight for their cause—by no means unjustified, and seek the delivery of the sword in the hands of the Muslim League through the good offices of His Majesty's Government.

Very obediently yours,
ENVER ADIL

[1]Ruler of Mysore (1782-99); in 1798, Lord Wellesley, who had succeeded Sir John Shore (later, Lord Teignmouth) as Governor-General of India, invited Tippu to enter into an alliance with the East India Company as he had learned of the probable arrival of French reinforcements in India in a few months' time. Tippu, however, played for time and Wellesley sent him an ultimatum in January 1799, which the former chose to ignore. The invasion of Mysore by the Company's troops then ensued; Seringapatam was besieged and stormed at the beginning of May, Tippu embracing martyrdom.
[2]The name of the sword of Britain's legendary King Arthur.

77

Abdul Ghaffar el-Khairi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 852/3-5

NAWAB GUNJ, DELHI,
5 February 1940

Sir,

The position [that the] League has gained under your guidance is rather a miracle. The public is ready to be guided and requires some constructive work as well, and the League has not as yet come forward for this.

As the aim, as declared by the League, is complete freedom, the League has to prepare the Muslims for this, and as far as I think, this cannot be attained without constructive work.

In consideration thereof, I dare to pen the following few lines to express my humble thinking:

In my opinion, the League has to form different societies as

sub-committees to carry out the work which can be divided in[to] the following divisions [*sic*]:

1. Propaganda: To give full publicity to the aims of the League and to make members.
2. Financial: To control the income and expenses.
3. Thrift: To make smooth the financial condition of the Muslims by securing services and by organising them as a nation and by other means (trade, etc.)
4. Education: Writing suitable books to be introduced in Muslim schools; starting or giv[ing] help to schools for boys and girls; night-schools for adults.
5. *Panchayat*: To decide [*sic*] the struggles; formation of a brotherhood.
6. Exercise: Wrestling, fencing and other exercises of *lakri* (stick) and to organise such bodies.
7. Volunteers: Formation and solid organization of volunteer corps with full discipline and bringing in the fondness [*sic*] to perform duty and to help the needy.
8. Foreign: Dealings with the other communities in political matters as well as with the Govt. and the States; washing off the wrong and the idle talks of the opponents etc.
9. Religion: Making the Muslims to protect their religious rights by thoroughly performing them [*sic*] themselves and creating the solidity of the love of *Allah* and His Prophet in their hearts.

These things can be easily performed through Provincial Leagues and the District and Ward Leagues under them.

Further, I draw your attention to the Delhi Province where the work of the League is nearly null and void [*sic*]. Nearly 90 per cent of the Delhi Muslims are with the League but the Delhi League has put a lock on its tongue [*sic*] neither making any propaganda, nor trying to make members, nor taking any part in any political matter arising [*sic*].

Ahrars are doing their work and trying to hurt the League, and the League is silent, giving no sign of its being alive; even the public in favour of League complains and is disheartened, and I am afraid lest the League lose its prestige.

Yours faithfully,
ABDUL GHAFFAR EL-KHAIRI

78

B. N. Singh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 924/56-7

122 RIPON ROAD,
BYCULLA, BOMBAY,
5 February 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you will be able to spare a very few moments of your very valuable time to consider and help remove, not so much a (personal) as what I should imagine must be, a widespread grievance in this country.

You have indeed rendered the country a great service in the cause of Indianisation of the Army (but) I have seen no reference to the subject in the press, to the added importance of the subject due to the outbreak of the war.

According to the A[rmy] H.Q. communique, there is an urgent need for [an] additional 1500 commissioned officers in the Indian Army due to Army expansion, but as it [*sic*] will be seen from the two letters, copies enclosed, which I have sent to the (press) but which have so far not appeared, they have exclusively been offered to British civilians in India and for this the European Association apparently have taken control.

Great pressure is being brought to bear on such British civilians to accept commissions in the Indian Army since many of them want to return home and join their own forces in Britain but by ordinance [they] are prevented from doing so.

I know [it]. In fact, many of these men now being commissioned would stand no chance whatever of getting a commission in Britain for want of sufficient education alone. A few days ago, a communique was issued from Delhi to the effect that the Government of India now find it legally impossible to bring in compulsory service for British civilians in India.

There can, therefore, be no reason now why a large number of these 1,500 vacancies should not be offered to suitable Indians; further, there should be equality of status and other conditions, as suitable Indians can now obtain in Britain.

A reference to the particulars of my education and training in the officers training corps and over 50 years' family record in the commissioned ranks of the Indian Army shows that there are

Indians fully qualified and better than many Europeans now being pressed into the Indian Army.

I am writing to you, Sir, as I have had the pleasure of meeting you and the late Mrs. Jinnah on a number of occasions with my late parents at New Delhi and Simla. Would you be so kind as to take up the matter?

Yours sincerely,
B. N. SINGH

79

Qasim Bhai Ibrahim to M. A. Jinnah
F. 1098/201

[*Original in Urdu*]

BALSAR,
6 February 1940

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

The members of Balsar Primary League and of Naujawan Mehfil-i-Islam have, through their efforts, collected Rs. 130 for contribution and remittance to the Turkish Relief Fund.

Please acknowledge receipt.

Wassalaam

QASIM BHAI IBRAHIM
Honorary Secretary,
Balsar Primary Muslim League

80

Jamiluddin & Others to M.A.Jinnah

Telegram, F. 1130/75

ALIGARH,
6 February 1940

Young Muslim India wholeheartedly behind you. No compromise

on fundamental points. Coalition with Congress will end League as a movement. Lead Muslim India to independence.

JAMILUDDIN
SATTAR KHEIRI
ABID AHMAD ALI
UMARUDDIN
WAHID BUKHSH KADRI
WAHAB KHEIRI

81

Rashida Latif Baji to M. A. Jinnah

F. 847/1-2
[*Original in Urdu*]

LAHORE,
6 February 1940

My respected brother,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I invite your attention to a particular matter, which is that I have tabled Shari'at Bill in the Punjab Assembly and I badly need your help to get it enacted. I send a copy of the Bill for you to peruse and give me your valued opinion.

Sir, Muslims in the Punjab adhere to self-devised social mores which deprive female relatives, such as mothers, sisters, daughters and wives, of the right to inheritance granted by Islam.

Sir, you are the representative of Muslims as well as a great personality. You have been struggling unremittingly to get other nations to recognise the rights of Muslims (May *Allah* crown your efforts with success!). Sir, the Punjab's Muslim women, too, have the right to appeal to you to try and get them back their rights which have been selfishly usurped by Muslim men. It is your foremost duty to instruct the Punjab Ministry, wherein nearly all Muslim MLAs are League members as well, to get this Bill passed as soon as possible. If the Government so wish, it can be passed in this very session, but your attention is needed for this to happen.

I appeal to you, in the name of God and the holy Prophet, to

extend me all help in getting the Bill carried. The Punjab Ministry is currently running with the support of the Muslim League and just a nod from you should do.

I hope you will kindly show full sympathy to the Muslim women of the Punjab and earn thousands of prayers for yourself.

Yours obediently,
RASHIDA LATIF BAJI
MLA

82

Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari[1] *to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 1098/164-7

RAHAT MANZIL, ALIGARH,
6 February 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose herewith a copy of the statement which I have issued to the press today.

I intended to issue the statement after you had seen it; but I had to give up the idea as I happened to meet two Members of the Working Committee last night, and when I showed it to them they told me that these are exactly the points which the Working Committee is discussing and the line of argument is nearly the same that I have taken.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD SAID

[1]Ahmad Said Khan, Nawab of Chhatari (District Aligarh, UP); Acting Governor of UP, June-August 1928, April-November 1933; attended the First and Second Round Table Conferences, 1930-31; President, Nizam's Executive Council, 1941-46, June-November 1947.

Enclosure to No. 82

Statement to the Press by Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari

What next? This is the question which is puzzling the mind of every well-wisher of India. The Congress Governments ran the

provincial administrations for two and a half years and then went out. The verdict of the public on the work done by these Governments was not by any means unanimous. Some people thought it was satisfactory and the Congressmen proclaimed it was excellent. But the minorities felt it was far from satisfactory. However, one thing has come out very clearly, i.e. that the Congress Governments could not create a feeling of trust and confidence in the minds of members of the minority communities. And this is the chief and the main point. If these doubts and misgivings can be removed and if the Muslims and other minorities can be assured of a fair deal in the future government, communal unity is still possible.

Now, the question is: how to proceed further to achieve this end? It is not easy to draw up a Dominion Constitution for India. It cannot be done by any one political party alone or even by representatives of all the parties and interests in a short time, for the task will require a lot of adjustment between various communities and interests, between the Princes and British India and between India and Great Britain. Apart from the difficulties mentioned above, the whole atmosphere is so surcharged [*sic* for charged] with mistrust and misgivings that any effort in that direction is not likely to succeed at present. It may accentuate the differences. Therefore, in my opinion, we should try, in the first instance, to reach some agreement on the communal question temporarily for the period of the War, with a clear understanding that after the War all these questions would be re-examined *de novo* [*sic*] with a view to arriving at a permanent settlement. Our purpose should be to form, in the provinces, governments which may enjoy the confidence of all sections of people in the legislature so that the minorities may feel satisfied that the majority will not use its power arbitrarily and that it will not trample down [*sic* for on] the just and reasonable demands of the minorities. In other words, what we should aim at is to see that the 'fews' in the House of Legislature are not afraid of the 'manies', and, in my humble opinion, for achieving this object, the following changes will serve the purpose:

i. There should be national governments in the provinces. I gave expression to my views on this question in the press last July and made it clear that it is a mistake to have party governments in India after the British pattern; and the events that have taken place since have convinced me more than ever that the British system of party governments will not suit the Indian conditions. It is not quite fair to argue that in

India, too, the majority view should hold the field. In England, it is a political majority or minority, and no majority there is a permanent majority. A minority of today in England may be a majority of tomorrow; but where there are permanent majorities, such as we have in India, it is only right and fair that the formation of governments in various provinces should be on a coalition basis.

ii. There should be formed minority committees in every province to look after the interests of the minorities. The minority committees thus formed should be allowed to have access to all government papers. They should have the right to approach the provincial governments with their grievances with a view to having them redressed. If the provincial government is not found willing to set matters right, the committee should have a right of approach to the Governor. In case when [*sic*] the contention of the provincial government is that the specific points raised by the minority committee do not come within the special powers of the Governor, the committee should have further right of approach to the Federal Court for its verdict. And, if the verdict of the Federal Court is in favour of the minority concerned, it should be made obligatory on the Governor to intervene.

iii. In the legislative field it is necessary to give an assurance to the minorities that the majority will not pass any legislation detrimental to the interests of the minorities by the mere force of their greater numbers. Therefore, it is desirable to make some such rules that if two-thirds [of] members of a 'major' minority in a legislature oppose a measure affecting its interests, that measure will be withdrawn. This point was brought before us in the last Round Table Conference and I am fully aware of all the objections that were raised against it. It will be said that it is merely a negative power and that it will create deadlocks; but it should be remembered that "deadlocks are the price that a country has to pay for safeguards". I am aware of these difficulties. But I am sure the Muslims, the Depressed Classes and other minorities will welcome such a procedure as it will create a sense of security in their minds. And this is really what we wish to achieve.

83

Shabbir Ahmad Usmani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/50-51

BAITUL-FAZL,
DEOBAND (UP),
6 February 1940

Dear Sir,

You might remember I saw you at Bombay a few months ago, in company with Mr. Hasan Batlar, B.A., and Mr. Abdul Qadar Sheikh of Surat; and had a long talk in connection with unity and co-operation between different Muslim parties.

From that time on, I have been doing what I could to further my efforts in that connection. After reading Nehru-Jinnah communications, I gave a short statement to the press from Hyderabad, Deccan, which was published in many papers of Deccan and of British India, and I have heard that it was also published in the *Times of India* and the *Statesman*.

Now-a-days you are at Delhi. Some of the responsible personalities of the Jami'at Ulama-i-Hind and of the Majlis-i-Ahrar are also there. I have, therefore, made up my mind to reach Delhi to try once more in connection with an inter-Islamic pact. I am writing this for your information that I would be reaching Delhi this evening. On reaching there I would ask you, on phone or through other means, to give me time for seeing you. I hope that you would give [an] effective lead in settling this basic and most important matter and that I would not be disappointed about the results of the most momentous call of the time.

Yours sincerely,
SHABBIR AHMAD USMANI

84

Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 392/6-7

CONFIDENTIAL

HOTEL IMPERIAL,
QUEENSWAY, NEW DELHI,
6 February 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sorry to trouble you just at the time when you are going to see His Excellency the Viceroy, but as the matter is important and you may decide before I see you, I thought I may write to you about it.

It is very difficult for Musalmans to get any money to help their political activities, such as Party Fund or establishing a newspaper. It is only a few well-to-do businessmen who help us when they have done well in business. I can cite, as an example, Sir Adamjee,[1] who has promised Rs. 25,000 to the Muslim Orphanage, given you Rs. 20,000, to [*word illegible*] and has also promised to help the *Star of India*. To a lesser degree, it applies to Mr. Ispahani as well. If the Muslim League Party in the Assembly does not take into consideration the fact that it is impossible to do political work without financial assistance, then it will be very difficult for us to get anything done.

In view of the above, I think the Muslim League Party should support the motion for circulation and, as far as possible, adopt as a principle to either reject the Bill or reduce the incidence of taxation as much as possible, so that the Muslims who have made money can help us financially for our political work.

Congress politics is influenced after all by men like Mr. Birla[2] and others. We cannot altogether ignore Adamjees and Ispahanis[3] of Bombay/Calcutta. This tax will hit them hard. I do hope you and your party will give due consideration to what I have said.

Yours sincerely,
K. NAZIMUDDIN

[1]A leading Muslim industrialist of Bombay.
[2]A pre-eminent Indian captain of industry.
[3]Calcutta-based Muslim industrialists.

85

M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow

F. 95/60

10 AURANGZEB ROAD,
NEW DELHI,
6 February 1940

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am herewith sending a copy of the [AIML] Working Committee resolution passed on the 3rd of February 1940 regarding the correspondence that has passed between Your Excellency and myself for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Enclosure to No. 85

F. 95/61

3 February 1940

RESOLUTION

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League considered the correspondence that has passed between Mr. Jinnah, the President, and His Excellency the Viceroy, ending with his final reply dated 23rd December 1939.[1] The Committee is of the opinion that the reply of His Excellency is not satisfactory on certain important points [which] still require further clarification and elucidation. The Committee, therefore, empowers the President to place the views of the Working Committee before His Excellency and request him to reconsider the matter, regarding the assurances asked for in the resolutions of the Working Committee dated 18th September[2] and 22nd October 1939,[3] and thereby remove all doubts and apprehensions from the mind of Muslim India.

[1]Annexure.
[2]See *AFM*, 128/75-9.
[3]See F. 95/22-3, *QAP*. Not printed.

Annexure to Enclosure to No. 85
Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah

F. 95/56-7

VICEROY'S CAMP,
CALCUTTA,
23 December 1939

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am now in a position to reply to your letter of November 5th,[1] in which you submitted certain points for my consideration. You will, I am sure, appreciate that more than one of your questions, if considered in the light of all the implications involved in it, would raise issues affecting other communities in India, and that this correspondence between us would not be an appropriate medium for making pronouncements on them. But I hope that my answers, limited though their scope may be by this consideration, will none the less serve to remove your difficulties.

2. My answer to your first question is that the declaration I made with the approval of His Majesty's Government on October 18th[2] last does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based.

3. With reference to your second point, I can assure you that His Majesty's Government are not under any misapprehension as to the importance of the contentment of the Muslim community to the stability and success of any constitutional developments in India. You need therefore have no fear that the weight which your community's position in India necessarily gives their views will be under-rated.

4. In framing their policy for Palestine, His Majesty's Government have endeavoured to meet all reasonable Arab demands, and they continue to be fully alive to the importance of that issue.

5. Finally you asked for an assurance that Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power or country. This question is fortunately hypothetical, since His Majesty is not at war with any Muslim power. You will appreciate, however, that it is impossible to give a guarantee in terms so wide as those of your letter, which would have the effect of limiting India's right to use its own army in its own defence in circumstances which cannot now be

foreseen; in the present situation, however, as you are aware, every precaution has been taken by His Majesty's Government at the instance of the Government of India to ensure that Muslim feeling in India on this matter is fully respected.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

[1]Annex to No. 146.
[2]See F. 95/4-11, *QAP*. Not printed.

86

Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah

F. 95/64-5

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
6 February 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your letter.[1] I note the terms of the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Muslim League enclosed in it.

2. I have also to thank you for the draft[2] which you have been kind enough to send me of the communique about our talk to-day. My Private Secretary has repeated his conversation with you to me. I quite understand your feeling, and I suggest that we should substitute the following for its second paragraph:

> Mr. Jinnah urged on H.E. the great importance attached by the Muslims and other minorities to the safeguarding of their position in any settlement or discussions that might take place. His Excellency assured Mr. Jinnah that His Majesty's Government were fully alive to the necessity for safeguarding the legitimate interests of the minorities, and that he need be under no apprehension that the importance of those interests would be lost sight of.

3. I think you would probably agree with me that there would be advantage in publishing the communique possibly this evening. If, therefore, when you have received my letter, you would be kind

enough to send a telephone message to my Private Secretary or to my A.D.C., I will take immediate action.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

[1]No. 85.
[2]See F. 95/63, *QAP*. Not printed.

87

Proceedings of the Meeting of All India Muslim League Working Committee

F. 137/5-12

CONFIDENTIAL

NEW DELHI,
6 February 1940

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League met at Gul-i-Ra'ana, Hardinge Avenue, New Delhi, on the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 6th of February 1940 under the presidentship of Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

The following members attended:

1. M. A. Jinnah (President)
2. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan (Honorary Secretary)
3. Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, Baronet (Bombay)
4. Raja Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan (U.P.)
5. Malik Barkat Ali (Punjab)
6. Abdul Matin Choudhari (Assam)
7. Khan Sadulla Khan (Peshawar)
8. Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan (Peshawar)
9. Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon [Sind]
10. Moulvi A. K. Fazlul Huq (Bengal)
11. Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait (Madras)
12. K. Nazimuddin (Bengal)
13. Choudhari Khaliquzzaman (U.P.)
14. Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan (U.P.)
15. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan (Punjab)
16. Syed Abdurraoof Shah (C.P.)
17. Abdur Rahman Sahib Siddiqi (Bengal)

The Committee considered the correspondence that had passed between the President and the Viceroy in connection with the last

resolution of the Working Committee on war. The President also gave a gist of his talks with the Viceroy. The Committee passed the following resolutions:

RESOLUTION NO. 1

[*See Enclosure to No. 85*]

2. The Committee considered the applications for affiliation to the All India Muslim League from the Punjab, Assam and Orissa Provincial Muslim Leagues and passed the following resolution:

RESOLUTION NO. 2

A Committee consisting of the following members is hereby appointed to examine the applications for affiliation to the All India Muslim League from the Punjab, Assam and Orissa Provincial Muslim Leagues and report to the Committee:

a. Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan
b. Choudhary Khaliquzzaman
c. Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad

3. The Committee considered the statement of Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi regarding the Day of Deliverance and passed the following resolution:

RESOLUTION NO. 3

The Committee considered the statement of Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi regarding the Day of Deliverance. Mr. Siddiqi expressed his deep regrets at the language of his statement and for any reflection on the personality of the President contained in it. The Committee are of opinion that no member of the Working Committee should give public expression to his views against a decision of the Committee or the President, while still remaining a member of the Committee.

4. The Committee considered the telegram received from Syed Abdul Aziz of Patna resigning from membership of the Working Committee. The following resolution was adopted:

RESOLUTION NO. 4

The Working Committee accept with regret the resignation of Syed Abdul Aziz due to his appointment as Law Member of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government and place on record their appreciation of his great services rendered to the All India Muslim League and, in particular, to the Province of Bihar and the Working Committee of

which he was a member. The Committee are glad to note that Syed Abdul Aziz will continue to take abiding interest in the progress of the All India Muslim League and wish Syed Abdul Aziz every success in his great and responsible office in the Nizam's Government.

5. The Committee examined the accounts for the year 1939 and the budget for the first four months of 1940 and passed the following resolution:

RESOLUTION NO. 5

Resolved that the accounts for the year 1939 be passed subject to their being audited by Sir Abdoola Haroon and Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait. It is further resolved that the budget presented, from the 1st of January to the 30th of April 1940 (four months), be sanctioned.

6. The Committee considered the question of sending a delegation on behalf of the League to England and passed the following resolution:

RESOLUTION NO. 6

Resolved that a delegation on behalf of the All India Muslim League consisting of Fazlul Huq, K. Nazimuddin, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Chaudhury Khaliquzzaman should visit England as soon as possible, in order to put the case of Muslim India before the British people, the Parliament and His Majesty's Government.

It was decided that a sum of Rs. [22,500] be collected from the provinces as follows:

Bombay	Rs.	5,000
Bengal	Rs.	7,500
Punjab	Rs.	5,000
N.W.F.P.	Rs.	2,500
Sind	Rs.	2,500
Total	Rs.	22,500

7. The Committee considered the appeal of Kunwar Abdus Salam Khan against the decision of the U.P. Provincial Muslim League regarding the election to the U.P. Legislative Council from Bulandshaher. K[unwa]r Saheb sent a request to the Committee that he should be given an opportunity of putting his case personally before the Committee. The Committee granted his request and consequently Kunwar Saheb, together with his legal advisor Anis Khan, *Vakil*, appeared before the Committee. The Committee after giving full hearing and careful consideration decided as follows:

RESOLUTION NO. 7

The Working Committee having carefully examined the ground of appeal against the decision of the U.P. Provincial Muslim League regarding the election to the U.P. Legislative Council from Bulandshaher filed by Kunwar Abdus Salam Khan, and having heard in person the Kunwar Saheb together with his legal adviser, are of opinion that the decision of the Working Committee of the U.P. Provincial Muslim League should be confirmed and the parties concerned be informed to act accordingly.

8. The Committee considered the resolutions which were referred to it by Resolution No. 6 of the Council passed on the 28th of August 1939[1] and adopted the following resolution:

RESOLUTION NO. 8

The Committee considered the Resolution No. 6 of the Council passed on the 28th of August 1939 and resolved that according to the Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League, no disciplinary action can be taken in the matter.

9. The Committee considered the case of firing by Police on Musalmans at Burhanpur, C.P., on the 15th of January 1940 and adopted the following [resolution]:

RESOLUTION NO. 9

The Working Committee deplores the firing by Police on Musalmans at Burhanpur, C.P., on the 15th of January 1940. The Committee urges upon H.E. the Governor of C.P. to appoint an impartial tribunal to enquire into the incidents and take such steps as may be necessary for the conduct of an impartial and fair enquiry.

10. The Committee decided to postpone the consideration of the Report of the National Guards Committee and adopted the following [resolution]:

RESOLUTION NO. 10

Resolved that the consideration of the Report of the National Guards Committee be postponed till the next meeting of the Working Committee.

In this connection, some members raised the question of the Khaksars and wanted that some definite statement in this connection should be issued on behalf of the Committee as there was a great misunderstanding regarding the activities of the Khaksars. It was mentioned in the course of the discussion that on account of the

attitude of the Muslim League not being definitely clear, the Muslim League work was suffering in some parts of the country as the Khaksars are doing some propaganda which was not in the interest of the League. The Committee decided not to take any action or make any statement at present.

11. The Committee considered the letter of Sh. Shujaul Haq, General Secretary of Jaipur Muslim Relief Committee, asking [for] monetary help from the League for the payment of certain outstanding bills in connection with the stay of Jaipur *Mohajirin* in Delhi. The Committee regretted that the funds of the League did not permit them to give any monetary assistance.

12. The Committee considered the letter of the Editor of the *Wahdat* regarding the security of Rs. 1000 demanded by the Local Government from the paper. The matter was entrusted to Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait to be dealt with by the Muslim League Party in the Central Assembly.

13. The Committee considered the question of publication by the League of the history of the All India Muslim League written by Mr. Noman. Mr. A. [R.] Siddiqi was requested to go through the manuscript and send his opinion about it to the Honorary Secretary. It was decided that if the President and the Secretary after getting the views of Mr. Siddiqi were of opinion that the history should be published, the Honorary Secretary could do so. The estimated cost of 1,000 copies of the history is about Rs. 1,500.

14. The Committee considered the question of Muslim demands and future constitution of India. The following broad outlines were agreed to:

i. Musalmans are not a minority in the ordinary sense of the word. They are a nation.

ii. British system of democratic parliamentary party system of government is not suited to the genius and condition of the people of India.

iii. Those zones which are composed of majority of Musalmans on the physical map of India should be constituted into independent Dominions in direct relationship with Great Britain.

iv. In those zones where Muslims are in minority, their interest and those of other minorities must be adequately and effectively

safeguarded and similar safeguards shall be provided for the Hindus and other minorities in the Muslim zones.

v. The various units in each zone shall form component parts of the Federation in that zone as autonomous units.

15. It was resolved that Chaudhury Khaliquzzaman Sahib should be appointed a member of the Constitution Sub-Committee in place of Syed Abdul Aziz.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN
Honorary Secretary,
All India Muslim League

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 618.

88

Manzar-i-Alam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/168-9

RAUF LODGE, LASHKER,
GWALIOR,
7 February 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

As ordered by you in your previous letter,[1] I am herewith enclosing[2] further correspondence that has passed between me and Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad and Nawab Ismail Khan Sahib, with regard to the Gwalior State situation.

The Congress organisation in Gwalior is doing its work with full vigour. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya had been here a few weeks ago. The visits of Dr. Moonje and Dr. Savarkar are also frequent. We must, therefore, get some Muslim League leaders for our purposes.

The annual session of Anjuman-i-Islam, *Riyasat* [State] Gwalior, is going to be held on April 14, 15 and 16, 1940, at Lashker. Invitations have been sent to Nawab Ismail Khan Sahib, Raja Sahib Mahmudabad, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib and others. I entreat you to kindly direct them to help me in my task of organising the Musalmans in Gwalior under the banner of the Muslim League, by attending the sessions. This will also enable them to study the situation in Gwalior.

It will give a very great impetus to our work if you, my beloved leader, grace the sessions by your kind presence. May I know if you

can kindly come to Gwalior on April 14-16, 1940.

Anticipating an early reply,

Yours sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM
Advocate

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Enclosures 1 & 2.

Enclosure 1 to No. 88
Manzar-i-Alam to Zia Uddin Ahmad

F. 1098/172

RAUF LODGE, LASHKER,
GWALIOR,
7 February 1940

My dear Doctor Sahib,

After having received your letter dated December 30, 1939, I had the pleasure of seeing you at Aligarh. I am sorry I could not write to you earlier. The annual session of Anjuman-i-Islam, *Riyasat* Gwalior, is going to be held on April 14, 15 and 16 and these dates, in my opinion, will be most suitable for your visit to Gwalior. At that time you can also meet His Highness and the Resident. May I know whether you will be kind enough to come to Gwalior on the said dates and also address a meeting of Anjuman-i-Islam, *Riyasat* Gwalior.

Hoping to hear from you at an early date,

Your sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM ANSARI
Advocate

Enclosure 2 to No. 88
Manzar-i-Alam to M. Ismail Khan

F. 1098/170-1

RAUF LODGE, LASHKER,
GWALIOR STATE,
7 February 1940

My dear Nawab Sahib,

I am very sorry I could not reply to your letter dated December 25, 1939, at an early date. For more than a fortnight, I had been out of

station and then suddenly I fell ill. You have kindly asked me as to what plans we have devised for putting our demands and how the authorities receive them. About forty branches of Anjuman-i-Islam, *Riyasat* Gwalior, have passed resolutions requesting the Gwalior *Darbar* to grant separate electorate [to,] and 33% reservation of seats [for, Muslims] in the Gwalior Legislatures and in local bodies. The resolutions have been forwarded to His Highness. This was the first step. Now the branches have been advised to demand a reply. This will be the second step. So far the authorities are quite silent. They do not seem to favour our demands. Some of them are rather hostile. A deputation will wait upon His Highness in the near future. In the meantime, organisation[al] work shall, God willing, be carried on with full force. If the reply of His Highness is favourable, well and good; if not, the meeting of the Council of Anjuman-i-Islam shall be summoned and the authorities of the Muslim League will be requested to advise us. This will decide the future line of action and without hesitation we shall act accordingly. You have asked me whether the Muslims of Gwalior are united in their demands and prepared to carry on an agitation. Here I frankly confess that 60% of the educated Musalmans are united in their demand for separate electorate, 35% are indifferent and 5% are opposed to it. My fellow-workers are of the opinion that 70% of the illiterate masses do not know as yet the meaning and importance of separate electorate. This is the whole position, at present. Let me also admit that the Musalmans of Gwalior are not prepared and the organisation is not powerful enough to carry on an agitation to a successful end. We must, therefore, secure help from outside. But I do not know how the Muslim League can come to our rescue.

Having explained the whole situation, I request you to kindly advise me in the matter and oblige. For the present you may send a general statement to the press supporting the demand for separate electorate and effective reservation of seats for Gwalior Muslims as has been done by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib and by Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad. (Please refer to the *Deccan Times,* dated 21st January 1940 and the daily *Huque,* Lucknow, dated 12 January 1940). This will help our organisational work. For practical purposes, the daily *Huque,* Lucknow, is serving as our official organisation [*sic* for organ]. An Urdu manuscript of your statement, therefore, [may] kindly be forwarded to the editor, *Huque,* Lucknow. Thanking you very much for the trouble.

We are holding the annual sessions of Anjuman-i-Islam, *Riyasat*

Gwalior, at Lashker on April 14, 15 and 16, 1940. I entreat you to kindly keep the said dates free. Your kind presence and speech will surely help us to a very great extent. I hope to be favoured with a letter promising attendance in the said annual sessions. We are approaching the Maharaja of Gwalior to request His Highness to preside over the deliberations. I am confident that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib and Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad will also attend the sessions.

Yours sincerely,
MANZAR-I-ALAM

Note: I request you to kindly open the Gwalior Muslim Art Exhibition, which is being organised along with the annual sessions of Anjuman-i-Islam, *Riyasat* Gwalior.

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D. K. Khaleel to M. A. Jinnah

F. 971/4

KURNOOL,
7 February 1940

My dear Sir,

I am sending you for your information a copy of a letter sent to H. E. the Viceroy. This will, I am confident, enable you to understand the kind of administration carried on in the absence of the Ruler.

Yours sincerely,
D. K. KHALEEL
President, Banganapalle State Subjects' Association

Enclosure to No. 89
D. K. Khaleel to Marquess of Linlithgow

F. 971/5-7

6 February 1940

May it please Your Excellency,

We herewith beg to enclose an invitation card for a tea-party in honour of Mr. Trevelyan, Secretary to the Resident, and we beg to

invite Your Excellency's attention to the methods adopted by the Political Agents of the south.

The facts are that Mr. Medum Venkayya Chetty, a banker of Kurnool, had advanced a sum of Rs. 18,000 on mortgage and Rs. 7,000 on a pro-note, to the uncle of Nawab of Banganapalle [Andhra Pardesh]. He repaid Rs. 26,000 towards that mortgaged amount and for the latter sum (on pro-note) a decree for 14,000 was given in favour of the banker. Still the banker multiplied his amount and wanted Rs. 42,000 as full payment. He was worrying the Nawab Sahib to attach the properties of his uncle and compel him to pay. The Nawab Sahib, in view of the [economic] depression and hard times, had requested the banker to scale down the debt and come to reasonable terms. This banker moved heaven and earth and sent petitions incessantly to the Agent at Trivandrum and finally persuaded the Agent to take measures to deprive the Nawab Sahib of his judicial powers. The Agent at Trivandrum, bringing the charges of malversation of the State for the previous ten years and the acceptance of *Nazrana* during that period, the Nawab Sahib was coaxed to give up his judicial powers.

The Mysore Resident has followed the same policy of ill-treating and humiliating the Nawab Sahib. Finally the order for the execution of the decree has been given in favour of the banker, Medum Venkayya Chetty, and this banker openly announced a sum of Rs. 10,000 for the construction of a hospital at Banganapalle; the invitation cards have been printed at Bangalore. We ask Your Excellency whether this is not acceptance of a *Nazrana* by the present *Dewan* and his party.

The banker, Medum Venkayya Chetty, a British subject and a litigant of Banganapalle Courts, invites British subjects and officials including the District Judge, District Superintendent of Police and Deputy Inspector-General of Police to a tea-party in honour of Mr. and Mrs. H. Trevelyan and praises the administration of the *Dewan* at the function for which Mr. Trevelyan returned thanks. We ask Your Excellency if such a thing is permissible, having in view the impartiality of the administration of justice.

I beg to remain,
May it please Your Excellency,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
D. K. KHALEEL
President, Banganapalle State Subjects' Association

90

Mohammad Zakaullah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/175

SIMLA,
8 February 1940

Respected Sir,

Probably it has come to your notice that Sir Mohammad Yamin, a member of your party, is moving a resolution in the Central Assembly to the effect that the Government of India should take over the administration of Simla from the Punjab Government and that the constitution of the Municipality be revised so as to have a larger elected element and also a whole-time paid President. It has also probably come to your notice that in Simla the Muslims are in a minority as also in the representation in the Municipality; and that the District Muslim League has, from time to time, been vainly struggling with the Punjab Government to get devised some means to protect the civic rights of the Muslims from the high-handed arbitrariness of the sister community.

However, in the present constitution there is this consolation that the presence of the nominated element and an ex-officio President (the Deputy Commissioner) has a curbing effect on the selfish enthusiasm of the Hindu majority. But if Sir Mohammad Yamin's idea is translated into action, the result will be (although a step in aid of democracy) a solid Hindu majority headed without doubt by a paid Hindu President, and I fear the crushing of the Muslim minority.

I hope, Sir, under the circumstances, you will not consider it an impertinence if I humbly suggest that either Sir Mohammad Yamin be asked to drop his idea or the resolution may be amended in such a manner that [*sic* for as] you consider fit for safeguarding the rights of the Muslims. I am also addressing Sir Mohammad Yamin on the subject and I enclose a copy of that letter.[1]

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD ZAKAULLAH
President,
District Muslim League

[1]F. 1098/176, *QAP*. Not printed.

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K. A. S. Maniar to M. A. Jinnah

(Copy to M. K. Gandhi)
F. 933/8-10

RANGOON,
8 February 1940

Dear Jinnah Sahib,

It is with the greatest regret and with a very heavy heart that I am writing the following lines to you. My feelings in the matter are so intense that I cannot but approach you with grievances. Though I am neither a politician nor a man with any outstanding public record, my duty towards my countrymen in Burma, irrespective of caste, creed or community, has emboldened me to come out with my views which I think will be considered by you in the true light.

Coming to the question that I want to place before you, I am really ashamed to speak of the behaviour of some [of] my countrymen here, be they Hindus or Muslims, especially when I think of the circumstances in which they begin to fight in an outside country like Burma. You would have known the incidents which occurred here since that most lamentable riot between the Indians and Burmese. This was closely followed by a clash between the Hindus and Muslims leading to heavy loss of life and property and injury to many in both the communities. The people, who suffered most on account of such foolish clashes, were for the most part quite innocent. All attempts at peace were made by leading men of both the communities and peace was restored after considerable and noble efforts. All this happened a year ago.

People of my attitude felt immense relief when normal conditions began to prevail. Personally I felt that the Indian nationals residing in Burma would at least acquit themselves in future in a manner that would always be in keeping with their fair names. Unfortunately the expected never happened. Saturday, the 27th of January 1940, witnessed another big clash between the Hindus and Muslims and the situation was serious for about a week resulting, as usual, in loss of lives and injury to many innocent people in both the communities. A peace procession, headed by the Agent to the Government of India, was taken out at last, through the affected areas and conditions were made normal by such noble efforts. The situation this time was made more poignant by an exhibition of the political differences that exist

between the two communities in India. The perpetrators of the crime perhaps thought it advantageous to them to carry on their game under this novel cover. The trouble arose when a Hindu festival, namely the *Chettyars Thai Poosam* procession, was on its way to its usual destination. On pervious occasions a religious festival like the one under reference was never made an opportunity to show any one's political leanings. However, this was the case this time. The tragic part of the display is that the Indian community in Burma has become the laughing stock of the outside world by their never-to-be-forgotten fanatical communal acts of utter shame, indecency and madness. I do not want to discuss the responsibility of any one community for such a situation. What I desire to impress upon unbiased leaders like you, who are guiding the destinies of India in the most peaceful and non-violent way, is to make the Indians here understand the utter futility of the exhibition of their political differences in their land of domicile and thus be the cause of public nuisance and disturbance.

Every Indian, whether Hindu or Muslim, has a perfect right to cherish his political ambitions and to have his honest say on any political issue. No one will grudge it. But to develop such differences in such horrible and detestable fashion in countries where there is no room for them, is a thing which should be immediately condemned by the political organisations out of which these differences have arisen. The differences between the Congressmen and the Muslim Leaguers should not find a place in the life of the Indians in Burma. Indians in Burma should therefore be warned by these two organisations that they have no room for political differences in other countries than India. I do not mean by this that the Indians, when they go out of India, should forget their political organisations or about the cause for which they are heading [*sic*]. What I mean is this; that in actual practice the public demonstrations that are organised here for occasions of special days like the Deliverance Day on the 22nd December [1939] and the Independence Day on the 26th January [each year], in sympathy with such celebrations in the mother country, have brought upon the Indians here more harm than good. In India such days are made special days with a definite and noble purpose, to be observed in the most peaceful and non-violent manner. The intention may be so in Burma. But as I mentioned above, in strict practice the observance of such days in countries other than the motherland, more so in Burma, has done considerable harm, not only to the prestige and fair name of the Indians here, but also to these noble organisations in India.

With all humbleness I beg of you in the best interest of your Indian nationals in Burma to make public pronouncements not to give room in Burma for communal bickerings by observing such special days here. In my humble opinion this a very important thing which you, as the trustee of the destiny of our mother country, should do for your fellowmen in Burma. I desire that my name as a correspondent from here should be confidential. I am eagerly awaiting your declarations in this matter at a very early date through all the newspapers and through any other channel which you are pleased to select. I further request you to pardon my shortcomings in my writings to you. I am quite sure that you will understand me in the right spirit and the motive behind my lines will be quite apparent to you. They are nothing but sincere good wishes for my Indian brothers and sisters in Burma without any distinction of caste, creed or community.

With my humble homage to you I am closing this letter.

Yours most sincerely,
K. A. S. MANIAR

92

Abdul Majid to M. K. Gandhi

F. 1009/40-44

GUJRAT, PUNJAB,
9 February 1940

Dear Mahatmaji,

I have read your article headed *Unity versus Justice*,[1] specially the portion under the sub-heading "Right Action".

I fully agree with you when you say, "I cannot therefore drop the idea of unity or the effort for it. But what is wanted is not so much justice as the right action". But it is a matter of intense right that you say in the same breath, "Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's reply to me as published in the press,[2] however, dashes to the ground all hope of unity. His picture of India as a continent containing nations counted according to their religions, if it is realized, would undo the efforts the Congress has been making for over half a century."

If the efforts of the Congress were for unity and independence of India, I think the Quaid-i-Azam has suggested the right way for a right action. If, however, the efforts of the Congress were to secure,

through democracy and unity of India, permanent dominance for the majority community, then of course the efforts the Congress has been making for over half a century will certainly be undone, if the picture of India drawn by the Quaid-i-Azam is realised.

As a matter of fact, what stands today between freedom and the people of India is neither the British Government nor Quaid-i-Azam and his community, but this political hypocrisy on the part of the Congress which you dare not expose. It is impossible to believe that, with such extraordinary ability of understanding as you are endowed with, you fail, otherwise than deliberately, to understand it.

Don't you feel that India as a whole is not a country fit for democracy? Democracy in India, as a whole, as elsewhere, must mean the rule of majority, which in other words means Hindu *Raj* in India. In a perfect democratic country, the division of people ought to be on purely political lines and these political parties must be flexible and changeable. But in India there are no, and can never be, such political parties. There are unchangeable and inflexible politically organised religious groups, and in a democratic constitution in India once a religious majority is in power it would be impossible to remove it. Sure of its security, it will ruthlessly enforce its own philosophy by eliminating all viewpoints excepting its own. To be frank, is not our three years' experience of the provincial autonomy a sufficient lesson for us? Don't you think that democracy in India as a whole will simply tend to increase and perpetuate the present communal tension? What is your answer to it?

The right solution to the political problems of India would be to recognize the right to self-determination of the various communities in a free India, by dividing India into communal zones, with separate federations. This alone can end the Hindu-Muslim controversy, and lead India to contentment and happiness. It will eliminate every possibility of conflict by leaving no conflicting interest between the communities. In this way India will have autonomous communities, equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another in any aspect of their domestic affairs, united by common allegiance to the British Government with which neither of the communities wishes to sever connections. Don't you think this will make India stronger than in a single state with its people torn up [*sic*] by their internal differences? What are your objections to it? Would it not be the right action?

Your fears that by doing so the Muslims will cut themselves away from their Hindu and Christian brethren are not at all justified. Is it

not our everyday experience that in a family when brothers are grown up and able to manage their own affairs, the best course for them is to separate as good brothers, by dividing the ancestral property, leaving no conflicting interest and thereby eliminating every possibility of future friction? Do you think that by doing so they cut away from one another and cease to be good brothers? If your answer is in the negative, then why do you entertain such false and misleading fears about the sister communities, composed of those very individuals.

Don't you realize that the whole policy of the Congress is based upon falsehood and hypocrisy. What explanation you have for this attitude? With all its love and cry for democracy, and independence of India, when it refuses to recognize the Muslim League as an authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslim community, knowing perfectly well that the League commands the respect and confidence of the majority of the Muslim community. Do you think the Congress will be able to deceive the minorities for all times, by creating confusion between the words democracy and freedom? These underhand tactics of the Congress have degraded it in the eyes of the masses. It can no longer claim to represent the Muslim community, because majority of the Muslims are out of it, and have flocked under the banner of the Muslim League. You yourself feel it and have consequently ceased to be its member, the only honourable course open to you. It has become a useless organization. It is high time that it should appear in its true colour for the good of the country.

If you simply try to understand the significance of the picture of India drawn by the Quaid-i-Azam you would surely find the right course for the right action. It would lead you to an easy and proper solution to the Indian problems, which the Congress has failed to solve in half a century.

I hope you would, in the interest of India, read and re-read this letter[3] in the recesses of your study, and would try to appreciate my viewpoint, which represents the feelings and aspirations of the Punjabi Muslims. Their right understanding would help you a lot in solving the Indian problems.

You may use this letter as you please.

Yours faithfully,
[ABDUL MAJID]

[1]Annex I.
[2]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 447.
[3]For Gandhi's reply, see Annex II.

Annex I to No. 92

UNITY VERSUS JUSTICE[1]

A visitor came the other day and said, "You have done an irreparable injury to India by saying that there is no *swaraj* without communal unity. You should say instead that there is no *swaraj* without justice between and to the different communities." I reasoned with my visitor but he would not be consoled. He said, "You have offered to sell your soul to win the favour of your Muslim friends." I protested and said, "Surely you know, the world knows, that I would not sell my soul to buy India's freedom. And if I want Muslim friendship, it is not for personal gratification but for India's sake. You are unjust to me." My visitor retorted with some passion, "I know your love for the country. If I had not known it, I would not have come to you specially. But your love has blinded you to the mistake you have made and are making. You do not know what Hindus say and do. For fear of offending Muslims, they suffer because they believe in you. I do beseech you to replace 'unity' with 'justice'." It was no use my arguing with my friend. And I had no time. I promised to deal with the question in these columns. The promise soothed him. I do not know that my answer will.

My belief is unshaken that without communal unity *swaraj* cannot be attained through non-violence. But unity cannot be reached without justice between communities. Muslim or any other friendship cannot be bought with bribery. Bribery would itself mean cowardice and therefore violence. But if I give more than his due to my brother, I do not bribe him nor do I do any injustice. I can disarm suspicion only by being generous.

Justice without generosity may easily become Shylock's[2] justice. I must, however, take care that the generosity is not done at the expense of the very cause for which it is sought to be done.

I cannot, therefore, drop the idea of unity or the effort for it. But what is wanted is not so much justice as right action. Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's reply to me, as published in the press, however, dashes to the ground all hope of unity if he represents the Muslim mind. His repudiation of the natural meaning I put upon his action in making common cause with the different political groups has created a unique situation. His picture of India as a continent containing nations counted according to their religions, if it is realized, would undo the effort the Congress has been making for over half a century. But I hope that Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah's opinion is a temporary phase in the history of the Muslim League. Muslims of the different provinces

can never cut themselves away from their Hindu or Christian brethren. Both Muslims and Christians are converts from Hinduism or are descendants of converts. They do not cease to belong to their provinces because of change of faith. Englishmen who become converts to Islam do not change their nationality. I hope Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah does not represent the considered opinion even of his colleagues.

[1]Published in the *Harijan*, 23 January 1940.
[2]A character in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, a ruthless Jewish money-lender, who symbolizes cupidity and meanness.

Annex II to No. 92
M. K. Gandhi to Abdul Majid
F. 1000/45

SEVAGRAM,
WARDHA,
23 March 1940

Dear Chaudri Sahib,

I have very carefully read your letter.[1] In the Congress itself there is no Hindu *raj*. A Muslim divine rules it. There is no hypocrisy about the Congress.

Englishmen, Christians, Parsis and Muslims have dominated the Congress. In any case, the Congress will never coerce any community to remain within its fold.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Ch. Abdul Majid,
B. A., LL. B.
Gujrat, Punjab

[1]No. 92.

93

D. G. Dalvi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 178/7-10

PRIVATE

ALEXANDRA ROAD,
BOMBAY,
9 February1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Please allow me to direct your attention to an aspect of the problem

recently considered at Delhi. On carefully pondering over the communique issued from Delhi, I feel that the reported breakdown of negotiations between the Viceroy and Mr.Gandhi is only a prelude to a settlement within a few weeks. I believe the Congress will next adopt a resolution, embodying the result of such a settlement, and I think that, soon after Maulana Abul Kalam Azad begins to function as President of the Congress, the prospects of a settlement between the Congress and the Muslim League will become brighter.

On this assumption of a double settlement between the Congress and the Government and also the Muslim League, the question of the machinery for deciding the main outline of the constitution and the procedure to be followed assumes importance. You may have noticed that the Congress has abandoned its plan of a Constituent Assembly and a convention consisting of all the elected members of the present legislatures, central and provincial, now holds the field. Patel suggests it, the Aga Khan endorses it, and the *Times of India* supports it. As the settlement will now be implemented during the progress of the war, this machinery seems to be the most feasible. I do not know how far you approve of it.

Assuming that the Muslim League also accepts this machinery, I have to suggest that this convention of the members of the present legislatures is most unsuitable for the purpose. As to the central legislatures [*sic*], these were elected more than five years ago and, after two extensions, they are ripe for a general election at the end of this year. With regard to the present provincial legislatures it is evident that when the general elections were held three years ago, the issue of a new constitution, as now envisaged, was not before the electorate. On the other hand, so far as the Congress is concerned, the definite issue on which they fought the last general elections was "to wreck the present constitution". Hence the members of the present legislatures, central and provincial, cannot represent the views of the electorate as to the new constitution which is to lead to dominion status, as soon as practicable after the conclusion of the war. I think that, if the proposed convention is accepted as the medium for determining the new constitution during the progress of the war, there must be a fresh election in which the main issue will be the new constitution and the voters must give a mandate to their representatives for the purpose. As the elections for the central legislature cannot be postponed beyond this year, I may suggest that the provincial legislatures should also be dissolved and fresh elections held.

Another reason is that in a convention of the present legislatures Congress will have a prepondering [*sic* for preponderant] majority of members who will be the sworn henchmen of the Congress high command and Mr. Gandhi. On a rough calculation such a convention will consist of about 1600 members, of whom Congress will claim at least 900 sworn adherents. If fresh elections are held on the issue of the new constitution, I have no doubt Congress will not get more than a bare majority in this convention. I can, therefore, well understand why Mr. Patel has proposed this convention of present legislatures. But no non-Congress parties should accept it.

Apart from the difficulty of holding fresh elections in the midst of the war, I am of opinion that such a large convention will be too unwieldy a body. Hence, if the question of the new constitution is to be taken in hand during the war, as Congress is bound to urge, I think the best solution will be a genuine Indian R.T.C. [Round Table Conference] of over a hundred members elected by the several recognized party organisations, like the Congress, Muslim League, Hindu Sabha, Sikh League, Justice Party, Liberal Federation, Parsi Central Association or the *Punchayat*, the Federated Chamber of Commerce, Trade Union Congress and so on, with a certain number of members to be nominated by the Viceroy to represent Anglo-Indians and other interests. The British Parliament may send an elected delegation to this R.T.C. The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes may select a certain number of ruling Princes and Ministers to it. The advantage of such R.T.C. will be that leaders of position and ability can be elected to it by the party organizations who will not be elected in a general election of a mass electorate. Such leaders are more conversant with the requirements of the country than mere demagogues elected in general elections and can speak with knowledge and responsibility. If the Government of India organize such [an] R.T.C., it will be done much more systematically than past All-Parties Conferences were organized. An R.T.C. so organized need not contain more than 50 members, distributed between different organizations by previous discussion between the Viceroy and a dozen leaders of different parties. It will function with greater dispatch and responsibility than a Constituent Assembly or the convention proposed by Patel.

I have tried to place my ideas before you in the event of this new stunt of the Congress being pursued in the midst of the war.

Yours sincerely,
D.G.DALVI

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M. M. Banaji to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/114-5

14 TARACHAND BUILDING,
HUGHES ROAD, CHOWPATTY, [BOMBAY,]
9 February 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah Sahib,

I am enclosing a copy each of my letters [articles][1] to the *Bombay Sentinel* of 16.1.40,entitled *Parsi Samdasani Forces Open Portals of Congress Citadel* and to the *Sanj Vartaman*.

You will see that the two put together make a sanguinary [*sic*] and substantial force. Some of the Parsi papers and the misdeeds of *Congresswalas* have been mainly instrumental in making Parsis fight shy of politics. Parsi politicians of the stamp and calibre of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Sir Homi Mody and others, who are holding back and not giving them the right lead and light, are perhaps [the] most to blame. Mr. Somji Barrister, Prof. Sohrab Davar and Vir Nariman have now come forward and appealed to Sir Cowasji to move in the matter before it is too late.

Vir Nariman's letter to the *Kaiser-i-Hind*, illustrated weekly of 31.12.39, under caption *Parsis and Politics*, is enclosed.[2]

I should so much appreciate your views and opinion in the matter if you will only deign to communicate them to me. It seems that the political deadlock has come to stay and one would think that Indian political leaders are wholly and solely responsible. It is no use Gandhi and Bose indulging in the daydream of *Satyagraha*. *Satyagraha* will be their own death warrant and not the country's. For the British are sure not to sit quiet under it.

Amidst all the muddy and murky outlook, the Muslims should, I think, in their capacity of second majority and one of the two main eyes of the country, be selfless (I shall not say aimless or hopeless) and should help the British with all their might and main in their present crucial difficulties.

All this hue and cry against the Excess Profits Tax Bill is to my mind most incongruous and inadvisable. With necessary modifications the Bill should, I think, pass current [*sic*]. Bhulabhai [Desai] and others who are always making *bhul chuk* have nothing to say against the Urban Property Tax but are insolently uproarious against the Excess Profits Tax for reasons of their own. In trying to fool the British down

by the leg, the Congress under Mr. Gandhi has every chance of being fooled most egregiously. Help the British before everything else, my dear Jinnah Sahib, and you may rely on them for help and support to advance your cause when the time is ripe for it. It is most injudicious to exploit their difficulties.

May I remind you to kindly read my English book *Sublime Though Blind* and favour me with your most valuable opinion and remarks at your early convenience. Overbusy men like you must have recreation and relaxation and you could I think look nowhere better for it than in the pages of *Sublime Though Blind*.

With utmost respects and submission,

I beg to remain, as ever,
Yours sincerely and admiringly,
M. M. BANAJI

[1&2]F. 873/116-18, *QAP*. Not printed.

95

I. I. Chundrigar to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (125)

NOOR MANSION,
7 CHOWPATTY, SEA FACE,
BOMBAY-7,
10 February 1940

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

I hope you must have already written to Mr. Gibson, A. G. G., Western India States, Rajkot, requesting him to use his good offices to persuade the Bhavnagar State authorities to appoint an independent European group to try the appeal filed by 32 persons convicted by the Additional Sessions Judge of Bhavnagar, and the State appeal against the acquittal of 25 accused.

You will be surprised to hear that this State has thought it [*sic*] fit to appeal against the acquittal of [the] three accused against whom there is not a single witness in the sessions trial and against whom even the Public Prosecutor did not press the charge.

The State has taken a partisan attitude throughout and has even moved the *Huzur* Court (the highest legal tribunal of the State, corresponding to our High Court) to enhance the sentences against

the convicted persons.

Mr. Lakhani has sent you a copy of my letter to Sir Sikander Hyat Khan dated 3-1-[19]40 and a copy of the application of the Muslim Relief Committee to the Resident dated 18-1-[19]40. They will put you in possession of all the facts. If you have not already written to him, please write to him immediately.

If no independent Judge is appointed, the State people do not expect justice from the present *Huzur* Court Judge from what little I have seen of him, when I was there for nearly a month and a half to conduct the case, and what I saw of him, when conducting a transfer application and a bail application before him, I entirely agree with them.

Before, however, the accused submit the final application announcing their final decision to appear before this Judge, I am of opinion that I should personally see H. H. the Maharaja of Bhavnagar[1] and appeal to him to appoint an independent Judge. If he declines, I should see Mr. Gibson personally. After failing to get our demand [accepted] at both the places, the original decision should be adhered to. If you so advise, I might see Mr. Gibson first and then H. H. I would like to have your views at your earliest convenience.

Please send an early reply as the appeals are now finally fixed for hearing on 26-2-[19]40.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
I. I. CHUNDRIGAR
B.A. LL.B.,
MLA

[1]Sir Krishnakumar Singhji.

96

M. A. Jinnah to Seth Sattar Adamjee Nathani

F. 164/16

NEW DELHI,
10 February 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 30th January 1940,[1] enclosing two drafts, one for Rs.4,681 and the other for Rs.1,400, making a total of

Rs.6,081 being the amount subscribed by various donors from Upleta towards the Bombay Muslim League Press and Propaganda Fund. I have forwarded the drafts to the Secretary with instructions that he should hand over the drafts to the treasurers who will send you the official receipt.

Thanking you for your support,

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Seth Sattar Adamjee Nathani,
Honorary Secretary,
Memon Jamaat,
Upleta

[1]Not traceable.

97

M. A. Jinnah to Mahomed Ali Chaiwala

F. 164/14

NEW DELHI,
10 February 1940

Dear Chaiwala,

I am sending you herewith certain *hundis* that I have received from Kathiawar towards the donations given for the Bombay Muslim League Press and Propaganda Fund for which I hope you will see that official receipts are sent to the donors.

The total amount is 6081 rupees as per particulars of the letter dated 30th January which also I enclose herewith.[1] This amount is from Upleta.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mahomed Ali Chaiwala, Esq.,
15 Military Square,
Bombay

[1]Not traceable.

98

M. A. Jinnah to Mahomed Ali Chaiwala

F. 164/15

NEW DELHI,
10 February 1940

Dear Chaiwala,

I am enclosing a *hundi* which has been sent to me for the Turkish Relief Fund. This also is from Upleta. Would you be good enough to recover this amount and send it on to the Private Secretary to the Governor with the request to forward it to the proper Turkish authorities. Please let me have the receipt so that I can forward it on to the donors.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mahomed Ali Chaiwala, Esq.,
15 Military Square,
Fort, Bombay

99

M. A. Jinnah to I. D. Coovadia

F. 164/13

NEW DELHI,
10 February 1940

Dear Sir,

I thank you very much indeed for your appreciation of whatever little service I may have done to Muslim India. I appreciate the personal references to me. And it is a great encouragement that our Muslim brethren, far away from us, are in sympathy with our struggle. It is not the amount but the spirit behind it, which is most encouraging to me. I am, therefore, very grateful to you, and the amount of £15- S[hilling] 2, which I have received by way of draft as

a purse to me, will be utilized for the furtherance of Muslim League policy and programme.

Thanking you again,

Yours truly,
M. A. JINNAH

I. D. Coovadia, Esq.,
President,
Bethal Muslim League,
S. Africa

100

M. D. Vidwaus to M. A. Jinnah

F. 924/75

1723 SHUKRAWAR PETH, POONA CITY,
12 February 1940

Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a resolution passed by the Managing Committee of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha. I hope it will receive your very earnest attention.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Yours very sincerely,
M. D. VIDWAUS
Honorary Secretary,
Poona Sarvajanik Sabha

Enclosure to No. 100

F. 924/76

10 February 1940

RESOLUTION

This Sabha enters its emphatic protest against the declaration made by Barrister Jinnah, the President of the Muslim League, for the creation of an independent Muslim State in India,[1] as such a conception is anti-national, unpatriotic and exasperating. It is a historical fact that in no time and at no place were the non-Hindus treated badly, when India was governed by Hindu monarchs. The different minorities in India should not have any misapprehension of a

misrule by the Hindu majority in future. This Sabha exhorts them not to fall prey to the unpatriotic idea of the Muslim League by consenting to any scheme of partition of India.

101

Anwar-ul-Haq Sahmi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/132-3

58 RIVAZ HOSTEL,
ISLAMIA COLLEGE, LAHORE,
13 February 1940

Venerable Quaid-i-Azam,

You will not mind, I think, a bit slackness of mine in observing formality, a devoted and truth-loving follower as I am of your courageous leadership. I have hundred and one things to talk about, but I postpone them till your arrival here.

Now, I have to congratulate you for the statesmanlike and delightful reply that you sent[1] to Mr. Gandhi. A little of nonsense now and then is relished by the wisest men. Mr. Gandhi perhaps is enjoying the nonsensical notion of single nationality in the Indian sub-continent. He, with his colleagues, has been playing an interesting game these years. For the interest of his own nation, he promulgated [*sic*] the belief of one nationality in India in so imposing a manner that the pernicious germs of propaganda stealthily entered into the minds of men who lack in independent thinking. And unfortunately most people take everything for granted; hence they find it impossible to judge the absurdity or otherwise of the matter which they take ready-made. Consequently so far Mr. Gandhi and his colleagues were successful.

Having created the causes, Mr. Gandhi awaited the occurrence of the intended effects. But Providence proved to be stronger than him; so, the Muslim League took its rebirth.

Now onwards Mr. Gandhi became admirable, because despite his failure in the malicious cause he did not lose his heart. He went on playing his game. All can fight for a true cause, but few veterans can bear failure and then continue pursuing a false [and] malignant cause [*sic*]. Among those veterans, Mr. Gandhi stands first.

He tried to entrap you in many ways. The extension of invitation to you to attend the Congress session last year; and the wilful wrong interpretation of the "Deliverance Day" by Mr. Gandhi[2] provide the

examples. Had you yielded to his deception he would have been successful in winning the game. Thus all that the Muslim nation has built, since the Lucknow session of the Muslim League, would have been lost. But we are fortunate in having a unique leader in you for analysis of statements and actions.

I may humbly suggest, however, that if you ever seek an agreement on cheap and insalient [*sic*] terms with the Hindus, it will be wholly uncongenial to the Muslim nation which is bent upon the recognition of its entity and separate States. Yes, if you do that, we shall have to grope, once again, into that chaos and confusion out of which we emerged in 1937.

I supplicate you to excuse me if you think that I have misjudged you by being dubious about your superb capacity of rightly leading the Muslim nation, in [*sic*] the critical juncture. Surrounded as we are by petty and selfish leaders who are amenable to falling in[to] the trap either of the Britishers or of the astute Hindus, I was naturally apt to think of you in their terms. Now that the twice fostered wishes of Mr. Gandhi occur to my mind, I am certain that you are the person who are [*sic* for is] above such traps. But to err is human. Hence my suggestion is only precautionary.

I once again congratulate you for the bold and frank reply that you sent to Mr. Gandhi and offer my humble but cordial thanks for leading us correctly and for interpreting the correct political convictions of the Muslim nation.

Yours obediently,
ANWAR-UL-HAQ SAHMI

[1]See No. 49.
[2]Enclosure to No. 42.

102

J. H. Vally to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/200

MANGALDAS ROAD, BOMBAY,
13 February 1940

Dear Sir,

I beg to enclose herewith a cheque for Rs. 1000 drawn in your favour on the Central Bank of India Ltd., dated 13th instant, being

my contribution to the Press Fund organized by you.

Please acknowledge receipt.

Yours faithfully,
J. H. VALLY
Wholesale & Retail Druggist

103

S. R. Dutta to M. A. Jinnah

F. 924/81-2

URGENT

KAPNAPAHAR,
SYLHET, ASSAM,
14 February 1940

Dear Sir,

Allow me—humblest of the humble professors of Hinduism—to offer my heartfelt felicitations, belated though it is, for your most outspoken statement issued to the press at Rajkot.[1] By your statement you have done yeoman service to the people in general and to the masses in particular, of this country. You have simply asked the people to be on the right track; you have simply guarded them against being led astray by manoeuvres of the so-called Indian National Congress which is no better than a conclave of designing men. I fervently trust, no Indian who has the service of his country at heart, will follow even an iota of the Independence Day pledge.

Now, as for the writings of Mr. Gandhi, I have but one opinion; Gandhi's writings are nothing but claptrap, insidious in character and unsubstantial [*sic* for insubstantial] in matter ultimately signifying nothing at all. This is entirely because of his Jekyll and Hyde[2] mentality.

Yours faithfully,
S. R. DUTTA
A Hindu teacher

PS. You are at liberty to send this letter to the press along with your comments on the way of thought which even an ordinary Hindu like myself represents.

S. R. DUTTA

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 439.

[2]Name of character in R.L. Stevenson's story, *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, with a dual personality.

104

Zafar Omar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/141

NILI CHATRI,
ALIGARH,
16 February 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I take the liberty of enclosing a cutting from the *Albashir* of February 13,[1] suggesting that efforts should be made to bring Muslim organisations, other than the League, round to appreciate the League point of view and unite together at a time when you are collaborating with other minorities.

Muslim countries like Iraq and Egypt have been invited to send delegations to the Lahore session of the League. Will it not be graceful and expedient to extend the invitation to prominent Muslims in other organisations in India? A very important decision has to be taken at Lahore—Indian Muslims are a separate nation and want a separate territory—and it is important that all shades of Muslim opinion should be mobilised to support this vital question. I know a lot of Muslims now in the Congress are disgusted with what has happened in the last three years and they would like to come back to the Muslim fold, if given an opportunity, as they realise they are helpless to do any good to their people under the ideology of the Congress high command; like Iqbal they find: "The wave exists in river, outside the river it is nothing."

With much respect and genuine esteem,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
ZAFAR OMAR

[1]F. 873/140, *QAP*. Not printed.

105

Retired Sessions Judge, Gwalior, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/145-9

64 DECCAN GYMKHANA,
POONA,
16 February 1940

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Is not 'live and let live' the essence of all religions and morality? Does not the Muslim League offend against it by claiming greater rights for themselves?

Does not this selfish attitude destroy all chances of social, political and religious amity between the two communities? Will not this selfish policy prove injurious to the Muslims in the long run? Why should the Hindu majority in the Central Assembly rankle in the minds of the Muslims? If Muslims are in majority in Muslim countries should not Hindus be in majority in Hindustan?

Have not Hindus by their conduct, for centuries or decades, shown that they are the most tolerant, just and generous people on the face of this earth? If so, why should there be no friendship between Hindus and Muslims of India, Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia and Turkey, specially as they are the inhabitants of the same continent?

Hoping that you will be pleased to ponder, ponder and ponder and give up the bad example of Aurangzeb [and] adopt that of Akbar.

I am,
Yours respectfully,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

106

M. Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/54

MUSTAFA CASTLE,
MEERUT,
17 February 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am glad to inform you that five [UP Legislative] Council seats,

which had been vacated this year in accordance with the provisions of the Govt. of India Act [1935], have all been captured by the League candidates. It was for the first time that one organization was called upon to work among this particular class of voters consisting of big landholders, capitalists, military pensioners and title holders and it is therefore highly satisfactory that at the very first instance it achieved success in spite of strenuous opposition from vested interests.

Hope you are well.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. ISMAIL KHAN

107

V. S. Basha to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/153-6

KOLHAPUR,
17 February 1940

May it please your Presidency,

With due submission I beg to draw your kind attention to the evils recently occurred [*sic*] in many parts of India (which you know well) by the Congressmen.

I would like to describe here, one by one:

i. On February 2nd, there [was] held a drama play [*sic*] in Jaunpur, under the auspices of the primary school masters. In this play they used dirty and disgraceful words against the character of our beloved mother [*sic*] *Khatun-i-Jannat Hazrat* Fatima, daughter of our holy Prophet (may the choicest blessings of *Allah* be on him). The responsibility of this drama play lies on the shoulders of a Congressman.

ii. Dr. Moonje is famous for his foolishness and impassive [*sic*] speeches. Recently, in Gaya, in the course of his lecture he said the Musalmans are dogs and Pathans are thieves. *Ahimsa* should be taught to them by force of kicks and *dandas*.

iii. A letter of the Congressman addressed to Sir [*sic*] Fazlul Huq runs thus: Mr. Fazlul Huq, Premier of Bengal, the members of the Hindu League have decided to end your life. Within two weeks, if you do not tender apology for the words publicly delivered by you in Jubbulpore Conference, we [will] send

our youth to Calcutta to expire [*sic*] your life. Otherwise you will not escape from our hands.

Now, my friends ask the question, did Mr. Jinnah give any particular attention to the evils committed by the Congressmen? Did he ask the Congress authority why they allowed their members to play such dramas? Did he give any answer to the letter addressed to Fazlul Huq by the Congressman? Our accredited leader, these suspicions in the minds of the people are due to the fact that the Muslim League has not yet started an English daily newspaper to make the people know its fresh [*sic*] and daily life.

Therefore, our beloved leader, I beg to tell you that the first and foremost duty of the Muslim League, in this critical moment, is to start an English daily to encourage [*sic*] its fresh aims, objects, principles and programmes to the people.

Now I come forward to congratulate you for your extraordinary ambition to start a press at an early date. But when? Now, our accredited and untiring leader, I shall deem it a favour if you will kindly let me know the exact date of starting an English daily.

Praying that may the Almighty confer His choicest blessings upon your life.

Yours obediently,
V. S. BASHA

108

Abdur Rahman Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 570/41-2

MOMINPURA,
NAGPUR,
18 February 1940

Dear Sir,

You must be receiving very earnest and pressing requests from every part of this Province to attend our provincial conference. Not that we are unmindful of your multifarious engagements and pressure on your valuable time and energy. Not that we do not feel confident that you love your community in a more reciprocating and intensive degree than we do. But I, along with other admirers, do feel that our conference is ashes and dust if you do not come. Since we organized the League in this Province, the public is being lulled

with empty promise that we shall be successful in bringing you once amongst us. We remember and remember very bitterly to our shame and disgrace when you returned from this Province without being successful in bringing about a rapprochement. But God did avenge you. Today this Province is more League-minded than any of the provinces in India. Conflicts there may be. Shortcomings are but natural. We may be lacking in many things. But we are not lacking in love with the League and with its leader. Are not our pangs of suffering, our woes and misfortunes sufficient to crave from you a day's time to pacify our feelings and hearten your wounded soldiers who are still sticking to their guns against all odds.

Is there any province in India which has not benefited from your august presence? You have lent strength to provinces which are strong in many respects and can hold their own.

Should the poor Muslims of this Province be deprived of their rightful privilege to crave your indulgence because they are not noisy and because they are poor in so many respects? Why this Province alone, out of whole of India, should suffer this disadvantage. We are situated in a position where neither Government nor Hindus recognize our existence. Although the Congress regime has ended but not the chain of our misfortunes. You have very recently passed a resolution about the Burhanpur firing. We are meeting for the first time under the banner of the Provincial League. May I take the liberty of requesting you most earnestly to kindly condescend to attend our conference?

Yours sincerely,
ABDUR RAHMAN KHAN,
Publicity Secretary,
Provincial Muslim League, C.P. & Berar

109

Adamjee Haji Dawood to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/55

REGISTERED

STEPHEN HOUSE,
5 DALHOUSIE SQUARE,
CALCUTTA,
21 February 1940

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

I beg to hand you herewith a Demand Draft on the Bank of India

Ltd., Bombay, for Rs. 20,000 (Rupees twenty thousand only) favouring your goodself, being my contribution towards the Muslim League Press and Propaganda Fund, as already intimated in my telegram of the 20th of January[1] last at Bombay.

Kindly acknowledge receipt. Trusting this finds you in the best of health and spirits and with kindest regards,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

ADAMJEE HAJI DAWOOD

[1]Not traceable.

110

H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 274/104

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
22 February 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose herewith copy of a telegram[1] received by me from Mr. Hassanally P. Ibrahim of Bombay.

I shall be glad if you either ask the Secretary of Bombay Muslim League Legislative Party or Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim that members should not promise their votes to any one as the League contemplates send[ing] their representatives on this body, or you may ask Sir Currimbhoy to handle this.

Therefore I request you to kindly dispose of the matter in a way you deem fit.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

HAJI ABDOOLA HAROON

[1]Pertains to Haj Committee elections. See F. 279/105, *QAP*. Not printed.

111

A. M. K. Dehlavi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 256/82-3

SADAR HOUSE,
SURAT,
22 February 1940

My dear Jinnah,

No letter from you. Of course, you are too busy for any individual attention. I can quite realise that, but I feel, according to my reading of events as they are progressing, that the Muslim position is, by no means, getting clarified, and we cannot say where we are heading. If you remember, I had suggested to you to get round yourself an innermost circle of men for sound tete-a-tete at important turns. I am sure you must have collected such men of your selection; and let us hope the unshaken confidence of the Muslim public reposed in you continues firm and grows firmer on the strength of the unerring lead you will be giving them. If you remember, I had sent you some time back a letter from my son in England. He had a few things to say, I think rather daringly, which he wished to be brought to your notice, and that was why I had sent it to you. Possibly, you did not find it of much worth, and must have assigned it to the wastepaper basket. The young man is a very daring fellow and does not seem to care for the censor. He has sent me another letter, with a request to send you a copy. I have got it typed and enclose it herewith.[1] You may find it worth perusal. Otherwise, I must apologise on his behalf for taking your time in reading that long epistle.

I hope this finds you well. I am glad to say I am much better, although the lumbago symptoms have not fully disappeared.

With best wishes and regards to [your]self and Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,
A. M. K. DEHLAVI

[1]Not traceable.

112

Ram Nath Kashyap to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1009/138

88 G MODEL TOWN,
LAHORE,
23 February 1940

Dear Sir,

If the statement[1] shown on the margin is true, as I suppose it is, then O! great man of Bombay, get up and fight for self-government for this unhappy land; do not waste time in trying to dictate terms to the Congress, but do dictate to the British Govt. Join the Congress, give them an honest lead, and join them in drafting the future Constitution for India and the safeguards for everybody. Both Hindus and Muslims will follow you like faithful dogs. If you mean what you say, then work for us; we are helpless; we millions are starving and naked. Be true to God, be true to yourself and be true to your country. Life is short; make the best use of it. Join the Congress and fight from within.

God will bless you. With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
R. N. KASHYAP

[1]Enclosure

Enclosure to No. 112
Speech by M. A. Jinnah[1]

F.1009/38

NEW DELHI,
22 February 1940

Mr. M. A. Jinnah unveiled the portrait of the late Maulana Shaukat Ali at the Arabic College today.

Speaking on the present political situation, Mr. Jinnah explained the reason why Mr. Gandhi was hesitating to launch civil disobedience in the country in spite of 50 years' history behind the Congress, full support of the press and finance. The fact was that Mr. Gandhi knew

that the country was not prepared for civil disobedience. Mr. Jinnah said the position today was that, on the one hand, Great Britain wanted to rule over India while, on the other hand, Mr. Gandhi wanted to rule over this country. Mr. Jinnah declared that the Muslims were modest but they would not allow them[selves] to be ruled over in this country by both together or by either of them.

Concluding, Mr. Jinnah said that Muslims today were more politically conscious than any other community and were born to win freedom not for Muslims alone but also for Hindus and others.—A.P.I.

[1]The *Tribune*, 23 February 1940.

113

Z. Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/168-71

6 REHMAN BUILDING,
INSIDE TURKMAN GATE,
DELHI,
23 February 1940

Quaid-i-Azam,

Last evening you have told us a very important thing, viz. "study and qualify". This advice, as I consider, was long overdue. But somehow or other it has never been given. Rather, it has all along been sacrificed for commonplace rhetoric. Leaders have been coming and arousing the spirit of the masses and that was all. But however sound the cause may be, unless a full knowledge of it is given to the audience and all kinds of information supplied, it is not likely to enjoy any sustained sympathy of the people. It is an impossibility to have any sort of conviction without primarily acquiring knowledge and education. How else can I convince another of my viewpoint if I myself lack the requisite facts and figures to support my contention? We must have a cause, and then we should have convincing points to support that cause. Or else it is bound to go to the wind. Unfortunately, our youngmen lack this fundamental data. They have a vague idea of things and, whenever they are momentarily inspired, shout Islam *Zindabad*. What use this

slogan if it is to go no further? Mere "sloganism" [*sic* for sloganeering] will never do. We have had enough of it. I do not mean to say that sentimentality is worthless. It is of very great value. But to effect a permanent change of mentality is not possible through it alone. It can have no lasting effect. I have heard many spirited addresses from well-known Maulana rhetoricians. I must admit they produced no impression on my mind save that of a passing hallucination. They aroused me to cheer or jeer as I pleased but not to act. They miserably lacked in matter. There was no food for thought. They never entered my heart, much less stayed there. So, Sir, there is a great need of our professions being modest and sentimentality a whit more sober. And as such I consider it a very timely advice to ask us to study and qualify. Let us beat them with their own weapons. We cannot simply run and shout and win without arms. We must have arms. We must have the arms of knowledge and understanding. We must be as efficient as them in every walk of life. We should be good logicians, speakers, debaters, editors [and] authors, and must above all be possessed of sound, clear thinking and useful matter. The minds of to-day are naturally much more analytical than they were. They want facts to scrutinise. Yes, I am essentially talking of the intelligentsia. But, then, who [will] lead the masses? The middle educated class! It is they who must be the recipient of your message. They will understand it, digest it and then it is they who will broadcast it and win over the common people and ultimately give measureless strength to the cause. Have we such youngmen? You know it as well as I know, we have not. But they can be had. The secret of the success of Congress is the number of workers. So many can understand it and, therefore, so many can tell it to others. While we are blessedly [*sic* for blissfully] ignorant of our own position, we do not know how we can be attacked and how we can be deceived and hoodwinked? And that is why so many of our youngmen begin to believe that we have no cause. We are just grumbling. We are further made out to be jealous, bigoted and self-seeking. And surely we are if we have no cause. It is time to tell we have a cause. Why Muslim League is not so widely acceptable as it ought to be? Because of sheer misunderstanding. Our position is not clear. We seem to fight because we must. It is in our blood. And that we have no real contribution to make. This misrepresentation, Sir, is, to my mind, the real cause of our position as it is today. Let us have people who would explain the cause of Muslim League. What does it stand for? And that it is not just a hollow reaction to the enormous popularity of Congress. And what is our job to impress is

that it is not this [*sic*]. It is something tangible. We have a positive cause, a positive mission and a positive message. We are not out to fight alone. We are to consolidate and construct. Let me assure you, Sir, that the people at large do not know this. If only they were educated on [the] right lines, apprised of the real position, and further told that there is a history behind our struggle, I am sure they will thereby be moulded into a power to reckon with. They will never be deceived and will never falter. Let us save them from falling victim to the glamour of nationalism. Ours is an equally, or to be true, more robust kind of nationalism. Our nationalism consists in self-preservation, in being tough and invincible. We shall not be destroyed and led by the nose. We must prove that. If we had a band of workers who could propagate on such lines, I am confident you could muster a more reliable following. I say more reliable because I fear that at present you have no such intelligent and staunch following. They are merely rhetoric-ridden people. They know nothing and have nothing to defend. And I wonder how they can be expected to defend and stand by our flag if they do not know what they are and what they are standing for. They are any moment liable to go astray. Our enemy has more concrete things in store. We have none. At least we do not make a show of it. We do not properly spread the knowledge of it. There is, unfortunately, even now, a type of leaders who seem to have no concern with facts. They simply talk and often through their hats. If they were to know that truth is stronger than anything else, they might as well stop their boisterous "speechifying" and set themselves to silently educating the people by giving them concrete and unchallengeable facts. It is a pity we do not make use of the hard facts we have with us while the enemy having such a sorry cause to plead against us triumphs over us. Why? [Because] they have people who know and understand and who also know and understand how credulous and ignorant we are.

Our youngman is so ill-informed that he cannot face a volley of intelligent questions from the other side. What is your cause? What [do] you stand for? And he cannot reply. He cannot talk in a matter-of-fact way. He just says Islam *Zindabad*. The opponent asks: "How Islam is going to suffer if you join us". And now the poor Musalman is dumb. If he knew things he could plainly say that those who were capable of treating even the long-established language, Urdu, in such a mean manner, just because it was akin to Muslim culture, were not the people he would trust. Only one issue could decide.

And then most of our youngmen are too [*sic* for well] above petty things. They are broad-minded and abhor anything communal. They, as they say, are enlightened. They are merely ignorant. So, Sir, as you have rightly said, knowledge is the thing. Who will impart it? And then those who would teach must be schooled? How to do it? These are a few questions which I feel like placing before you. There are one or two more. And I would very much like to see you personally. Could you very kindly grant me an interview? I will be very grateful indeed.

I am,
My beloved leader,
Your most obedient servant,
Z. AHMAD

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M. Husain Khalid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/172-3

AMIR GANJ,
BHOPAL,
23 February 1940

Dear Sir,

May I know if any help is rendered by the Muslim League to those unfortunate and wretched Muslims who are victimized by the communal jealousy of the Hindus prevailing at this critical time in India? If not, may I know which other institution or association [can] a poor Muslim [turn] to for redress for the tyranny of the communal jealousy of the powerful body of Hindus?

Irrespective of the membership of any particular League, Congress or any other association, and irrespective of the culture, education and society, etc., every Hindu today appears to be Shardhanand[1] to the Muslim.

I was a Sub-Inspector of Watch & Ward on the B.B.&C.I. [Bombay, Baroda and Central India] Railway from 1st January 1931 up to the 18th of February 1939. For eight years continually my services were always reckoned as good and excellent but all of a sudden I was discharged on the 18th of February 1939 for no rhyme or reason from Cawnpore.

There was no case against me at all, nor was I informed of the

guilt for which I was discharged, nor was I given a chance to clear my position, if there were any charges against me. The understood reason for my discharge was well known to every body on the [railway] line that for more than a year before the date of my discharge, the immediate officer, i.e. the Assistant Superintendent, Watch & Ward MG., was a Hindu gentleman, Mr. D.H. Chhaya, who is still holding the same post, and my successor could be a Hindu of the same caste and creed as the said officer is, while unfortunately I was a Muslim.

There were only five Muslims in the whole of the Department. Four out of the said five were under the said officer. One, Mr. Ahmed Mian, was chased by the officer from one end of the Railway to the other and harassed to his life for months together with a view to concoct[ing] a case for his discharge as he could not be discharged on no [*sic* for any] ground, having had a long service on the railway, but to the good luck of Ahmed Mian the officer could not succeed in his efforts.

I was also harassed for more than a year and efforts were made to break [*sic*] my clean record and blacken my clean service sheet but all in vain. It was, therefore, that I was discharged with no reasons. I appealed my case to higher authorities but the Superintendent, Watch & Ward, favoured Mr. Chhaya to the extent that he openly cheated me in the matter of appeal. I am in possession of the documentary evidence of his cheat[ing].

If at all I know that you make up your mind to take up the matter in your hands, I shall myself come to Bombay with my papers and you will simply be surprised to see the terrific [*sic* for terrible] injustice done to me and the autocracy enjoyed by the railway officers in these enlightened days.

Hoping to be excused for the trouble I am giving you,

Yours truly,
M. HUSAIN KHALID

[1]A rabid and fanatical Hindu, leading protagonist of *Shuddhi* (reconversion to Hinduism of those who had embraced other faiths) and Hindu *Sangathan* (solidarity), Swami Shradhanand was assassinated by Abdul Rashid in 1926 in Delhi.

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Rashid Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 344/16-8

ZARAFSHAN,
LAHORE,
23 February 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I do hope you have received my previous letter.[1] The Chairman of the Reception Committee, Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan, is going to Delhi tonight with the tentative programme of the forthcoming session and your arrival here on the 21st for your approval and also to attend the meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League.

I do trust you will be able to stay with me here during your visit to Lahore. I need hardly say that I always rely on your goodwill towards me. In this connection, I would like to say that from the programme of the session that I have seen I noticed that on the 22nd of March and on the 23rd, the time for lunch is left vacant in the programme. It will give me much encouragement and will be a source of much pleasure to me if you will have lunch with me here at my place on any of those days whichever is convenient to you. I am going to ask some leading Muslims to meet you. I have also mentioned this to the Chairman of the Reception Committee and he agreed with me that I must write to you. I will be grateful if you will tell him which day will suit you and will also let me know. I do hope that you will at least give me the pleasure of entertaining you at my house. You know I have been working for the League as best as [*sic*] I can since my return from England a year ago, collecting subscriptions, helping in the organisation, and going with the minority provinces' delegation in the height [*sic*] of summer to various districts. Even in those days, as you will remember when the so-called Leaguers here were in opposition to you, I stood with you here and did not care at all what they thought. Apart from this, I feel I have a claim on you on account of your friendship with my father and our own cordial relations. You have always provided me encouragement and goodwill towards me and I feel I can write to you about all these things. Nawab Mamdot also told me that he has sent my name to you along with others for selection to the Council of the All India Muslim League. I was, as you know, a member of

the Council during my father's lifetime and also after that, but owing to my absence in Europe my name was taken off. I will be much obliged if you will agree to my selection. You will no doubt understand that if I am on the Council, I will have opportunity to do much more useful work for the League, besides coming into contact with people from all over India, besides doing so many other useful things in favour of the League. I am really handicapped by not being a member of the Council. I am sure you will not have any objection to my nomination.

Hoping to hear from you, [and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
RASHID ALI KHAN
Barrister-at-Law

[1]See F. 344/21-3, *QAP*. Not printed.

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M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow

F. 95/66-8

NEW DELHI,
23 February 1940

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I placed the whole correspondence that has passed between Your Excellency and myself, ending with your letter dated the 23rd of December 1939,[1] before the meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League on the 3rd of February 1940.

The Working Committee, after very careful consideration, passed a resolution, a copy of the text of which I have already sent to Your Excellency with a covering letter dated the 6th of February.[2] As was desired by Your Excellency in our conversation on the 6th instant, I now beg to state briefly the views of the Working Committee which are as follows.

The Working Committee appreciate the clarification made by Your Excellency regarding the first point and are glad to note that the declaration made by Your Excellency, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, on the 18th of October 1939 does not exclude the examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based.

As regards the second point, the Working Committee do not feel satisfied as the request made for a definite assurance has not been met, viz. that no declaration, either in principle or otherwise, should be made, or any constitution enforced by His Majesty's Government, or enacted by Parliament, without the approval and consent of the Musalmans of India. We recognise Your Excellency's assurance when you state that "His Majesty's Government are not under any misapprehension as to the importance of the contentment of the Muslim community to the stability and success of any constitutional developments in India. You need, therefore, have no fear that the weight which your community's position in India necessarily gives their views, will be underrated". But, I regret to say, this does not meet the point raised by the Muslim League, because it still leaves the position of the 90 million Musalmans of India only in the region of consultation and counsel, and vests the final decision in the hands of Great Britain to determine the fate and future of Muslim India. We regret that we cannot accept this position.

As to the policy for Palestine, the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League wish to impress upon His Majesty's Government that a solution should be found to the satisfaction of the Arabs. The Committee are glad to note, as Your Excellency states, that His Majesty's Government have endeavoured to meet all reasonable Arab demands, and [that] they continue to be fully alive to that issue. But the eyes of the Muslim world are watching the situation keenly and a definite solution should be found without delay.

With regard to the use of Indian troops against any Muslim power or country the Committee feel that Your Excellency has misunderstood the position. When we asked for an assurance that Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power or country, it was not intended that they shall not be used for defence of the country in case of an attack on or aggression against India. While we thank Your Excellency for informing us that every precaution has been taken by His Majesty's Government, at the instance of the Government of India, to insure that Muslim feeling in India on this matter is fully respected, we feel that further clarification of the position is necessary.

It is required of the Muslim League to give assurance of whole-hearted cooperation and active support on behalf of the Musalmans of India to the British Government for the purpose of prosecution of the war. The Committee are of opinion that before doing that they must feel confident that the future of the Musalmans of India is not left in the region of uncertainty or doubtful possibility. Consequently,

we do not consider it unreasonable on our part to ask for a definite assurance that no commitments will be made with regard to the future constitution of India or any interim settlement with any other party, without our approval and consent. If His Majesty's Government are prepared to treat the leadership of the Musalmans as a responsible body, then they must be trusted, especially where the question of determining their own future is concerned.

We are constrained to state that Your Excellency is unnecessarily over-anxious about the interests of other communities. It has never been our desire to unjustly harm any community. The issues that have been raised by us are due to apprehensions that the British Government may be stampeded by other powerful organisations in the country into adopting a course or agreeing to a settlement in the matter of India's constitution which may prove not only highly detrimental to the interests of the Musalmans but may be disastrous for them.

As regards Palestine and the use of Indian troops, our demands, as explained by me above, cannot in any way prejudice the interests of any other community. It is not possible in a letter of this kind to state fully the various reasons and details but, if Your Excellency so desires, I shall be very glad to place the views of the Committee before you in fuller detail at an early date, whenever Your Excellency finds it convenient.[3]

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Annexure to Enclosure to No. 85.
[2]No. 85.
[3]See No. 123 for Viceroy's reply.

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Ashfaq Ahmad Quddoosi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/174-5

HAVELI KALLOO KHAWAS,
CHITLY QABAR, DELHI,
23 February 1940

Dear Sir,

I was among the audience last night when your honour performed the unveiling ceremony of the portrait of late Maulana Shaukat Ali. I

heard each and every word of your speech[1] very attentively and was glad to know that the great commander of the Indian Muslims is fully conscious of the troubles that the Muslim community is facing today, and the handicaps on account of which the Muslim nation is suffering so much in the present situation. But I am at a loss to understand how these defects can be removed unless and until there is some particular programme set before us by some responsible organization like the All India Muslim League and some Muslim gentlemen prepare themselves to sacrifice their self-interest for the sake of their nation and persuade the Muslim mass[es] to act accordingly. If otherwise, the meaning of the noble advice that you gave to your Muslim brethren being that each man should act as far as his own capacities permit, I am afraid it will not be fruitful but [will] on the other hand create other troubles and the aim will not be achieved even if thousands [of] lives be sacrificed and the work be carried out for ages long [*sic*].

I am a humble personality among the Muslims who have a keen desire that my nation be organised and that I should also do some service for her. But my personal experience is that individual efforts do not avail unless and until one is supported by a well-established organisation and if they avail at all, it requires ages to lay the foundation, and the [Persian] proverb that so long antidote comes from Iraq the sufferer dies,[2] applies to us. Now, how to affiliate these individual efforts to an established institution is a difficult problem, and I like to hear something from you on this subject.

As regards my personal activities, I have been anxious for a long time to lay the foundation of an institution like Dayal Bagh, Agra, for my community, and it is but two and a quarter years back that I founded the institution with the name of Nabi Bagh in Delhi, and up to this time I am pulling it on without any help successfully. But as I mentioned above, I could not get any support from the public simply because the institution has not so far been patronised by any leader of the country. I am sure that even under these circumstances, I will succeed one day, but I am sorry to say that the speed of my work is very slow as up to this time only the educational portion of the scheme has been brought into practice, the other most important factors are [a]waiting public help which for want of reliance is lacking.

I am sorry I cannot send the literature as it is all printed in Urdu, but should I be so fortunate as to be given an interview, I shall be able to explain the whole thing. However, I may bring to your kind notice that the scheme was briefly described before Nawabzada

Liaquat Ali Khan when I visited him last month.

To be brief, would you very kindly solve the difficulty how the scheme of Muslim uplift be launched under the present circumstances?

Apologising for the trouble I give you of reading these lines,

I am,
Yours truly,
ASHFAQ AHMAD QUDDOOSI
Honorary Nazim,
Nabi Bagh New Model School

[1]See Enclosure to No. 112. Also see Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 460-2.

[2]The Persian proverb translated into English is: By the time the antidote arrives from Iraq, the victim of snakebite will have died.

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E. V. Ramaswami Naicker to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 518/34

ERODE,
23 February 1940

Glad inform you compulsory Hindi cancelled.[1]

RAMASWAMI

[1]Jinnah congratulated Naicker on his bold and determined stand, which had helped secure justice for the people whose cause he had courageously espoused. See F. 518/35, *QAP*. Not printed.

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M. A. Jinnah to Anonym

F. 825/1

NEW DELHI,
26 February 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of 17th February[1] and beg to inform you that the amount of five thousand rupees in question was not

given as a loan from the Fund with my permission. On the contrary, as far as I remember, when the matter was mentioned to me, I distinctly said that it was not possible for me to [word(s) missing] the arrangement that this amount should be given as a loan to the Provincial Muslim League. Upon that you were good enough to assure me that you would be responsible for it, and that the amount of five thousand which was donated to my personal fund by the Rani Sahib would be paid in any case. Therefore, I hope that you will not allow the impression to remain that the arrangement was made with my approval and consent. In these circumstances I expect that you will be good enough to send me a cheque for five thousand at your earliest convenience.

I am really sorry to note that the Provincial Working Committee not only has not been able to pay the amount to you, but, on the contrary, they seem to think that they have fulfilled their obligation by asking you to convey their regret on their inability to collect the amount. I hope that the Provincial Working Committee will realise that they must discharge their liabilities for the sake of the prestige and reputation of the Province they represent. After all we must observe the elementary principles of business and I trust that they will not fail to discharge their liabilities as soon as possible. But all this is a matter between you and the Provincial Working Committee. So far as I am concerned, I have to perform my duty and collect every donation which was promised and publicly announced, as I am responsible for it. I hope you will not misunderstand me in any way as I am only doing my duty.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.

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Rashida Latif Baji to M. A. Jinnah

F. 893/246-7

21 MAYO ROAD,
LAHORE,
27 February 1940

Respected brother,

Ref[erence] my reg[istere]d letter No. 699 dated 7[6].2.1940[1] along

with a copy of the Bill.

I beg to invite your attention to my previous letter regarding the "Shariat Bill" introduced by me in the Punjab Legislative Assembly. I am very sorry to note that I have not so far received any suggestion or help from your quarter.

Kindly help the Muslim women of the Punjab in particular at this hour of crisis, and have their humble prayers. I being the representative of the Punjab women,[2] take the liberty of requesting you to do your utmost at this juncture. If the women of the Punjab are not helped at this time, when the Muslim League party is in power in this Province, then there is no place for them. I am confident that you would favour me with your kind note and issue necessary instructions for the cause of the Muslim world.

I am confident that you would treat it as urgent.

Yours truly,
RASHIDA LATIF BAJI[2]
MLA

[1]No. 81.
[2]She was then serving as a member of All India Muslim Women's Sub-Committee. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 583.

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H. J. Kazi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/178

KOTHARI WADA, GODHRA,
27 February 1940

Dear Sir,

As sole representative of the Islamic world in this country, the Muslims look up on [*sic* for to] you as their saviour in these days of political turmoil.

As one of the true Muslims, I am taking the liberty of mak[ing] the following suggestion to you for introducing a piece of legislation in the Central [Assembly].

Under the provisions of the Child Marriage Restraint Act [1929],[1]

the marriageable age for a boy and a girl is fixed at 18 and 14, respectively. This restriction is applied [*sic* for applicable] to all communities. Under the Muslim law, a boy and a girl is considered as having reached puberty at the age of 15 and 12, respectively. Government legislation is, however, interfering with our religious mandates [*sic*] so far [as] the marriageable age of Muslim boys and girls is concerned.

I therefore request you to kindly consider moving an amending bill in the Central Assembly to reduce the age-limit of Muslim boys and girls to 15 and 12 years, respectively, so as to be in consonance with the mandates of Islam.

I shall be grateful to hear your views in this respect and as to what you propose to do in the matter.

Yours truly,
H. J. KAZI

[1]On an earlier occasion, Jinnah had described this law as a "dead letter," and did not participate in the third reading of the legislative bill in the Assembly. See Waheed Ahmad, ed., *Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah: Speeches, Indian Legislative Assembly, 1935-1947*, Karachi, 1991, 326-8.

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Note by Abdul Majid

F. 1009/49-52

GUJRAT, PUNJAB,
27 February 1940

WHAT TO DO?

India stands on the threshold of a new era and is face to face with a very delicate and serious situation. The question of the future constitution is about to be tackled with [*sic*].

The Hindu majority is fully alive and completely organised to take full advantage of the situation. It has like an elephant grown different teeth to attract and crush, by organising itself into two separate organisations, the Congress and the Mahasabha. Both the

organisations stand for democracy in India as a whole. This will give the Hindu majority freedom and power to rule the minorities. The Congress with its Hindu majority, and a few members of other nations on its rolls, cleverly pretends to represent all the nations in India. It is thus tactfully trying to deprive the minorities of their distinct entity and the opportunity to present their case. The recent election of Maulana Azad to the Congress *gaddi* is another important move in this direction. In spite of all its pretence for democracy, with singular inconsistency it refuses to recognise the Muslim League as an authoritative and representative organisation of the Muslims, knowing perfectly well that the League commands the confidence of the majority of the Muslims. The Congress, like a foe in the guise of a friend, with its false ideology, is more harmful to the minorities than the Mahasabha, which openly stands for Hindu *raj*.

It is indeed a great pity that at this critical juncture the minorities are lying asleep. The Muslims, in spite of Mr. Jinnah's untiring energy and devotion, are still not properly organised to have an effective say in the matter, which, if not properly handled, may darken their destiny; others are suffering from absence of proper guidance.

It is high time that the minorities should organise themselves. They are faced with the crossroads of freedom or subjugation to the rule of a religious majority. If they now fail to follow the right path they may be doomed for ever. The position is almost that of now or never.

India, as shrewdly remarked by Mr. Jinnah, is not a country but a continent [*sic*] composed of different nations. It had never [been] and can never [be] a single state and enjoy a common nationality. Democracy in India as a whole must mean, as elsewhere, the rule of majority, which in other words means Hindu *raj* in India. A democratic constitution for India as a whole, instead of bringing freedom to the minorities, will make their position worse by subjugating them to the rule of a religious majority which, once in power and secure of its position, will ruthlessly impose its philosophy and solve its own economic problem irrespective of the minorities' viewpoint.

Three years' working experience of the provincial autonomy ought to be a sufficient lesson to convince all concerned that democracy in India as a whole will simply increase and perpetuate the present tension among the different nations in India.

Peace can be maintained in India only by adopting either of the two different methods suggested by the Hindus and Muslims. The Hindus suggest immediate replacement of the British *raj* by Hindu

raj, through a democratic constitution. This may be effective but is certainly against all principles of equity, justice and good conscience. The Muslims, on the other hand, suggest that in the future constitution of India the different Indian nations should be given equal status, so that no one may have any cause or the courage to break the peace. This sounds more reasonable and equitable.

The British Government has decided to give India its due, but is not prepared to ignore those [to] whom it owes a duty, on this momentous occasion.

Obviously, what stands to-day between freedom and the people of India is the selfish and uncompromising spirit of the Hindu majority.

Delay is always dangerous, and it is the most opportune time that Hindu leaders should, in the interest of India, now stop dreaming of Hindu *raj* and give up wandering in the world of unrealities. They should throw off the unnatural national cloak and appear in their true colours. They should try to solve the Indian problem on principles of equity, justice, and good conscience, with the help of the Viceroy and the recognised leaders of the other nations in India.

ABDUL MAJID
B.A., LL.B.
Pleader

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Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah

F. 95/69

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
28 February 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I write to acknowledge with many thanks your letter of the 24th [23rd] February,[1] in which you have been good enough to inform me of the views of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. It shall, I need not say, have my careful attention.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

[1]No. 116.

124

Adamjee Haji Dawood to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/56

STEPHEN HOUSE,
5 DALHOUSIE SQUARE,
CALCUTTA,
28 February 1940

My dear Jinnah Sahib,

My friend, Mr. M. L. Shah, is coming to Delhi in connection with the Excess Profits Tax Bill.[1] As you are aware, the Excess Profits Tax is sought to be imposed at a time when trade and industry has not yet been able to recover from the severe slump of the last several years,[2] and unless substantial modifications are made in the Bill which is now before the Select Committee, there is no doubt that this measure would seriously cripple business with serious economic consequences to the mercantile community. Myself and Mr. Ispahani had wired to you on the 15th instant[3] giving our views in brief on some of the important points. Mr. Shah will see you and explain the points further. I may add that I am in complete agreement with his views. May I request you to be good enough to use your influence and see that at least some of the very objectionable provisions in the Bill are amended in the Select Committee.

With kind regards,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
ADAMJEE HAJI DAWOOD

[1]Jinnah had earlier participated in the Assembly debate on the subject. See Waheed Ahmad, *Jinnah: Speeches, Indian Legislative Assembly 1935-1947*, 456-73.

[2]The thirties of the last century were marked by a great economic depression causing a severe slump in business and trade the world over.

[3]Not traceable.

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Mahomed Ali Chaiwala to M. A. Jinnah

F. 241/1-3

15 MILITARY SQUARE LANE,
FORT, BOMBAY,
28 February 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The election of the members to the Port Haj Committee is due on 15th of March next. The elected Muslim members of the two [Houses of] Legislature of Bombay and also of the Central Assembly and Council of State elect six members while the Muslim members of the Bombay Municipal Corporation elect two members. These eight are entitled to co-opt four members. The Parliamentary Board has passed a resolution inviting applications from any Muslim (who is a member of the Muslim League) who wants to stand for this election.

A question has, therefore, arisen whether the Parliamentary Board has power to select and adopt candidates for the forthcoming election of the Port Haj Committee of Bombay. The resolution of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League dated the 22nd January 1939 runs as follows:

> A Parliamentary Committee of the following gentlemen is appointed to select and adopt candidates for the Provincial Legislature and other elected bodies and make all arrangements for contesting the by-elections and general elections etc., etc.

A copy of the said resolution is enclosed herewith. It is contended by the Muslim League members in the Corporation as well as in the Assembly that the Parliamentary Board has no power to invite applications for election to the Port Haj Committee and they contend that as the electorate only consist of themselves, i.e. members of the Corporation and Assembly, their party in the Corporation and Assembly are entitled to put forward their own candidates. The Parliamentary Board has decided that under the resolution above mentioned, they are entitled to run candidates for the Port Haj Committee, which is also an elected body, the more so because a candidate to be elected to the Port Haj Committee need not necessarily be a member of the electorate, the object of this Rule being that people who are working in the interest of the *Hajis* or ameliorating their conditions should not be debarred from contesting the election because they are neither member[s] of the Municipality

nor [of] the Assembly. The Muslim League Party in the Corporation have not invited any applications, but they have selected two of their own members to contest the two seats reserved for election from the Municipal electorate.

[Some of] the present sitting members of the Port Haj Committee are members of the Corporation and [*sic* for or] members of the Assembly, but most of them are outside people. Therefore, if the Muslim League Party in the Corporation and in the Assembly adopt the attitude of selecting their own members for contesting this election, the general Muslim public will be dissatisfied with this election as it would amount to monopolizing the seats on the Haj Committee by Muslim members of the Corporation and the Assembly. It is argued by the Muslim League Party in the Corporation and in the Assembly that just as they have power as a party themselves to select from amongst themselves members of the Standing Committee, Improvements Committee and other subsidiary bodies working under the Assembly or the Corporation, so they have a right also to nominate their own members to the Haj Committee. The said simile does not apply here because the subsidiary bodies of Corporation and Assembly remain under the control of the main body, namely the Assembly and the Corporation, while the Haj Committee is absolutely an independent body which cannot be controlled by the Assembly or the Corporation. It is only the electorate which consists of the Muslim members of the Assembly and Corporation and therefore they cannot claim the sole right to appoint their own members on the Haj Committee. Even the Rule quoted above clearly states that a candidate to be elected to the Port Haj Committee need not necessarily be a member of the electorate.

This matter is very greatly discussed in Bombay and the question of the authority of the Parliamentary Board for inviting applications is a technical one and the right of the Parliamentary Board is challenged. I wonder, therefore, if, for guiding the Parliamentary Board in the matter, you can express any opinion on this technical and ticklish question, so that the matter may be smoothed over and proceeded with as may be just and proper. Your early reply in this matter will be much appreciated as the date of nomination is by the middle of next week.

I have received the receipt for Rs. 525 from the J[oin]t Hon[orary] Secretary and Treasurer of the Turkish Earthquake Relief Fund, India. I enclose the envelope containing the receipt as desired by you.

Yours sincerely,
MAHOMED ALI CHAIWALA

126

Ram Nandan Chowdhary to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1083/31-2

P. O. MAHENDRU, PATNA,
1 March 1940

My dear leader,

Received your letter[1] to-day for which I thank you. My wife and myself feel extremely grateful to you and Miss Jinnah for the kind condolence.

Dear leader, what I feared turned out to be true. Your letter indicates that you never received my letter containing the confidential document. There must surely have been something amiss on the way. However, I don't worry. The spying Mahasabha will fail in its objective. Shortly, I will procure another copy of it and send you under registered cover. At present, I cannot move about, for I am undergoing a course of anti-bacterial injections.

I am glad that you have taken note of my request. If no minorities' delegation is visiting London, I have nothing to say. But if it does, I hope you will remember me. I pray again.

Regarding the *Muslim Renaissance*, I have got ample copies of it as yet with me. I am sending you ten complimentary ones which I hope you will accept.

My dear leader, it was my fervent ambition to present to the forthcoming Lahore session of the A.I.M.L. an up-to-date edition of the *Muslim Renaissance*. But forced penury clogged [*sic*] my hands. Every farthing has been forced out of me. The persecution that I am still undergoing will reveal a grim spectacle. Mr. Aziz will tell you. I approached a few quarters for the disposal of the remaining three hundred copies of my book. Had I got through this business, I would have, somehow or other, managed a fresh print. Failing that I had to stop.

However, these petty things cannot hold my progress—my zeal to serve the cause I have espoused. God will help me and one day I must succeed. Truth wins in the end.

Hoping to be always in your mind,

I remain ever,
Affectionately yours,
RAM NANDAN CHOWDHARY

[1]Not traceable.

127

M. A. Jinnah to J. G. Laithwaite[1]

F. 498/3

NEW DELHI,
2[?] *March 1940*

Dear Sir,

I have received various amounts towards the Turkish Earthquake Relief Fund from Muslim subscribers from different parts of India, although I have announced in the newspapers requesting people not to do so, but to send the money direct either to the Provincial Governors, or to His Excellency the Viceroy. However, in spite of that these amounts have come in and I am, therefore, sending the whole lot to you. The total is Rs. 2,129-15-0, and a list[2] showing the various subscribers is herewith enclosed.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Private Secretary to the Viceroy.
[2]See F. 676/60, *QAP*. Not printed.

128

Walter Christie[1] *to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 676/59

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
2 March 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received from your Secretary the sum of Rs. 2,129-15-0. His Excellency asks me to thank you and to say that he is at once having it sent through the Indian Red Cross to the Turkish Red Crescent, as arranged with the Turkish Government. The list of donors which you have kindly sent with your letter will be published.

Yours sincerely,
WALTER CHRISTIE

[1]Deputy Private Secretary to the Viceroy.

129

Baba Kishan Singh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 924/92-3

V. & P. O. RAMGARH,
DISTRICT AMRITSAR,
2 March 1940

Sir,

You might have heard about the struggle that has been waging [*sic*] between us and the Shromani Prabandak Gurdawara Committee, about our legitimate rights as Sikhs. It has so far failed badly to satisfy us, and it has not even granted us the right of drawing water from the wells as our Sikh brethren do. We have been harassed wherever we have gone, and we have always been looked down upon with contempt [*sic*] from the Sikhs of the high[er] Castes.

We understand that you are taking up the cause of the minority communities and so we approach you with a request. If our community, the Mazbhi Sikhs, accept Islam, will you grant us full concessions of Mohammedanism [Islam], and treat us as your equals in every respect.

On hearing from you the matter will be further discussed and a candid reply will be submitted to you on your arrival in Lahore for the session of the All India Muslim League.

Hoping to hear from you as early as possible,

Yours faithfully,
BABA KISHAN SINGH
President, Punjab Shri Moni
Baba Jiwan Mazbhi Dal

130

Manager, the Hamdam, *to M. A. Jinnah*

F. 1009/20

LUCKNOW,
2 March 1940

Dear Sir,

Nawab Abdullah Khan, Director of the daily *Hamdam*, desires me

to submit to you a cutting of his article in which he has criticised the publicity arrangement of the Muslim League. Musalmans all over India, he thinks, admire your courage and determination in giving out the challenge of Muslim freedom. They have imbibed your message with heartfelt gratification and are determined to spare no effort and sacrifice to achieve the new objective you have placed before them.

They are a warlike people and the doctrine of *Ahimsa* [non-violence] or passive resistance does not appeal to them. They regard your challenge as a call to arms and such of them as were antipathetic towards Muslim League have been heard to applaud your decision and to express their willingness to follow your lead. But the attainment of the goal, while requiring tremendous sacrifices and Herculean effort on the part of the Muslim masses, requires the work of the national *panchayat* (Muslim League) to be carried on with vigour, discipline and concentration. There can be no gainsaying the fact that the Hindu leaders are leading their followers towards a revolution but unfortunately [those] whom you have placed in charge of the Provincial and District Leagues lack the power of activity, foresight and wisdom and most of them do not enjoy the confidence of the masses. Congress efforts are now directed to[wards] creat[ing] a split in the Muslim League and prejudice against you. Their propaganda is in full swing but unfortunately the Muslim League bestow [*sic*] very little attention on the need of propaganda.

Yours sincerely,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Manager,
The daily Hamdam

131

Rajah Bahadur of Khallikote to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/58

RAMBHA PALACE, RAMBHA,
GANJAM DISTRICT,
3 March 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have been longing to meet you and exchange views on the present political situation, but we have not been able to meet so far. I have,

therefore, decided to go to Delhi during the 3rd week of this month and have the pleasure of cultivating your acquaintance. I need not assure you that I have been following your utterances through the press very closely and agree with your views substantially, but I think the time has come when mere passive appreciation of your efforts will not serve any useful purpose. On behalf of the Orissa zamindars, I propose to discuss [a] few points with you so that we may have a common platform on which all the non-Congress elements in the country may meet.

I shall be obliged if you kindly let me know your programme between the 12th and the 20th of this month so that I may decide when to start. It will of course be convenient to me to meet you at Delhi.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]
Rajah Bahadur of Khallikote

132

Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/63-4

PESHAWAR,
4 March 1940

Dear Sir,

I repeat my request for your printed English as well as Urdu presidential address for the annual session, Lahore.

I do not know where is Sir Abdoola Haroon. I have to remind him, through you, if he be at Delhi, to see that representatives of foreign Muslim States attend the seminar. He had [also] an idea of getting the presidential reception filmed. It would be a grand idea.

I am alert as you [have] ordered. So far we are progressing favourably. When some definite shape is given to the idea, I will inform you at once.

Thank God—your policy is getting on—Congress Resolution is singularly lacking in statesmanship—a beautiful essay.

Punjab is frightfully busy with the preparations for the session. May God Almighty guide us to do the right thing at the right moment!

Congress organisation in the Punjab as well as in N.W.F.P.

is gradually but surely collapsing—your classical statement to *The Times*[1] had a wonderful effect. We are waiting most anxiously for another of its kind. It clinched the matter. It made an unanswerable case.

May God Almighty grant you health [and] spirit to carry on the most onerous duties of being the presiding genius of Muslim India. By the way, Muslim India means two-nation theory and we must stick to it in preference to the Musalmans of India.

Sindh with Allah Bakhsh is hell—we must end it. It cannot be mended—we should think of 1942 [the next Provincial election] for its overhauling. Allah Bakhsh is hellish—we should go to the next polls lock, stock and barrel.

With regards,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice,* I, 468.

133

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 199/4

ALIGARH,
4 March 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am herewith sending you copy of the programme of your visit as finally decided upon.[1] I forgot while I met you to request Miss Jinnah to visit us. It should give us all the greatest [*sic*] pleasure if Miss Jinnah also honours us with a visit on this occasion.

States Muslim students, specially Kashmir students, are keen to present you with their own addresses. They wish to bring their own special problems to your notice. Perhaps you could spare them an hour on the 8th before your departure for Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]Not traceable.

134

Hamilton Fish Armstrong to M. A. Jinnah

F. 995/1-2

45 EAST SIXTY-FIFTH STREET,
NEW YORK,
5 March 1940

My dear Sir,

I am writing to inquire whether you might not be persuaded to prepare an article for the *Foreign Affairs,* setting forth the Muslim view of how India might evolve into a united State. I do not know whether you happen to be familiar with our review, but if you are, you will know that it is a non-partisan periodical devoted to enlightening the American public regarding international affairs and that it exercises a considerable influence in its field. In the past we have had a number of articles from India representing a variety of authoritative points of view. The two most recent articles were by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and John Coatman, formerly a member of the Indian Legislative Assembly. Incidentally, Lord Halifax wrote for us under the title *The Political Future of India* in April 1935, shortly after relinquishing his post of Viceroy; and Lord Zetland, the present Secretary of State for India, has written for us twice (in October 1930 and in April 1932).

None of the articles we have had from India has ever seemed to me to give adequate representation to the Muslim point of view. Americans would be interested, I think, in an authoritative statement of your position regarding both the religious and the political problems of India as affecting any proposals for federal union, dominion status or independence. I understand that you favour a constitutional solution, and, if so, it might be well to state how you think that might be achieved. You cannot entirely avoid historical matters, but if, as I hope, you accept our invitation, you should remember that the historical background has been sketched a number of times in our pages and need not be repeated in much detail. A timely aspect of your article would be some comment on the British decision to postpone all talk of the change of the status of India until the end of the present War. Our public would be glad to know the Muslim reaction to this proposal and what you think the upshot may be, both in your own religious community and in India generally. One

point further; British observers often comment on the sense of unity which allegedly exists between the Muslims in India and those elsewhere, notably in the Arabic-speaking countries. Some comment from you on this point would seem in order.

I need not say that we would consider it an honour to be able to include you among our contributors, and I think I can assure you that if you felt able to write frankly, your views would awaken considerable interest and might carry far. The length of article we favour in *Foreign Affairs* is between four and five thousand words (our honorarium is one hundred dollars), and, in order for us to be able to print your article in our summer issue, when it would be most timely, we should need to receive the manuscript in New York during the first week in May. If you dispatched your manuscript to us by airmail, I think it could be received in time. As an added precaution, you might send a second copy by ordinary sea post.

Hoping that my proposal may tempt you, believe me,

Yours sincerely,
HAMILTON FISH ARMSTRONG
Editor, Foreign Affairs

135

Rahmath Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/199

SAGAR, DISTRICT SHIMOGA,
MYSORE,
6 March 1940

Our most beloved big leader,

It is an humble poor person that is writing this. He is an admirer of your goodself as the champion of the cause of our religion and country. You are a person of world-wide fame and with the goodwill of millions of Muslims of this country at your back whereas I am only a poor native of Kathiawar with little education or name. I still wonder if this letter of mine would be of any interest to you. After long hesitation I have ventured into this correspondence. Here are the facts I desire to convey.

For about six years of my married life I had no children and it put all the members of my family in a state of ceaseless worry and I too could not but be a little under the spell [*sic*]. My relatives suggested

an offer being made to God to bestow a child upon us. This sort of bargain did not appeal to me nor did I believe in that.

One day as I was glancing at a newspaper, I was pondering over the question of issues and my eyes caught the interesting article therein that you had denounced your daughter once for all, for her having fallen in love with another community man. My respect to [*sic* for for] you rose to such an extent that I was dumb struck [*sic* for dumbfounded] at the big sacrifice you had made for the sake of our religious sentiments to give up the only daughter as dear to you, perhaps, as your very life. In a moment an idea flashed across my brain that were I to get a male issue, I would name him after you—in honour of your goodself and also to be a source of continuous remembrance of your person to me and to my people.

Wonderfully enough—I got a male child shortly later and I have decided to add to his name your beloved name "Jinnah" and call him as Abdul Hameed Khan Jinnah.

From the day of his birth I have been ever thinking of taking him to you and dedicate him to your noble cause. I heard with delight that you recently visited our Kathiawar District. I much wished [*sic*] I should have been there and met you and placed the child in your arms and got your blessings to him. Unfortunately, I had then been stranded here, in Southern India, on job and had to sustain the severe disappointment of having missed a golden chance of meeting you. Anyway I am resolved that I must one day or the other [*sic* for another] take the child to your arms and wish it may be in the very near future.

In the meantime, I am anxious to bring up the child on healthier lines to make him quite fit to be an undaunted follower of yours in your noble causes. But I am almost illiterate and cannot see [my] way to the fulfilment of my ambition. I beg to seek your advice. Kindly enlighten me on what lines I should bring up the child and what advice you would like to give for the daily walks [*sic*] of life.

I ever wish your blessings be on the child. I shall be happy to receive a reply to this at your earliest convenience. I am afraid I am taking away much of your precious time by this letter, for which I beg to be excused.

Your sincere admirer and follower,
RAHMATH KHAN

136

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/40-2

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,
CALCUTTA,
6 March 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I believe you remember the Calcutta Corporation Boycott Movement started by the Muslims of the City in 1936 for securing their civic rights and liberties and as a protest against the Congress oligarchy. This Movement proved to be the biggest political upheaval in Muslim Bengal since the Khilafat Movement and was indirectly responsible for the wonderful general awakening and solidarity of the Muslims of Calcutta and the cent per cent success of the Muslim League in all the elections and by-elections to the Bengal Legislature held in Calcutta, 24-Parganas, and Howrah municipal areas.

The Corporation Election Boycott Movement was started under the leadership of the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca with definite objects of securing separate electorate and a better status and representation of the Muslims in the civic government and administration of Calcutta.

Thank *Allah*, the Muslims have succeeded in getting the right of separate electorate under the new Calcutta Municipal Amendment Act of 1939. The general election under the new Act has been fixed for the 28th March 1940.

The Calcutta Muslim League is fighting the election as a party under the guidance and direction of the leaders of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, particularly Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy, President and Secretary, [respectively,] of the Bengal Provincial Muslim [League]. The Nomination Committee have set up 22 candidates for the 22 Muslim seats. One of these candidates has already been declared elected unopposed. It is expected that some other League candidates will also be returned unopposed.

The importance of the Corporation of Calcutta, the biggest self-governing institution in India, rather in Asia, cannot be over-emphasised. The whole Congress movement, power and position has been grounded [*sic*] and built up on the Corporation politics

which has been its mainstay. Corporation is the last line of defence of the Congress in Bengal, so much so that the Congress under Subhas Chandra Bose has formally entered into a contractual alliance with the Hindu Mahasabha for retaining their monopoly *raj* on the golden goose of the Corporation.

The Muslims of Calcutta have suffered much at the hands of the Congressites ruling the Corporation. Now the Muslims have resolved to fight for civic liberty and equality.

The Muslims of Calcutta naturally look forward to you for whatever you can offer to them in their fight for civic freedom and equality.

They particularly request you to kindly pay a visit for at least a day or two to our city which accorded to you the greatest public reception and welcome ever accorded to anyone in the annals of the city. You may pay your visit before or after the Lahore session of the League.

Our second request is that please send your message[1] to the Muslim citizens and voters of Calcutta to solidly work and vote for the Muslim League. Please send your message as early as possible because time is short.

Hoping for your sympathy and support,

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

[1]See No. 148.

137

S. M. Zauqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/202

GHAUSPURA,
HYDERABAD, (DECCAN),
7 March 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope to reach Lahore on the 20th March. After the League session, I shall return direct to Ajmer and stay there for good, making it a centre of my future activities as I told you when we met last in Bombay last December.

Being still in a native State, I am not a member of the Muslim League. So I shall not be able to take any active part in the deliberations at Lahore, but I shall at least be able to feel the atmosphere, survey

things as a distant observer and form my own views about my future work. The first thing I shall do after reaching Ajmer will be to join the League and plunge headlong into the work.

Wishing you success [and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. ZAUQI

138

Abdul Majid to Editor, the Statesman

F. 917/166-7

GUJRAT,
7 March 1940

Sir,

POLITICAL HYPOCRISY

In your leader, headed *A Strange Alliance*, of your issue dated March 4 1940, you have shown a great surprise at the open alliance between the Bengal Congress and Mahasabha for the Calcutta Corporation elections. Excuse me, if I say that it is due to your ignorance of the Hindu mentality.

The Hindus have cleverly organised themselves in two different organisations. These organisations are acting on the political stage of India like a *bania* family in which the father carries on the money-lending business in [the] firm with his son. At the time of advancing the money, the father with his polite and tactful conversation makes the ignorant people to [*sic*] sign a promissory note to pay back the debt with a very heavy interest, on the implied understanding that this being merely a compliance of the legal necessity, and at the time of payment a very lenient treatment would be accorded. When the actual time of payment comes the father poses to be liberal but the son insists on full payment.

At this a very long and theatrical discussion starts between the father and the son. But to the utter disappointment of the unfortunate debtor, the father yields ultimately, with a very long apology to the debtor, who is thus made to pay the full amount.

In the field of politics, similar tactics are applied by the Hindu nation on a large scale. When the minorities joined the Congress, there was no Mahasabha. Since the British Government has made its

intentions clear to give India its due, the Mahasabha has come into existence. The aim of both these organisations is to secure Hindu *raj* in India. Both stand for democracy in India as a whole, but advocate different methods; one says entrap, the other says catch.

The Congress, to persuade the minorities to give their consent to a democratic constitution for India as a whole, has cunningly evolved a false ideology of a common nationality. The falsehood and the hypocrisy of the Congress policy may well be imagined from the following facts:

1. The Congress with all its love of democracy refuses with singular inconsistency to recognise the Muslim League as an authoritative and representative body of the Muslims, knowing perfectly well that the League commands the confidence of the Muslim majority.
2. The Congress with overwhelming Hindu majority claims to have faith in common nationality. But there is not a single Hindu member of the Congress, who would tolerate the presence of his son, in his house who would embrace Islam or Christianity.

In the face of all these obvious facts, it is really astonishing to read in the Congress resolution[1] that India's constitution must be based on independence, democracy and national unity.

It is high time that the minorities should organise themselves and make it clear beyond doubt that the Congress is purely a Hindu organisation and that they do not support its demand for a democratic constitution for India as a whole, which in other words means Hindu *raj* in India; what they want is independence.

[ABDUL MAJID]

[1]See A. M. & S. G. Zaidi, *ed.*, *The Encyclopaedia of the Indian National Congress: A Fight to the Finish*, Vol. XII, New Delhi, 1981, 171-3.

139

Rashid Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 344/19

ZARAFSHAN,
LAHORE,
7 March 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thought I will just write and mention to you that I am offering

my silver *shamiana* with canopy and chairs and carpets to match for your use in the *pandal* during the session (22nd to 24th March 1940), the idea being that it will be put on the raised space above the dais in the *pandal* where you will sit with the Chairman, Reception Committee, and Secretaries. It will just cover that space where you will sit. Nawab Mamdot has accepted the offer.

I am writing to say that I am really very pleased to offer the *shamiana* for your use.

Yours sincerely,
RASHID ALI KHAN
Honorary Joint Secretary,
All India Muslim League

140

Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/65-6

PESHAWAR,
7 March 1940

My dear Sir,

May God Almighty grant you health, spirits!

Congress, in [the] Punjab and NWFP is disintegrating—Dr. Alam is gone. Send him a cheery word. I have written to him also. He may be dishonest, but his exposure of Congress has got its uses—which are certainly sweet—D[ewan] Chamanlal has revolted in [the] Punjab. The idea of the annual session in [the] Punjab is popularising the Muslim League in [the] Punjab. Thank God.

Your pourparler with Jamiat-ul-Ulema are a right step in right direction. Sir, if we have to make a little concession in their favour, it will repay in the long run. It will finish Abul Kalam Azad and Hossain Ahmed in no time. Please do it, but this is a tentative suggestion subject to your discretion.

Sir Sikander [Hyat] has served Allama Inayatullah right—please see him if he comes but don't give him any pledge. I have been to Lahore. He cannot do anything. I saw the *pandal*. It is a huge structure.

Sir, I have to repeat my request about the printed address in English and Urdu both.

Sir Sikander is coming to Peshawar on 9th to study [the] situation.

Please don't be cross with him over his Islamia College speech.[1] This speech can be counter-balanced by his brilliant victory over the Congress.

Will you kindly convey my desire to Sir [Abdoola] Haroon that your reception at Lahore should be filmed and if Turkey's representative [attends], we must have one from India, preferably their Consul in India, if there is any in India. NWFP people will be immeasurably impressed by this show.

With regards,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN
B.A., LL.B. (Alig.), *MLA*
Advocate

[1]Not traceable.

141

Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1092/59-60

[HYDERABAD,
DECCAN,]
7 March 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The obvious reasons that I do not frequently write to you are my difficulty in writing letters in English and the trouble you feel in reading Urdu. It is gratifying to say that the state of affairs in Hyderabad is normal and encouraging. I have been carefully watching your genuine efforts and congratulate you on the achievements attained [*sic*] so far and pray for every success in future.

It does not suit me to express my appreciation over the surprising success of the annual session of the Majlis-i-Ittehadul Muslimeen. To be brief, in respect of political consciousness and general awakening, Hyderabad does not lag behind from [*sic*] any of the provinces of the British India and *Insha Allah* Hyderabad, under your loving guidance, will accentuate her status in leading the Indian provinces.

The State Muslim League (Vindhyachal and Deccan Bloc) held its first conference at Nagpur on the 4th March 1940, along with the annual session of the Central Provinces Muslim League. There was

full representation of a number of States from Central India and Deccan. The report of the conference is under preparation; it will be duly submitted as soon as the work is finished. The Central States Muslim League will hold its all-India session at Lahore along with the annual session of the All India Muslim League. In October last, I had a conversation with you in Delhi about it, and as a result you agreed with the proposal. The question of the presidentship still remains unsolved. I am sorry that Mr. Rajistani, without consulting me, requested you to preside over this conference. I know that you rejected the offer and that was advisable. I propose the names of Hon[oura]ble Sir Sikander and Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad; in my opinion the latter is preferable. In case of approval I wish you to ask him to accept it, so that my request may not be rejected.

I am in correspondence with Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and Raja Sahib of Mamdot [*sic* for Mahmudabad] to fix suitable dates and time for the States League conference. I am sure that the arrangements will conveniently be made.

You will be too busy in Lahore to talk with me. I shall try to be at Delhi on or before the 20th of the instant, so that I may receive full instructions regarding the proposed conference. Will you be kind enough to spare at least two hours for me and oblige?

I shall be awaiting your orders. Excuse me for this long and detailed letter.

Yours sincerely,
BAHADUR YAR JUNG
Chairman, Organising Committee,
Indian States Muslim League

142

Azimun Nissa Begum to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/205-6
[*Original in Urdu*]

HAMKUNDA,
WARANGAL,
8 March 1940

Venerable and revered Sir,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

A sister at a far-flung place, a real sympathizer of Muslims, who

because of poverty cannot attend the annual session of the Muslim League in Lahore, makes a request to you. On the occasion of the annual session of the Muslim League, there would be an extraordinarily large gathering of Muslims. To them please pass on the following message from this poor far-off sister:

> You should now wake up in the real sense. Awakening does not mean becoming enamoured of the new culture; it is entering into the field of action. Please instruct educated, jobless brothers and other job-seeking Muslims, to take up trade as a profession; service is abject slavery whereas trade is no less than independence. Muslims should take up all trades and professions which Hindus now dominate and due to which they are the wealthiest group in India. Due to illiteracy and search for jobs, Muslims appear as paupers and penniless everywhere. Of all the nationalities in India, Muslims are in the worst condition, which makes our hearts bleed. This condition of extreme indigence and poverty has been brought on by Muslims themselves; hence no one else is to blame, not even fate. One does not know what will finally happen to Muslims if this condition continues.

Please order all Muslim women to come out in *purdah* as was the custom of the pious ladies of the Prophet's family. If you would yourself so instruct them, the advice would get etched on their hearts.

I have a great yearning and longing to serve the nation but my poverty is the constraint. I do not have enough money to tour many countries for collecting money to set up an industry in order to help out Muslims. I pray to *Allah* day and night, to give me the power of proselytizing them by my speech and writing and to infuse sympathetic Muslims with the urge to help them. *Aameen*!

Your poor daughter,
AZIMUN NISSA BEGUM

143

Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 321/21

MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
9 March 1940

My dear leader,

I hope you have received the publication, *Congress in Office*, and

you appreciate the idea of publishing Dr. C. R. Reddy's lectures in book form.

A good number of us intend attending the memorable session of the [Muslim] League at Lahore. We hope that good arrangements will be made for us since we are going there from a distant place. Several of my party men will be going with me.

I find that you will be leaving Delhi on the 20th instant. I shall, therefore, have the pleasure of meeting you in Delhi before that day and knowing from you directly the exact situation and our future policy programme.

May *Allah* bless you with long life, strength and health to bear the responsibility of Muslim India.

With affectionate regards,

Yours very sincerely,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN
MLA,
ex-Mayor of Madras

144

Saiyid Ahmud Bukhsh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/210-11

URGENT

NIMUSAHI, CUTTACK,
9 March 1940

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your kind letter of the 7th February 1940[1] which you wrote in reply to my letter of the 2nd February.[2] From the papers, I learn that the Orissa Provincial Muslim League is recommended for affiliation. In this connection, I beg to inform you that on the 29th October 1939, a foreigner, named Moulvi Yakub Ali Qureshi, came to this town and posed himself to have been deputed by the all-India office to organize the League in Orissa and began setting up a rival League afresh and elected one, Mr. M. A. Jalil, a hide merchant of this town, to be the President of the Orissa Provincial Muslim League. I am informed that Mr. M. A. Jalil, the self-made President, who was formerly a member of the Executive Committee of the Provincial League, has applied to the all-India office for the affiliation of the so-called League in Orissa. I am sorry to say that I have not yet

heard from the Hon[orary] Secretary of the All India [Muslim] League as to whose application for affiliation has been recommended. The session of the All India [Muslim] League is to be held in the last week of this month. May I request you to kindly enquire and let me know [as to] whose application for affiliation has been recommended. The President of the Provincial League, of which I am the Hon[orary] Secretary, is Moulvi Lateef-ur-Rahman, B.L., MLA. I also do not know if the sub-committee is aware of the existence of the new rival League formed so in spite of the existence of the Provincial [Muslim] League, duly formed since December 1938, intimation of which was sent to the all-India office in my letter[s] of 16th December 1938[3] and 11th October 1939[4] for the affiliation of the Provincial League. Therefore, I request you to make enquiries into the matter and decide whether the League which was formed first or the subsequent one will be affiliated and oblige us with your decision in the matter.

Yours truly,
AHMUD BUKHSH
Khan Bahadur
Honorary Secretary, Provincial Muslim League

[1, 3&4] Not traceable.
[2] No. 71.

145

Sh. Karim Bakhsh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/217-18

RAWALPINDI,
10 March 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah Sahib,

I am an unknown quantity [*sic*] but I hope I can address you as dear because you are the undisputed leader of the Indian Muslims today, including myself. I hope you won't feel any resentment. I wish you all the success in the struggle that you have undertaken during these strenuous times for the protection of the minorities against veiled aggression. You have very kindly and truly exposed the evils trying to usurp the freedom of the people. The Congress cannot possibly speak on behalf of the people without any sanction from

them. That claim cannot be valid. Moreover, it is a rank communal organization. The Hindus are all very suspicious of the motives of the Muslims. They are never ready to impart justice. I hope and certainly believe that we do not demand anything which is contrary to justice and truth. A people's gov[ernmen]t must listen to the people. It no longer remains democratic. However, I have wandered far. I wanted to say something else.

It is true that all the other organizations in the country, including the Depressed Classes, joined the Muslims in celebrating the Deliverance Day.[1] Moreover, you were authorised by the Depressed Classes to speak on their behalf also to H.E. the Viceroy. Thus they had a complete faith in you.

What I now suggest is that a really momentous decision should arise out of this historic gathering at Lahore. I have no doubt in my mind that Islam stands for universal peace, justice and truth. Indeed, it is our duty to spread these noble qualities throughout the world. Not only is this our duty but also to make every effort to remove tyranny of the Congress, and for this reason we should throw open the doors of the Muslim League to all the communities in the country and I hope this move will not only be greatly appreciated but will also be very successful. A Muslim must stand for universal truth and justice. He must not tolerate misdeeds any longer. The goal for us must be complete independence from the rule of Britons as well as from the rule of the Hindus, unless they come to an honourable settlement with the Muslims, considering them as their equal in every sphere. We can remain Untouchables no longer. I hope this suggestion of mine, though crude in form and entirely incomplete in comprehension [*sic*], will receive a beautiful shape through the play of your vast intellect on it. I wish you every success in your struggle for freedom, pure and simple. As Muslims, we stand for the freedom of all oppressed people in the country and hope it is the time to act upon it. I hope you are keeping a perfect health.

Yours sincerely,
SH. KARIM BAKHSH
B.Sc.

[1]The Deliverance Day was observed by the Muslims of India on 22 December 1939 to give expression to their feeling of profound relief over the resignation of Congress Ministries in eight provinces of British India. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 419.

146

Z. H. Lari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/208-9

GORAKHPUR,
11 March 1940

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I enclose herewith a copy of a resolution which I have submitted to the Secretary for discussion at the forthcoming session of the League. I would be grateful if you kindly peruse it.

Yours sincerely,
Z. H. LARI

Enclosure to No. 146

This session of the All India Muslim League deeply regrets that the British Government despatched Indian troops abroad, amended Government of India Act 1935, and declared India a belligerent country without the consent and approval of the Musalmans of India and regards these measures [as] affront to national self-respect and destructive for provincial autonomy.

This session endorses the demands formulated by the President in his letter, dated November 5, 1939,[1] addressed to the Viceroy and expresses its determination to stand by them.

This session, having given its earnest consideration to the reply of the Viceroy, dated December 23, 1939,[2] and other relevant statements, is definitely of the opinion that they are wholly unsatisfactory and unacceptable. Further, the Viceroy's statement, dated January 10, 1940,[3] does not concede the principle of full independence to which the Muslim League stands committed.

It is the considered view of this session that the Musalmans of India cannot help the British Government in the prosecution of the present war unless the demands, as formulated by Mr. M. A. Jinnah in his letter, dated November 5, 1939, are fully and unequivocally met and the principle of full independence conceded. And inasmuch as the British Government has not yet seen its way to fulfil[ling] these conditions, this session of the All India Muslim League has no option but to ask the Muslims to refuse co-operation and secure its withdrawal wherever it has been forthcoming.

This session authorises the President to take all necessary steps, including direct action to give effect to this resolution.

[1]Annex.
[2]See Annexure to Enclosure to No. 85.
[3]Not traceable.

Annex to No. 146
M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow

F. 95/48-9

GUL-I-RA'ANA,
8B HARDINGE AVENUE,
NEW DELHI,
5 November 1939

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I wish to thank you for giving me the interview on the 4th of November as you had promised in your letter of the 28th of October wherein you stated that you will be glad at some suitable moment to endeavour further to elucidate any points that there may be in doubt as desired by the Resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League of the 22nd of October.

In my interview with you on the 4th of November, the subject was fully discussed and now, as desired by Your Excellency, I am herewith submitting to you the following points for your consideration and early reply:

1. that as soon as circumstances may permit or immediately after the war, the entire problem of India's future constitution, apart from the Government of India Act, 1935, shall be examined and reconsidered *de novo*.
2. that no declaration shall, either in principle or otherwise, be made or any constitution be enacted by His Majesty's Government or the Parliament without the approval and the consent of the two major communities of India, viz. the Musalmans and the Hindus.
3. that His Majesty's Government should try and meet all reasonable national demands of the Arabs in Palestine.
4. that the Indian troops will not be used outside India against any Muslim power or country.

I have already, in my interview, fully explained the reasons and the grounds in support of these points over and above of [*sic*] what is

indicated in the statement of the 18th of September and the Resolution of the 22nd of October of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, copies of which have already been sent to Your Excellency.

There is one more point which was mentioned in the statement of the Working Committee of the 18th of September, viz. the question of securing justice and fair play to the Musalmans in the Congress-governed provinces where even their elementary rights were being ruthlessly trampled upon; but as the Congress Ministries have gone out of office I do not desire to say anything regarding this matter at present.

May I inform Your Excellency that I am leaving for Bombay tomorrow morning.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Excellency Lord Linlithgow,
Viceroy and Governor-General,
New Delhi

147

Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/67-8

PESHAWAR,
11 March 1940

Dear Sir,

May God Almighty grant you health, spirits and guidance to perform these national duties successfully—*Aameen*

NWFP POLITICS

Sir Sikander arrived with Sir Akbar Hyderi and so his visit was kept disguised, the object of his visit—he successfully interviewed the Hindu group, Messrs Nishtar and Pir Bukhsh, and I think he has almost succeeded. He met some of the waverers and the interview is hopeful. Three or four Muslim MLAs of our Party sent messages of whole-hearted support to me, and eight attended and the signatures were shown to H.E. the Governor. So far, the whole situation has been kept secret and the press news are intelligent conjectures. *Insha Allah* you will have a very promising report at Lahore. Mr. Nishtar, among others, will attend the Lahore session. You have to pat

Sir Sikander because the British officer in NWFP feels obliged to serve him and when the official co-operates then some of those people who are sitting on the fence will have to join *Insha Allah.*

The situation will crystalise within a week and I will be able to render a more intelligible and clarified report *Insha Allah* when we meet at Lahore.

With sincerest regards,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN
B.A., LL.B., (Alig.)
MLA

148

Message by M. A. Jinnah

F. 1363/23

DELHI,
12 March 1940

In the ensuing Corporation elections at Calcutta, I wish every success to all the candidates who have been put up by the Muslim League. I appeal to each and every Musalman member of the electorate, not only to vote for the Muslim League candidates but to work for them and give them their complete and whole-hearted support.

Elections, like the present one, are only a phase of the greater fight in which the Muslim League is engaged and every victory, big or small, means a step forward towards the final goal.

M. A. JINNAH

149

Shah Hosain Mian to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/48-9

PHULWARI SHARIF,
PATNA,
14 March 1940

Dear Sir,

I had been to Nagpur to attend the C[entral] P[rovinces] Muslim

League conference. I very much regret to say that I found the internal dispute in the Provincial League to be very acute. There are two antagonistic parties and one of them was responsible for the creation of a serious disorder in the beginning of the conference.

Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, Nawab Ismail Khan, myself and others tried and succeeded to a certain extent in finding out a temporary solution, but, I am of the opinion that there the situation is far from satisfactory. The reason is that their dispute is based on jealousy and unless they succeed in making a clean breast of things, a permanent solution cannot be arrived at.

I have given the matter my best consideration and I have no doubt that unless some step is taken at an early date to check the growth of this tendency, the Provincial Muslim League in the Central Provinces is going to receive a serious setback. I think that matters there can best be settled by a commission or by arbitration of some suitable individual whom you may consider fit for this work. When the dispute is settled in this way, i.e. by a commission or by arbitration of some individual, and even then the parties go on quarrelling, they will [be] do[ing] so at their own cost because anybody going against such a decision will only alienate the sympathy and support of the people.

Yours sincerely,
SHAH HOSAIN MIAN
Propaganda Officer,
Bihar Provincial Muslim League,
Member, AIML Council

150

S. Rashid Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/226-7

BELGAUM,
14 March 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am intending to be present at the League meetings in Lahore, next week, in order that I may be able to render any small service that I am capable of. With this object in view, I have arranged to reach Delhi by the Frontier Mail on the night of nineteenth. I will get down at the Cantonment station and proceed straight to your bungalow to

have the pleasure of a few minutes talk with you. I wish to invite you and other prominent delegates to a dinner on one of the three days in Lahore that might be convenient to you and others. I shall be highly grateful if you will very kindly fix any day for this.

Trusting this finds you well and with best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
S. RASHID AHMED

151

M. Ziaud Din to M. A. Jinnah

F. 472/10-11

EDWARDES GATE,
PESHAWAR,
15 March 1940

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am enclosing herewith a resolution which I intend to move at the session of the All India Muslim League. I shall be grateful if you would kindly allow me to do so. I have also sent a copy of it to the Secretary, All India Muslim League, with a formal notice.

Yours sincerely,
M. ZIAUD DIN

Enclosure to No. 151

RESOLUTION TO BE MOVED BY M. ZIAUD DIN

Whereas the Congress has by its policy and recent resolutions made it clear that it is unwilling to come to terms with the All India Muslim League and to recognise and guarantee the political, cultural, economic and other rights of the Muslims of India, and whereas it is also now quite clear that the sole aim of the Congress in India is to dominate and suppress all minorities, particularly the Muslims, and [where]as in order to achieve that object the Congress has threatened to start civil disobedience, which will although ostensibly be directed against the British, yet the real intention behind which is to establish Ram *raj* and permanent Hindu rule. Therefore, this session of the All India Muslim League calls upon the Muslims of India to resist, combat and try to defeat, by all means

in their power, any campaign of civil disobedience, which the Congress may start without previous settlement with the All India Muslim League.

152

Hassan Zahid Warsi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 961/6-8

WARSI MANSION,
GAYA,
16 March 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending you herewith a resolution which has already been passed by the Calcutta session of the AIMSF in the year 1937. Before dealing with the resolution, I want to tell you its history. I moved this resolution at first in the general meeting of MSF [Muslim Students' Federation], Gaya, and it was unanimously passed in the meeting. I could not go to Calcutta session due to some personal reason. I sent the resolution to the General Secretary of the All India Muslim Students' Federation and it was passed in the open session. Being a poor student, I cannot attend the Lahore session nor can [I] meet you in Delhi for this purpose. The importance of the resolution compels me to send it to you so that it might be brought up before the open session of the All India Muslim League, if approved by you. I can say with the fullest confidence that if a subject, viz. Islamic History and Culture, is introduced in all the Indian universities for the Muslim students, then no Wardha or Vidya Mandir type of educational scheme can let the Muslim students fall under [*sic* for into] the trap of Hindu culture and civilization or any Mahatmaic non-violence and un-Islamic teachings. Besides, the subject will bring many blessings to the Muslim students.

The Mohammadan College of Madras has introduced this subject. The Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, Mr. Aziz-ul-Haque, has already announced that Islamic History and Culture will be a subject by itself up to the M.A. examination.[1] But this is not enough. The rest of the Indian universities have paid no attention towards the introduction of this subject. I am sure that if this resolution is passed by the all-India session of the Muslim League then very shortly

all the Indian universities will introduce this subject because the Musalmans will try their best for this subject and they will attach much importance to it. I am sending you, herewith, some cuttings from papers also.[2] I am sending this resolution to you alone. I hope you will give this resolution to any member to move it in the Subject Committee after approving it.

Your most obedient follower,
HASSAN ZAHID WARSI

[1&2]See F. 961/10-11, *QAP*. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 152

RESOLUTION

The All India Muslim Students' Federation urges the universities and governments concerned to include Islamic History and Culture as an additional subject in the curriculum of the Matriculation or S.L.C. [School Leaving Certificate] Examination.

153

M. M. S. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 762/58-9

64 MOHAMMAD ALI ROAD,
BOMBAY,
18 March 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am accompanying 30 Guardsmen including their band to the session at Lahore. It will not be out of place to mention that from the very commencement, I had no delusions about the difficulty of the task. To have enrolled members in large numbers was the easiest thing possible. But to have the right class of men that the scheme anticipates is not an easy one. Specially when one has to steer between the shouting motley crowd called the volunteers and people with bellicose ideas, who little realise that the Government can put a ban on such a movement at anytime. It is for this foreseen reason that our movement does not provide for carrying of sticks or other implements. Our object is to bring about individual and co-operative discipline, physical development and explicit obedience to superiors

and to the rules of the organisation.

I am glad to say that we have made a steady headway and our Guards number now nearly 150, excluding 40 Guardsmen in Belgaum. In spite of the fact that there are people, who without knowing what we are doing or seeking information, misrepresent matters and others who, theorise without ever having had a hand in a practical manner in such work. The organization includes mill-hands, technicians, college students, newspapermen, traders and clerks.

If you think it advisable or if it could be done I would like to be a member of any committee that is appointed to consider the Guards movement. With me this question and the work is a matter of labour of love. Nothing interests me more than this.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
M. M. S. ISPAHANI

154

Presidential Address by M. A. Jinnah at AIML Twenty-seventh Session

F. 1020/16-34

[LAHORE,
22 March 1940]

[Ladies and Gentlemen,]

We are meeting to-day in our session after fifteen months. The last session of the All India Muslim League took place at Patna in December 1938. Since then many developments have taken place. I shall first shortly tell you what the All India Muslim League had to face after the Patna session of 1938. You remember that one of the tasks which was imposed on us and which is far from completed yet, was to organise Muslim League all over India. We have made enormous progress during the last fifteen months in this direction. I am glad to inform you that we have established provincial League in every province. The next point is that in every by-election to the Legislative Assemblies, we had to fight with powerful opponents. I congratulate the Musalmans for having shown enormous grit and spirit throughout our trials. There was not a single by-election in which our opponents won against Muslim League candidates. In the last election to the U.P. Council, that is the Upper Chamber, the

Muslim League's success was cent per cent. I do not want to weary you with details of what we have been able to do in the way of forging ahead in the direction of organising the Muslim League. But I may tell you that it is going up by leaps and bounds.

Next, you may remember that we appointed a committee of ladies at the Patna session. It is of very great importance to us because I believe that it is absolutely essential for us to give every opportunity to our women to participate in our struggle of life and death. Women can do a great deal within their homes even under *purdah*. We appointed this committee with a view to enabl[ing] them to participate in the work of the League. The objects of this central committee were:

1. to organise provincial and district women's sub-committees under the provincial and district Muslim Leagues;
2. to enlist a larger number of women to the membership of the Muslim League;
3. to carry on an intensive propaganda amongst Muslim women throughout India in order to create in them a sense of greater political consciousness—because if political consciousness is awakened amongst our women, remember your children will not have much to worry about;
4. to advise and guide them in all such matters as mainly rest on them for the uplift of Muslim society. This central committee, I am glad to say, started its work seriously and earnestly. It has done a great deal of useful work. I have no doubt that when we come to deal with their report of work done we shall really feel grateful to them for all the services that they have rendered to the Muslim League.

We had many difficulties to face from January 1939 right up to the declaration of war. We had to face the Vidya Mandir[1] in Nagpur. We had to face the Wardha Scheme[2] all over India. We had to face ill-treatment and oppression of Muslims in the Congress-governed provinces. We had to face the treatment meted out to Muslims in some of the Indian States such as Jaipur and Bhavnagar. We had to face a vital issue that arose in that little State of Rajkot. Rajkot was the acid test made by the Congress, which would have affected one-third of India. Thus the Muslim League had all along to face various issues from January 1939 up to the time of the declaration of war. Before the war was declared, the greatest danger to the Muslims of India was the possible inauguration of the federal scheme[3] in the Central Government. We know what machinations were going on.

But the Muslim League was stoutly resisting them in every direction. We felt that we could never accept the dangerous scheme of the central federal Government embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935. I am sure that we have made no small contribution towards persuading the British Government to abandon the scheme of central federal Government. In creating that mind in the British Government, the Muslim League, I have no doubt, played no small part. You know that the British people are very obdurate people. They are also very conservative; and although they are very clever, they are slow in understanding. After the war was declared the Viceroy naturally wanted help from the Muslim League. It was only then that he realised that the Muslim League was a power. For it will be remembered that up to the time of the declaration of war, the Viceroy never thought of me but of Gandhi and Gandhi alone. I have been the leader of an important party in the Legislature for a considerable time, larger than the one I have the honour to lead at present, the present Muslim League party in the Central Legislature. Yet the Viceroy never thought of me. Therefore, when I got this invitation from the Viceroy[4] along with Mr. Gandhi, I wondered within myself why I was so suddenly promoted and then I concluded that the answer was the 'All India Muslim League' whose President I happen to be. I believe that that was the worst shock that the Congress high command received because it challenged their sole authority to speak on behalf of India. And it is quite clear from the attitude of Mr. Gandhi and the high command that they have not yet recovered from that shock. My point is that I want you to realise the value, the importance, the significance of organising ourselves. I will not say anything more on the subject.

But a great deal yet remains to be done. I am sure from what I can see and hear that the Muslim India is now conscious, is now awake and the Muslim League has by now grown into such a strong institution that it cannot be destroyed by anybody whoever he may happen to be. Men may come and men may go, but the League will live for ever.

Now, coming to the period after the declaration of war, our position was that we were between the devil and the deep sea. But I do not think that the devil or the deep sea is going to get away with it. Anyhow our position is this. We stand unequivocally for the freedom of India. But it must be freedom of all India, and not freedom of one section or, worse still, of the Congress caucus and

slavery of Musalmans and other minorities.

Situated in India as we are, we naturally have our past experiences, particularly the experiences of the past two and a half years of provincial constitution in the Congress-governed provinces. We have learnt many lessons. We are now, therefore, very apprehensive and can trust nobody. I think it is a wise rule for everyone not to trust anybody too much. Sometimes we are led to trust people but when we find in actual experience that our trust has been betrayed, surely that ought to be sufficient lesson for any man not to continue his trust in those who have betrayed *us*.[5]

Ladies and Gentlemen, we never thought that the Congress high command would have acted in the manner in which they actually did in the Congress-governed provinces. I never dreamt that they would ever come down so low as that. I never could believe that there would be a gentleman's agreement between the Congress and the Government to such an extent that although we cried hoarse, week in and week out, the Governors were supine and the Governor-General helpless. We reminded them of their special responsibilities to us and to other minorities and the solemn pledges they had given to us. But all that had become a dead letter. Fortunately, Providence came to our help and that gentleman's agreement was broken to pieces and the Congress, thank Heavens, went out of office. I think they are regretting their resignations very much. Their bluff was called off [*sic*]. So far so good. I therefore appeal to you in all seriousness that I can command to organise yourselves in such a way that you may depend upon none except your own inherent strength. That is your only safeguard and the best safeguard. Depend upon yourselves. That does not mean that we should have ill-will or malice towards others. In order to safeguard your rights and interests you must create that strength in yourselves that you may be able to defend yourselves. That is all that I want to urge.

Now, what is our position with regard to future constitution? It is that as soon as circumstances permit or immediately after the war at the latest, the whole problem of India's future constitution must be examined *de novo* and the Act of 1935 must go once for all. We do not believe in asking the British Government to make declarations. These declarations are really of no use. You cannot possibly succeed in getting the British Government out of this country by asking them to make declarations. However, the Congress asked the Viceroy to make a declaration. The Viceroy said, "I have made the declaration."

> The Congress said, "No, no, we want another kind of declaration. You must declare now and at once that India is free and independent with the right to frame its own constitution by a Constituent Assembly to be elected on the basis of adult franchise or as low a franchise as possible. This Assembly will of course satisfy the minorities' legitimate interests."

Mr. Gandhi says that if the minorities are not satisfied then he is willing that some tribunal of the highest character and most impartial should decide the dispute. Now, apart from the impracticable character of this proposal, quite apart from the fact that it is historically and constitutionally absurd to ask the ruling power to abdicate in favour of a Constituent Assembly, and apart from all this, suppose we do not agree as to the franchise according to which the Constituent Assembly is to be elected, or suppose we, the solid body of Muslim representatives, do not agree with the non-Muslim majority in the Constituent Assembly, what will happen? It is said that we have no right to disagree with regard to anything that this assembly may do in framing a national constitution of this huge sub-continent, except those [matters] which may strictly be germane to the safeguards for the minorities. So we are given the privilege to disagree only with regard to what may be called strictly safeguards of the rights and interests of minorities. We are also given the privilege to send our own representatives by separate electorates. Now, this proposal is based on the assumption that as soon as this constitution comes into operation, the British hand will disappear. Otherwise there will be no meaning in it. Of course, Mr. Gandhi says that the constitution will decide whether the British hand will disappear, and if so to what extent. In other words, his proposal comes to this: First give me the declaration that we are a free and independent nation, then I will decide what I should give you back. Does Mr. Gandhi really want the complete independence of India when he talks like this? But whether the British disappear or not, it follows that extensive powers must be transferred to the people. In the event of there being a disagreement between the majority of the Constituent Assembly and the Musalmans, in the first instance, who will appoint the tribunal? And suppose an agreed tribunal is possible, and the award is made and the decision given, who will, may I know, be there to see that this award is implemented or carried out in accordance with the terms of that award? And who will see that it is honoured in practice, because we are told the British will have parted with their power completely? Then what will be the sanction behind the award which will enforce it? We come back to the same answer: the Hindu

majority would do it *and will it be*[6] with the help of the British bayonet or *Mr. Gandhi's Ahimsa*?[7] Can we trust them any more? Besides, Ladies and Gentlemen, can you imagine that a question of this character, of a social contract upon which the future constitution of India would be based, affecting 90 millions of Musalmans, can be decided by means of a judicial tribunal? Still, that is the proposal of the Congress.

Before I deal with what Mr. Gandhi said a few days ago, I shall deal with the pronouncements of some of the other Congress leaders—each one speaking with a different voice in the course of the week. Mr. Rajagopalacharia, the ex-Prime Minister of Madras, says that the only panacea for Hindu-Muslim unity is the joint electorate. That is his prescription, as one of the great doctors of the Congress organisation. Babu Rajendra Prasad, on the other hand, only a few days ago says, "Oh, what more do the Musalmans want?" I will read to you his words. He says, referring to the minority question:

> If Britain would concede our right of self-determination surely all these differences would disappear.

How will our differences disappear? He does not explain or enlighten us about it.

> But so long as Britain remained and held power, the differences would continue to exist. The Congress has made it clear that the future constitution would be framed not by the Congress alone but by representatives of all political parties and religious groups. The Congress has gone further and declared that the minorities can have their representatives elected for this purpose by separate electorate, though the Congress regards separate electorate as an evil. It will be representatives of all the peoples of this country, irrespective of their religion and political affiliations, who will be deciding the future constitution of India and not this or that party. What better guarantees can the minorities have?

So, according to Babu Rajendra Prasad, the moment we enter the Assembly we shall shed all our political affiliations and everything else. This is what Babu Rajendra Prasad said as late as 18th March.[8] And this is now what Mr. Gandhi said on the 20th of March.[9] He says:

[*Gandhi's statement*]	[*Jinnah's observations*]
To me Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Harijans, are all alike. I cannot be frivolous.[10]	But I think he is frivolous.
I cannot be frivolous when I talk of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. He is my brother.[11]	The only difference is this that brother Gandhi has three votes and I have only one vote.

I would be happy, indeed, if he could keep me in his pocket.[12]

I do not know really what to say *to this latest offer of his.*[13]

There was a time when I could say that there was no Muslim whose confidence I did not enjoy. It is my misfortune that it is not so today.[14]

Why has he lost the confidence of the Muslims today? *May I ask, ladies and gentlemen?*[15]

I do not read all that appears in the Urdu press, but perhaps I get a lot of abuse there. I am not sorry for it. I still believe that without Hindu-Muslim settlement, there can be no *Swaraj*.[16]

Mr. Gandhi has been saying this now for the last 20 years.

You will perhaps ask in that case why do I talk of a fight. I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly.[17]

He is fighting the British. But may I point out [to] Mr. Gandhi and the Congress that they are fighting for a Constituent Assembly which the Muslims say we [*sic* for they] cannot accept, which the Muslims say means three to one, about which the Musalmans say that they will never be able, in that way, by the counting of heads, to come to any agreement which will be real agreement from the hearts, which will enable all to work as friends and, therefore, this idea of a Constituent Assembly is objectionable, apart from other objections. But he is fighting for the Constituent Assembly, not fighting [for] the Musalmans at all!

I do so because it is to be a fight for a Constituent Assembly. If Muslims who come to the Constituent Assembly,[18]

mark the words, "who come to the Constituent Assembly through Muslim votes"; he is *first* forcing us to come to that Assembly.

declare that there is nothing common between Hindus and Muslims,[19] then alone I would give up all hope; but even then I would agree[20] with them because they read the *Qur'an* and I have also studied something of that holy Book.

So he wants the Constituent Assembly for the purpose of ascertaining the views of

> the Musalmans; and if they do not agree, then he will give up all hope, but even then he will agree with us.

Well, I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, is this the way to show any real genuine desire, if there existed any, to come to a settlement with the Musalmans? Why does not Mr. Gandhi agree, and I have suggested to him more than once, and I repeat it again from this platform, why does not Mr. Gandhi honestly now acknowledge that the Congress is a Hindu Congress, that he does not represent anybody except the solid body of Hindu people? Why should not Mr. Gandhi be proud to say, "I am a Hindu, the Congress has solid Hindu backing?" I am not ashamed of saying that I am a Musalman. I am right and I hope and I think even a blind man must have been convinced by now, that the Muslim League has the solid backing of Musalmans of India. Why then all this camouflage? Why all these machinations? Why all these methods to coerce the British to overthrow the Musalmans? Why this declaration [of] non-cooperation? Why this threat of civil disobedience? And why fight for a Constituent Assembly for the sake of ascertaining whether the Musalmans agree or they do not agree? Why not come as a Hindu leader proudly representing your people and let me meet you proudly representing the Musalmans.[21] This is all that I have to say so far as the Congress is concerned.

So far as the British Government is concerned, our negotiations are not concluded yet, as you know. We had asked for assurances on several points, at any rate we have made some advance with regard to one point and that is this. You remember our demand was that the entire problem of future constitution of India should be examined *de novo*, apart from the Government of India Act of 1935. To that the Viceroy's reply, with the authority of His Majesty's Government, was—I had better quote that—I will not put it in my own words. This is the reply that was sent to us on 23rd December.[22]

> "My answer to your first question is that the declaration[23] I made with the approval of His Majesty's Government on October the 18th last does not exclude
>
> —mark the words—"does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based.

As regards other matters, we are still negotiating and the most important points are: (1) that no declaration should be made by His Majesty's Government with regard to the future constitution of India

without our approval and consent and (2) that no settlement of any question should be made with any party behind our back, unless our approval and consent is given to it.

Well, Ladies and Gentlemen, whether the British Government in their wisdom agree to give us that assurance or not, I trust that they will still see that it is a fair and just demand when we say that we cannot leave the future fate and destiny of 90 millions of people in the hands of any other judge. We and we alone wish to be the final arbiter. Surely that is a just demand. We do not want that the British Government should thrust upon the Musalmans a constitution which they do not approve of and to which they do not agree. Therefore the British Government will be well advised to give that assurance and give the Musalmans complete peace and confidence in this matter and win their friendship. But whether they do that or not, after all, as I told you before, we must depend on our own inherent strength and I make it plain from this platform, that if any declaration is made, if any interim settlement is made without our approval and without our consent, the Musalmans of India will resist it. And no mistake should be made on that score.

Then the next point was with regard to Palestine. We are told that endeavours, earnest endeavours, are being made to meet the reasonable national demands of the Arabs. Well, we cannot be satisfied by earnest endeavours, sincere endeavours, best endeavours. We want that the British Government should in fact and actually meet the demands of the Arabs in Palestine.

Then the next point was with regard to the sending of the troops. Here there is some misunderstanding. But anyhow we have made our position clear that we never intended, and, in fact, language does not justify it if there is any misapprehension or apprehension, that the Indian troops should not be used to the fullest in the defence of our own country. What we wanted the British Government to give us assurance [about] was that the Indian troops should not be sent against any Muslim country or any Muslim power. Let us hope that we may yet be able to get the British Government to clarify the position further on this point.

This, then, is the position with regard to the British Government. The last meeting of the Working Committee had asked the Viceroy to reconsider his letter of 23rd of December[24] having regard to what has been explained to him in pursuance of the Resolution[25] of the

Working Committee dated the 3rd of February and we are informed that the matter is receiving his careful consideration. That is, Ladies and Gentlemen, where we stand—after the war and up to the 3rd of February.

As far as our internal position is concerned, we have also been examining it and you know there are several schemes which have been sent by various well-informed constitutionalists and others who take interest in the problem of India's future constitution. We have also appointed a sub-committee[26] to examine the details of the schemes that have come in so far. But one thing is quite clear. It has always been taken for granted mistakenly that the Musalmans are a minority and of course we have got used to it for such a long time that these settled notions sometimes are very difficult to remove. The Musalmans are not a minority. The Musalmans are a nation by any definition. The British and particularly the Congress proceed on the basis, "Well, you are a minority after all, what do you want?" "What else do the minorities want?" just as Babu Rajendra Prasad said. But surely the Musalmans are not a minority. We find that even according to the British map of India we occupy large parts of this country, where the Musalmans are in a majority—such as Bengal, Punjab, N.W.F.P., Sind and Baluchistan.

Now the question is, what is the best solution of this problem between the Hindus and the Musalmans? We have been considering it and, as I have already said, a committee has been appointed to consider the various proposals. But whatever the final scheme of constitution, I will present to you my views and I will just read to you in confirmation of what I am going to put before you, a letter from Lala Lajpat Rai to Mr. C. R. Das. It was written, I believe, about 12 or 15 years ago and that letter has been produced in a book by one Indra Prakash recently published, and that is how this letter has come to light. This is what Lala Lajpat Rai, a very astute politician and a staunch Hindu Mahasabhaite, said. But before I read his letter it is plain from [it] that you cannot get away from being a Hindu if you are a Hindu. The word "nationalist" has now become the play of conjurers in politics. This is what he says:

> There is one point more which has been troubling me very much of late and one which I want you to think carefully and that is the question of Hindu-Muhammadan unity. I have devoted most of my time during the last six months to the study of Muslim history and Muslim law and I am inclined to think it is neither possible nor practicable. Assuming and admitting the sincerity of

> Muhammadan leaders in the non-cooperation movement, I think their religion provides an effective bar to anything of the kind. You remember the conversation I reported to you in Calcutta which I had with Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. Kitchlew. There is no finer Muhammadan in Hindustan than Hakim Ajmal Khan, but can any other Muslim leader override the *Qur'an*? I can only hope that my reading of Islamic law is incorrect.

I think his reading is quite incorrect.

> And nothing would relieve me more than to be convinced that it is so. But if it is right then it comes to this, that although we can unite against the British, we cannot do so to rule Hindustan on British lines. We cannot do so to rule Hindustan on democratic lines.

Ladies and Gentlemen, when Lala Lajpat Rai said that we cannot rule this country on democratic lines it was alright, but when I had the temerity to speak the same truth about 18 months ago [13 August 1938], there was a shower of attacks and criticism. But Lala Lajpat Rai said that we cannot do so, viz. rule Hindustan on democratic lines. What is the remedy? The remedy according to Congress is to keep us in the minority and under the majority rule. Lala Lajpat Rai proceeds further:

> What is then the remedy? I am not afraid of the seven crores of Musalmans. But I think the seven crores in Hindustan plus the armed hordes of Afghanistan, Central Asia, Arabia, Mesopotamia and Turkey, will be irresistible.
>
> I do honestly and sincerely believe in the necessity or desirability of Hindu-Muslim unity. I am also fully prepared to trust the Muslim leaders. But what about the injunctions of the *Qur'an* and *Hadees*? The leaders cannot override them. Are we then doomed? I hope not. I hope your learned mind and wise head will find some way out of this difficulty.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, that is merely a letter written by one great Hindu leader to another great leader fifteen years ago. Now, I should like to put before you my views on the subject as it strikes me taking everything into consideration at the present moment. The British Government and Parliament, and more so the British nation, have been for many decades past brought up and nurtured with settled notions about India's future, based on developments in their own country which has built up the British constitution functioning now through the Houses of Parliament and the system of cabinet. Their concept of party government functioning on political planes

has become the ideal with them as the best form of government for every country and the one-sided and powerful propaganda, which naturally appeals to the British, has led them into a serious blunder in producing a constitution envisaged in the Government of India Act of 1935. We find that the most leading statesmen of Great Britain, saturated with these notions, have in their pronouncements seriously asserted and expressed a hope that the passage of time will harmonise the inconsistent elements in India.

A leading journal like the London *Times*, commenting on the Government of India Act of 1935, wrote that

> undoubtedly the difference between the Hindus and Muslims is not of religion in the strict sense of the word but also of law and culture, that they may be said indeed to represent two entirely distinct and separate civilisations. However, in the course of time the superstitions will die out and India will be moulded into a single nation.

So, according to the London *Times* the only difficulties are superstitions. These fundamental and deep-rooted differences, spiritual, economic, cultural, social and political, have been euphemised as mere "superstitions". But surely it is a flagrant disregard of the past history of the sub-continent of India as well as the fundamental Islamic conception of society vis-a-vis that of Hinduism to characterise them as mere "superstitions". Notwithstanding thousand years of close contact, nationalities which are as divergent today as ever, cannot at any time be expected to transform themselves into one nation merely by means of subjecting them to a democratic constitution and holding them forcibly together by unnatural and artificial methods of British Parliamentary statutes. What the unitary government of India for 150 years had failed to achieve cannot be realised by the imposition of a central federal government. It is inconceivable that the fiat or the writ of a government so constituted can ever command a willing and loyal obedience throughout the sub-continent by various nationalities except by means of armed forces behind it.

The problem in India is not of an intercommunal character, but manifestly of an international one, and it must be treated as such. So long as this basic and fundamental truth is not realised, any constitution that may be built will result in disaster and will prove destructive and harmful not only to the Musalmans, but to the British and Hindus also. If the British Government are really in earnest

and sincere to secure peace and happiness of the people of this sub-continent, the only course open to us all is to allow the major nations separate homelands by dividing India into "autonomous national states". There is no reason why these states should be antagonistic to each other. On the other hand the rivalry and the natural desire and efforts on the part of one to dominate the social order and establish political supremacy over the other in the government of the country will disappear. It will lead more towards natural goodwill and international pacts between them and they can live in complete harmony with their neighbours. This will lead further to a friendly settlement all the more easily with regard to minorities by reciprocal arrangements and adjustments between Muslim India and Hindu India, which will far more adequately and effectively safeguard the rights and interests of Muslims and various other minorities.

It is extremely difficult to appreciate why our Hindu friends fail to understand the real nature of Islam and Hinduism. They are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but, in fact, different and distinct social orders and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality, and this misconception of one Indian nation has gone far beyond the limits and is the cause of most of our troubles and will lead India to destruction if we fail to revise our notions in time. The Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literature. They neither intermarry, nor interdine together and, indeed they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly on conflicting ideas and conceptions. Their aspects on life and of life are different. It is quite clear that Hindus and Musalmans derive their inspiration from different sources of history. They have different epics, their heroes are different, and different episodes. Very often the hero of one is a foe of the other and, likewise, their victories and defeats overlap. To yoke together two such nations under a single state, one as a numerical minority and the other as a majority, must lead to growing discontent and final destruction of any fabric that may be so built up for the government of such a state.

History has presented to us many examples, such as the Union of Great Britain and Ireland, Czechoslovakia and Poland. History has also shown to us many geographical tracts, much smaller than the sub-continent of India, which otherwise might have been called one country but which have been divided into as many states as there are

nations inhabiting them. Balkan Peninsula comprises as many as seven or eight sovereign states. Likewise the Portuguese and the Spanish stand divided in the Iberian Peninsula. Whereas under the plea of unity of India and one nation which does not exist, it is sought to pursue here the line of one central government when we know that the history of the last 1,200 years has failed to achieve unity and has witnessed, during these ages, India always divided into Hindu India and Muslim India. The present artificial unity of India dates back only to the British conquest and is maintained by the British bayonet, but the termination of the British regime, which is implicit in the recent declaration[27] of His Majesty's Government, will be the herald of the entire break-up with worse disaster than has ever taken place during the last one thousand years under Muslims. Surely that is not the legacy which Britain would bequeath to India after 150 years of her rule, nor would Hindu and Muslim India risk such a sure catastrophe.

Muslim India cannot accept any constitution which must necessarily result in a Hindu majority government. Hindus and Muslims brought together under a democratic system forced upon the minorities can only mean Hindu *raj*. Democracy of the kind with [*sic* for of] which the Congress high command is enamoured would mean the complete destruction of what is most precious in Islam. We have had ample experience of the working of the provincial constitutions during the last two and a half years and any repetition of such a government must lead to civil war and raising of private armies as recommended by Mr. Gandhi[28] to the Hindus of Sukkur when he said that they must defend themselves violently or non-violently, blow for blow, and if they could not they must emigrate.

Musalmans are not a minority as it is commonly known and understood. One has only got to look round. Even to-day, according to the British map of India, out of 11 provinces, 4 provinces, where the Muslims dominate more or less, are functioning notwithstanding the decision of the Hindu Congress high command to non-cooperate and prepare for civil disobedience. Musalmans are a nation according to any definition of a nation and they must have their homelands, their territory and their state. We wish to live in peace and harmony with our neighbours as a free and independent people. We wish our people to develop to the fullest our spiritual, cultural, economic, social and political life in a way that we think best and in consonance with our own ideals and according to the genius of our

people. Honesty demands and the vital interest of millions of our people imposes a sacred duty upon us, to find an honourable and peaceful solution, which would be just and fair to all. But at the same time we cannot be moved or diverted from our purpose and objective by threats or intimidations. We must be prepared to face all difficulties and consequences, make all the sacrifices that may be required of us to achieve the goal we have set in front of us.

Ladies and Gentlemen, that is the task before us. I fear I have gone beyond my time limit. There are many things that I should like to tell you, but I think I have already published a little pamphlet[29] containing most of the things that I have said and I have been saying, and I think you can easily get the publication both in English and in Urdu from the League office. It might give you a clearer idea of our aims. It contains very important resolutions of the Muslim League and various other statements. Anyhow, I have placed before you the task that lies ahead of us. Do you realise how big and stupendous it is? Do you realise that you cannot get freedom or independence by mere arguments? I appeal to the intelligentsia. The intelligentsia in all countries in the world have been the pioneers of [m]any movements for freedom. What does the Muslim intelligentsia propose to do? I may tell you that unless you get this into your blood, unless you are prepared to take off your coats and are willing to sacrifice all that you can and work selflessly, earnestly and sincerely for your people, you will never realise your aim. Friends, I therefore want you to make up your mind definitely and then think of devices and organise your people, strengthen your organisation and consolidate the Musalmans all over India. I think that the masses are wide awake. They only want your guidance and your lead. Come forward as servants of Islam, organise the people economically, socially, educationally and politically, and I am sure that you will be a power that will be accepted by everybody.

[1]Denomination of schools set up under the Wardha Scheme of Basic Education by the Congress. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 638.

[2]The Wardha Scheme enunciated by Gandhi envisaged the foisting by the Congress regimes in the provinces of Hindu thought and culture, doctrine of *ahimsa*, and territorial nationalism on Muslims, promotion of Sanskritised Hindi suppressing Urdu, introduction by some provincial governments of literature extolling Hindu religion, philosophy and heroes, marginalizing Muslim culture, history and heroes. See ibid., 642-3, Resolution No. 16.

[3]See ibid., 621, Resolution 8 & 644, para 2.

[4]On 28 October 1939, the Viceroy had sent invitations to Jinnah, Gandhi and Rajendra Prasad for discussing the "present situation". See Annex.

[5]See Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1970, 330 which states "him" instead of "us".
[6&7]See ibid., 331, for these additions.
[8]This probably was stated by Rajendra Prasad while winding up the debate on the Resolution moved by him the previous day regarding India and the war crisis. See AM & S. G. Zaidi, *The Encyclopaedia*, XII, 331, 367-9 & 371.
[9-12]Ibid., 335.
[13]See Pirzada, *Foundations*, II, 332, for this addition.
[14]See notes 9-12 above.
[15]See note 13 above.
[16]See notes 9-12 above.
[17-9]See notes 9-12 above.
[20]See A.M. & S. G. Zaidi, *The Encyclopaedia*, XII, 335, which states "argue" instead of "agree".
[21]See *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. LXXI, New Delhi, 1978, 371-2, for Gandhi's reaction.
[22]See Annexure to Enclosure to No. 85.
[23]Ibid.
[24]Ibid.
[25]Enclosure to No. 85.
[26]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 449-50.
[27]See note 22 above.
[28]See *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, LXX, 391-2.
[29]See Liaquat Ali Khan, *The War: Problem of India's Future Constitution: What Muslim India and its Leader Mr. M. A. Jinnah Think*, Delhi, 1940.

Annex to No. 154
Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah

F. 95/25

THE VICEROY'S HOUSE,
NEW DELHI,
28 October 1939

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I shall much appreciate it if you could come to see me at 11 a.m. on Wednesday the 1st November to discuss the present position. I am also asking Mr. Gandhi to come at the same time, and I have also invited Dr. Rajendra Prasad. It would give me pleasure if you would care to bring with you one of your leading supporters (you will remember that you indicated to me in one of our recent conversations that you would like me to let you know should I think there would at any time be advantage in your bringing someone with you when these constitutional matters were under discussion.)

2. I have not in fact as yet sent a formal reply to your letter[1] asking for certain clarifications of my recent statement.[2] I think the debate will have made the position in regard to them very clear; but I shall

of course be very glad at some suitable moment to endeavour further to elucidate any points that there may be in doubt.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

[1]See F. 95/21, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]See ibid., 13-20. Not printed.

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Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/250-1

BULANDSHAHR,
23 March 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your ferocious outbursts are like volcanic eruptions so untimely and detrimental! They would befit a maniac who has lost all sense of responsibility and moves in a chaotic world of his own creation. You couldn't be like one unless age has robbed you of all cosmic sense which one gains by education, culture and experience. Your frequent onslaughts on Gandhi, the apostle of peace and non-violence and the mouthpiece, nay the very embodiment of present India, inclusive of all suffering nationalities, amount to madness and are undignified for a man of your position and intelligence. He is admittedly the chosen of God on earth today which accounts for his worldwide popularity and the devotion of Indian masses for him, which is really unprecedented in the history of the country. He is the only man alive today who is above all communalism. In your cooler moments while communing with your God, if you really ever do so, try to judge this great soul with an open mind and pry into his motives for which he has staked his life, unlike you or his other armchair critics, who are seething with communalism and are adamant on undoing this great man's life's work on earth for the cause of poor India. He deserves commendation and not condemnation!

It is a mockery to say that the Congress is a Hindu organisation which was initiated by a European and presided over by great men

of all nationalities and has always stood for unity in diversity to bring about the emancipation of this blighted country from foreign domination which has sucked the blood of its people and made them totally inert and planned it so that they may never raise their heads. The hour to unite and achieve the much longed for goal is at hand and so the chances for success, but for your inimical tactics and rank communal-cum-anti-national propaganda, are proving a stumbling block and frittering away the God-sent opportunity. You ask for partition of India on communal basis into watertight compartments as it used to be once long ago, which made it vulnerable to foreign aggression and made it a regular battlefield for centuries. As history proves it, neither the special cultured and highly religious Muslims, though in reality 90 per cent Hindu converts from the beginning, nor the disrupted and uncultured Hindus standing alone could save the land from domination of a mere handful of Britishers under Clive[1] and Hastings[2] who taking advantage of the chaotic conditions in the country established their own rule with the help of men and money of this very land. How abominable and disgraced! In spite of bad experiences of ancestors you are striving hard to take back this country to the same old days of internecine wars. Let Muhammad [PBUH], Krishna, Christ, Zoroaster and Guru Govind rule over the hearts of people to make religion an individual factor but God being one and the same, let them all be His children and brother-like. Think of this land as one mother-country and all people as one people united politically. If you cannot do it or think of it, a Hitler, a Stalin or a Nadir Shah will replace the British in due course and the people of this land will continue in perpetual bondage. Communal policy can never win India's freedom and singly you must fall! You have earned a bad name already. Why make your position worse by crying hoarse over impossibilities and drag down the country with you into hell. The Hindus, however irreligious they might be, can never be aggressive and they have never been. You are proud of your culture that teaches aggression. See what happened in Hyderabad State[3] and Sukkur[4] and what the Khaksars[5] are doing! You should feel ashamed of this brutal culture. Hence side with the Congress, please, and leave

vanity in country's cause. Amen!

Yours,

A God's creature and a fellow slave,

[UNSIGNED]

[1]Robert Clive (1725-74); British soldier and statesman; defeated the French and Indian forces and helped found the empire of British India; Governor of Bengal, 1758-60, 1765-67.

[2]Warren Hastings (1732-1818); first British Governor-General of India, 1774-1785.

[3]The Arya Samaj, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress had for some time been agitating against perceived threat to Hindu religion and civil liberties in the Hyderabad State. The Muslim League Council had expressed grave concern over such activities. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nations's Voice*, I, 366-7.

[4]Refers to Hindu-Muslim riots in Sukkur over Masjid Manzilgah. See Hamida Khuhro, *Mohammed Ayub Khuhro: A Life of Courage in Politics*, Lahore, 1998, 169-92. Also see *The Collected Works of Mahtama Gandhi*, LXX, 1977, 391-2.

[5]On 19 March 1940, a group of Khaksars clashed with the police in Lahore, in contravention of the Defence of India Rules, causing the death of 24 Khaksars and two policemen. Jinnah appealed to Khaksars to keep the peace and not defy law and order. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 481.

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Resolutions Adopted by AIML at Twenty-seventh Session

AFM 214/107-8

LAHORE,
23/24 March 1940

RESOLUTION NO. 1

While approving and endorsing the action taken by the Council and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, as indicated in their resolutions, dated the 27th of August,[1] 17th and 18th of September,[2] 22nd of October 1939[3] and 3rd of February 1940[4] on the constitutional issue, this Session of the All India Muslim League emphatically reiterates that the scheme of federation embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, is totally unsuited to and unworkable in the peculiar conditions of this country and is altogether unacceptable to Muslim India.

It further records its emphatic view that while the declaration, dated the 18th of October 1939,[5] made by the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government is reassuring in so far as it declares that the policy and plan on which the Government of India Act, 1935, is

based will be reconsidered in consultation with the various parties, interests and communities in India, Muslim India will not be satisfied unless the whole constitutional plan is reconsidered *de novo* and that no revised plan would be acceptable to the Muslims unless it is framed with their approval and consent.

Resolved that it is the considered view of this Session of the All India Muslim League that no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principle, viz. that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted, with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary, that the areas in which the Muslims are numerically in a majority, as in the North-Western and Eastern zones of India, should be grouped to constitute "Independent States" in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.

That adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards should be specifically provided in the constitution for minorities in these units and in the regions for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them, and in other parts of India, where the Musalmans are in a minority, adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards shall be specifically provided in the constitution for them and other minorities for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.

This Session further authorises the Working Committee to frame a scheme of constitution in accordance with these basic principles, providing for the assumption finally by the respective regions of all powers such as defence, external affairs, communications, customs and such other matters as may be necessary.

(Proposed [on 23 March] by A. K. Fazlul Huq and seconded by Choudhry Khaliquzzaman [and adopted on 24th])

RESOLUTION NO. 2

The All India Muslim League views with grave concern the inordinate delay on the part of the British Government in coming to a settlement with the Arabs in Palestine and places on record its considered opinion in clear and unequivocal language that no arrangements of a piecemeal character will be made in Palestine which are contrary in spirit and opposed to the pledges given to the Muslim world, and particularly

to the Muslims in India, to secure their active assistance in the War of 1914-1918. Further, the League warns the British Government against the danger of taking advantage of the presence of large British forces in the holy land to overawe the Arabs and force them into submission.

(Proposed by Abdur Rahman Siddiqi and seconded by Syed Raza Ali)

RESOLUTION NO. 3

This Session of the All India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the unfortunate and tragic occurrence on the 19th March, 1940, owing to a clash between the Khaksars and the Police resulting in the loss of a large number of lives and injuries to many more and sincerely sympathises with those who have suffered and with their families and dependents.

This Session calls upon the Government to forthwith appoint an independent and impartial committee of inquiry, the personnel of which would command perfect confidence of the people, with instructions to them to make full and complete investigation and inquiry in the whole affair and make their report as soon as possible.

This Session authorises the Working Committee to take such action in the matter as they may consider proper immediately after the publication of the report of the committee.

This Session urges upon the various governments that the order declaring the Khaksar organisation unlawful should be removed as soon as possible.

(Moved by the chair)

RESOLUTION NO. 4

Add the following as 28 A to the Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League:

1 The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League shall control, direct and regulate all the activities of the various Provincial Leagues strictly in consonance with the aims, objects and rules of the All India Muslim League.

2 The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League shall be empowered:

a to take disciplinary action against individual Members of the Council of the All India Muslim League who violate the decisions of the League or act in contravention of its aims and objects, subject to a right of appeal to the Council of the All India Muslim League,

b to suspend, dissolve or disaffiliate any Provincial League which fails in its duties, infringes or ignores the decisions or directions of the All India Muslim League or hinders the progress of the League in any manner whatsoever, subject to a right of appeal to the Council of the All India Muslim League.

(Moved by Liaquat Ali Khan)

RESOLUTION NO. 5

Resolved that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Sahib and Raja Amir Ahmad Khan Sahib be re-elected Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer of the All India Muslim League, respectively.

(Proposed by Syed Raza Ali and seconded by Sardar Aurangzeb Khan)

RESOLUTION NO. 6

Resolved that the election of the two Joint Secretaries[6] be entrusted to the Council of the All India Muslim League.

(Moved by Liaquat Ali Khan)

[1]See *AFM*, 253/73, Resolution No. 8.
[2]See *AFM*, 128/75-9.
[3]See F. 95/22-3, *QAP*. Not printed.
[4]Enclosure to No. 85.
[5]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 560-66.
[6]M. A. Momin and Mahmood Ahmad were elected on 26 October 1941. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice: United We Win*, Vol. II, Karachi, 1996, 481.

157

Joseph John to M. A. Jinnah

F. 497/3-4

MAYFAIR,
ELIBANK ROAD,
COLOMBO, [CEYLON,]
25 March 1940

Dear Sir,

As a member of the Indian Christian minority community, domiciled in this island, I have closely watched with admiration your career and the great work you are engaged in on behalf of your countrymen. Recently, however, your views took, as it seems to me, a less patriotic or less nationalistic turn in that you are concentrating

on the welfare of only 22 per cent of the population and not for [*sic* for on] the whole of it as you used to [do] when [you were] a Congress leader.

I need not remind you of the noble record of your wiser, far-seeing and illustrious co-religionist, Akbar the Great, whose rule was characterized not by communal tension but by communal solidarity. Is this not the time to display statesmanship of that order and not [to] allow an interested third party to divide our people and our country?

Now the opportunity of a lifetime presents itself to you. As a son of the soil I ask you respectfully to take it with both hands and with a great heart and broad vision [to] bring about one solid and united India and earn the admiration of the whole world and the eternal gratitude of your motherland.

I salute you.

Yours faithfully,
JOSEPH JOHN

158

D. L. Patwardhan to a Newspaper Editor
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 137/18-21

26 March 1940

INDIA'S PARTITION

Mr. Jinnah's outburst[1] and demand for partition of India[2] is an open challenge to the whole of Hindu India. Is it now realized by Mahatmaji and his disciples why Muslims were not compromising with any Congress offers and why no solution to the riddle was possible? The cat is out of the bag, and all thanks to Mr. Jinnah for the outspokenness with which he has allowed his outburst (only this outburst should have been much earlier) and all credit to Mr. Jinnah [for] having kept the secret so organisedly back from the world. Is it not yet an eye opener to Mahatmaji? Will he and all his truthful followers admit with all frankness that Hindu Sabhaites or Sangathanists were correct in their judgement for all these years and that Congress has been outwitted? The long years that Mahatmaji allowed to Muslim brothers for changing their hearts by the suffering

of the Hindus have been very sagaciously utilized by the Muslim brothers for fully organizing themselves for a fight or civil war with the Hindus. No wonder if the whole Muslim mentality became aggressive and impatient for an internal war and no wonder if the Khaksar Movement has become so aggressively and turbulently violent? If Mahatmaji's gospel of truth and non-violence is, according to him, an effective remedy or counter to the Muslim violence, I with all earnestness pray him to keep aside the British politics for some time and devote himself and his influence and penance to convert the Muslim mentality to non-violence and make them non-violent friends, which will be a perpetual obligation on India; and Mahatmaji's name will be remembered till eternity. I pray this [*sic*] to him in spite of the glaring fact that he has so far utterly failed.

With all my reverence for him and faith for his non-violence creed, I humbly submit that he should consider and try the following remedy, which in my humble opinion is the only effective remedy for mending the matters:

i. The Congress door for membership should be made open to all nationals.

ii. The Congress should give a time limit to fill up the revised membership to all people of all castes and creeds in India, whether [or not] members of other organisations....

iii. [*Omitted*]

iv. Joint electorate at all time.

v. Reserve[d] seats for minorities for first five years in a fixed proportion.

vi. Single voting system.

[*Next para omitted*]

The fear of civil war after federation or independence as contemplated by Mr. Jinnah is absolutely wrong unless it is an indication of his own mind and his future programme. The present dissensions are bound to happen when poverty is extreme and living becomes hard. The fight through the bottleneck will cease immediately [when] the power of purse comes to India's hand and the industries flourish. India has immense resources for various important industries, so much so that the present unemployment and consequent troubles will vanish like a fog, and people will have no time even to think about politics and power, within a few years after independence is attained. Where there is a will there is a way. Mr. Jinnah evidently

wants to exploit Britain and squeeze out of the present situation a slice of Indian nation but he must remember that it is like playing with fire and he should not be wild about his pan-Islamic ideas. Hindus are the only race which has tolerated and will tolerate other religions, and he can safely place his trust in and put his head on the lap of Hindu India, so long as he calls India as his mother country. Let him play the role of a son of India, and not of a conqueror; and it is in the highest interest of both the major and minor communities. Let God give Mr. Jinnah a wise counsel and a true nationalist viewpoint.

A friend of Mr. Jinnah,
D. L. PATWARDHAN
Lieut.

[1]No. 154.
[2]No. 156.

159

M. S. M. Sharma to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/ 234-5

159 HINDU COLONY,
DADAR,
BOMBAY,
28 March 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Just on the eve of the Muslim League session,[1] I had met Sir Currimbhoy Ebrahim[2] and discussed with him the possibilities of a first class English weekly in Bombay. We were to have met again yesterday, and we did. We had nearly two hours' talk[s] after which it was mutually agreed that I should get into [*sic*] touch with you on your arrival in Bombay.

Let me briefly recapitulate the subject of the conversation. I suggested [to him] the starting of a purely political paper under the name, *The Gateway of India*. I suggested this name because, as the name itself implied, it could lay claim to authority to speak on Indian problems to the Britisher and the Continental. If the paper is not afraid of speaking out, it must be assured of a first class circulation, provided

[that] with every Sunday edition it issues also a news supplement with the latest news and first class news scoops to [*sic* for for] which the news agencies will necessarily have to look to this paper.

If the paper also pleads the cause of the Indian Princes and other Indian minorities, it can, in course of time, develop into a daily and still maintain an all-India weekly.

I suggested also to Sir Currimbhoy that, if the Two Nations idea was to be propagated, it was likely to receive better support if either you or he should take up the editorship. It would be a formal affair and should entail no extra work as you would be assisted by a staff of trained journalists.

Indeed, I also suggested various political features which must appeal to the average Indian reader. If the paper should come out at all, now is the time as various advertising agencies have not yet completed their appropriations for the year. Psychologically also, coming as it should immediately after the Lahore League session, it ought to be assured of a really solid circulation even among those who might not agree with it.

Should you be so good as to give me some time, I shall be glad to call upon you and discuss the matter. It appears to me that the Congress must be fought on all sides. And, none is more fitted to take the responsibility than you.

May I have a line in reply?

Yours sincerely,
M.S.M.SHARMA

PS. When I was in Calcutta in 1935, the British Govt. were more afraid of you than they were of the Congress and Mr. Gandhi. I did not know I was going to be a prophet, for your Lahore Resolution has upset Govt. more than they perhaps knew.

[1]See Nos. 154 & 156.

[2]He was appointed Convener of a committee tasked with the framing of a constitution and rules and regulations for the Muslim League National Guards.

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D. G. Dalvi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 673/15

ALEXANDRA ROAD,
GAMDEVI, BOMBAY,
28 March 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

May I request you to send me by book-post a copy of your presidential address at Lahore session of the League. I find that the press here has not published it *in extenso*. I shall be obliged if I can get a copy of the address of the Chairman of the Reception Committee also. I believe you will shortly publish an official report of the session, but that will take time.

May I direct your attention to a communication in the *Times of India* this morning on this subject, from its special correspondent, which explains the next move of the League. I wonder if you have seen an article I contributed to the special Congress number of the *Bombay Chronicle* in which I have briefly explained how the policy of the Congress is directly responsible for the present phase of the Hindu-Muslim problem.

I hope you will shortly arrive in Bombay, now that the session of the League is over.

Yours sincerely,
D. G. DALVI

161

Rashid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/259-60

RABIA MANSION,
WEST POINT,
BOMBAY,
28 March 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

You must have seen my statement in the press. Though I have worked in such close agreement with you, I do not think that you

will be entirely surprised. On several occasions, you have chided me for being "demoralized" and a "defeatist" etc., but my state of mind was actuated purely by realism and not demoralisation.

As you know I am entirely with you in practically every particular. But I firmly believe coalition governments in a united India as the logical and proper conclusion of the situation. Even in the *Time and Tide* article, when the Two-Nation Theory was developed at length, the remedy arrived at was "popular government, representative of all sections".

Partition, I believe, [is] wrong and harmful and believing that I must leave and work for what I believe to be the correct solution.

Now that you are rich, many people claim relationship with you. I, however, depart at the moment of your greatest triumph and power; so you must give me the credit for being sincere in my belief and having the courage of my convictions.

You have always been very kind to me and I do hope a difference of political opinion will not affect your kindness in the future.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
RASHID

162

Amir Haider Khan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (126)

MAHMUDABAD, (OUDH),
29 March 1940

My dear uncle,

I am writing this [letter] in connection with a conference of Shias of all parties, which I am calling on [*sic* for for] the 14th and 15th of April, with the object of framing a policy for the Shias of the country in accordance with their general desire and representative opinion. Sir Sultan Ahmad[1] is going to preside over the Conference and many prominent persons have been invited.

Before I proceed to put before you the reasons and objects which have led me to call this Conference, I should like to remind you that on more than one occasion, I have had the opportunity of laying before you my views about the Shias. It is possible that I might have failed to put my viewpoint clearly before you. I, therefore, repeat the

points with the hope that if you do not agree with me you will at least guide and advise me. I feel that your opinion in this matter will go a long way in moulding the future of the Shias and I, therefore, implore you to give your very best consideration to the case of the Shias before pronouncing an opinion.

It is true that when we come to think of the graver problems which confront the Muslims at large and which equally affect both Shias and Sunnis, their differences seem to be very small. It is true that whereas the gulf, which divides the Hindus and the Muslims, is much wider and the issues between them are much greater, the position of the Shias among the Muslims is merely that of a religious section; yet between the Shias and Sunnis, the same analogy as that of the Catholics and Protestants holds good. Both these sects in England held one culture, spoke one language and followed one religion but the mere difference of certain beliefs and interpretations led to such persecutions and cruelties which were by no means justified.

In Europe, this very difference of sects resulted in the Hundred Years' War between the Catholics and the Protestants. In the same way, it is possible that the seemingly little difference of Shias and Sunnis may sooner or later result in similar consequences if no effort is made to safeguard the fundamental rights of the Shias to their satisfaction.

Even today as we sit together and talk of unity among the Muslim ranks, the flame of hatred is being kindled all over the place. In elections, sectarian propaganda succeeds in poisoning the minds of the illiterate masses and even those Shia candidates, who are eventually successful, have to face enormous opposition. Even in the legislature Shia members cannot freely give vent to the true sentiments of the Shias for the fear of the electorate. In the religious field, forces are at work, day and night, which aim at suppressing our beliefs and try to deprive us of the liberty which we possess and which it is our right to possess for the performance of our religious duties.

It may seem that this discontent and discord is limited to certain portions of India but let me assure you that during the last year and [a] half, I have been in extensive correspondence with the Shias of all [the] provinces, and the letters in my file and the articles, which have appeared in English as well as in vernacular papers, prove that the Shias have for some reason or other lost that confidence which they once had in their Sunni brethren and they feel that their position will be secured only when certain safeguards are given to them constitutionally. These safeguards, however, will be different from those which have

been given to the minorities in this country as a whole.

The Shias will neither ask for reservation of seats nor will they think of any measure which may tend to separate them from the rest of the Muslim community. They will join hands in the struggle for the rights of the Musalmans and will enjoy all those safeguards, which the Muslims may be given in the future constitution; but in addition to those safeguards they will demand other safeguards within the Muslim country, and so far as I can see they will formulate their demands on the following principles:

a. That Shias will have a voice in the elected bodies and governmental institution[s] and that in any matter, which might affect the Shias, justice and equity will be applied rather than rule of the majority.
b. That the liberty of religious observances and beliefs of the Shias shall be guaranteed against any infringement thereupon by any party.
c. That as a further safeguard, the Governors of the provinces and the Governor-General of India shall be given special powers to exercise in favour of the Shias in case any injustice is done to them by any party.
d. That all Shia *waqfs* will be exclusively under the control of Shias.
e. If any law is passed in accordance with the Muslim Hanafi Law, the special principles of the Shia *Shariat* must also be taken into consideration.

I feel that unless these principles are accepted the Shias cannot find themselves in a position of honour and security in the Muslim nation.

With affectionate regards,

Yours affectionately,
AMIR HAIDER KHAN (NABBU)

[1]He was a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council (1941-45); Adviser to the Chamber of Princes (1945-47).

163

Rafi-Uddin Farooqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/261

SAUDILA,
HARDOI, OUDH,
29 March 1940

Dear Sir,

After my letter [*sic*] from the [Muslim] League session of Lahore, I learnt that the activities of the Ahrars have been redoubled and every effort is being made to enlist as many members as possible. Even those Congressites who, being Socialists or Communists, had up to this time refrained from allying themselves to the activities of the Ahrars are trying to-day to enlist members for the Ahrar Committee. It transpires that all these activities are at the behest of the Congress high command so that a large gathering may assemble at the Nationalist Conference, to be held at Delhi in the second week of April 1940, and there the representative character of the League may be questioned. In order to book these hired mercenaries for the Delhi Conference money is being liberally advanced to the Ahrars by the Congress.

Under these circumstances we, the Leaguers, await your definite instructions. In my opinion Leaguers must muster strong at Delhi to capture the so-called Nationalist Conference and should pass the Pakistan Resolution from their platform. All this can be achieved very easily. Only your direction to the pro-Leaguers will do and earnest propaganda will bring about the desired end.

Sincerely yours,
RAFI-UDDIN FAROOQI

164

Mohammad Badiuzzaman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/264-5

LANGAT HOSTEL,
MUZAFFARPUR,
31 March 1940

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The success of the Muslim League at Lahore, and the passing of the Pakistan plan as an inevitable course left to Indian Muslims, stand in sharp contrast to the claptrap resolution of Ramgarh.[1] I thank you most heartedly for the bold stand you have taken in this old age.

In all sincerity, I like to emphasize that the Muslim League after passing annual resolutions does not take them to the innermost [*sic*] masses. As you know full well, the illiterate masses cannot read [news]papers and unless the Provincial League organises tours and explains from time to time, the organisation will still be in infancy. I can safely assert that the Bihar League is not working on the ideals you adumbrate. They simply sit at Patna and issue [a] few statements from time to time. Please issue instructions to them for this.

As you told me at Bombay in June 1938, you are not in a position to tour the provinces like the Congressites. But I think the Provincial Presidents and District, Sub-Divisional and Union office-bearers are not too old or more engaged like the all-India President.

The success of Muslim League in the Calcutta Corporation's elections are [*sic*] due partly to your statement and appeal and partly to Sher-e-Bengal.[2] Congratulations to you for the same.

Again, I want to know what happened to the press which was going to be started by you. You have, I think, collected a lakh of rupees. Please treat this work as most urgent as there is no English Muslim daily, except the *Star of India*.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD BADIUZZAMAN

[1]The Ramgarh Congress Resolution stated that British declaration of India as a belligerent country in World War II and exploitation of its resources for the war without reference to the Indian peoples was an affront to them. See A. M. & S. G. Zaidi, *The Encyclopaedia*, XII, 367-9.

[2]Refers to Abul Kasim Fazlul Huq, Bengal Premier (1937-43).

165

Syed Hamiduddin Quadir to M. A. Jinnah

F. 411/1-2

896 MOAZAM SHAHI,
GOSHA MAHAL,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
1 April 1940

Dear Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

On 19th March 1940, I had written [you] a letter in Urdu at the Lahore address; you might have received it, in which I wrote that the League must make clear its position as regards its political goal, so that the Muslims can put their heart into it and give the other Indian nations or the Congress the opportunity if it has the slightest desire to co-operate with the League. Please accept my hearty congratulations for the lead you have given to the Muslim nation which was in the dark before the Lahore session. Now it has come to know that its destination is that India must be divided into Muslim India and Hindu India and that these units should be completely independent.

Don't you think that it is more useful for the Muslim nation to have a substantial share in the administration of Indian Government as a whole? I hope you would agree with me, and from what I could gather the thing that had compelled the League to reach the above decision is a direct result of the taste of the Congress administration in the provinces. Do you think that partition would remedy these defects if they recur in the Hindu India when the Muslim nation of these provinces will be at their mercy? I have my strong doubts. Instead there should be formed such a government wherein there must be no domination of either Hindu or the Muslim nation at the centre thereby alleviating any danger to language, culture and religion of any of the communities. The following scheme or one like it may be found acceptable to all the communities.

There ought to be an Indian National Federal Government with all the provinces and the native states joining hands. Every unit should be a complete independent unit in its own sphere. The Federal Government will be responsible only for the general defence, foreign affairs, coinage, currency, posts and telegraphs, communications and customs. In the Provincial Assemblies of the Eastern and

the North-Western Muslim Zones, the Muslims must have a clear and decisive majority according to their population strength. In the same way for the Hindus where they are in the majority. In the Federal Assembly, after excluding the seats of the recognized minorities, the remaining seats may be equally divided between the Muslims and the Hindus. The elections will take place by the separate electorate system. Every nation, where it is in majority, should have full rights to improve its language, creed and culture while the minority of the place should have no right to object or protest against unless their liberty, culture and religion are distinctively [*sic*] in danger. It must be the duty of the majority community or the Government not to tamper with the culture, language, ideals and the citizens' rights of a minority people of the place, [but] on the other hand to protect and help them. All the Federal Units will maintain [*sic*] the languages prevailing. In the Muslim Zones the language will be Urdu or such other language that will be decided by the Government of the place. The Federal language should be Hindustani which can be written in both the scripts of Urdu and Devanagari. If this is agreeable [*sic*] to both the parties, all the particulars and such details should be settled before a constitution or any other assembly that will frame the constitution of India could be summoned and in which the Hindu and Muslim representatives or the members, should be equal in number, as proposed above, for the Federal Assembly. If this is agreed upon, there need not be any necessity of a partitioned India. Hindi-Urdu controversy will be nowhere and the provincial language and culture will flourish with the ultimate result of peace and harmony.

I should feel much grateful if you could enlighten me with your ripe judgment of my scheme so that I may be able to serve my country in my own humble way.

Sincerely yours in faith,
SYED HAMIDUDDIN QUADIR

166

Mir Alam Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/243-4
[*Original in Urdu*]

TANGI,
DISTRICT PESHAWAR,
NWFP,
2 April 1940

My revered Quaid-i-Azam,

You may recall that during the Muslim League session at Lahore, I had requested you while you were sitting in the car, to give me some time to brief you about NWFP. You asked me to meet you at night in the *pandal*. I made attempts during the later part of the night but as you were very busy, I did not bother you.

Respected Sir, the people of the Frontier have become distrustful of the Congressmen and are fed up with their false promises. But they do not believe in the ML leaders. Our two leaders, Sardar Aurangzeb Khan and Khan Bahadur Sadullah Khan, are not persons of national level. They feel happy with honorary posts. They do not take any interest in work. They are disciples of late Nawab Sir Abdul Qayyum. They have no influence among the people.

I want to tell you that I was a Congressite earlier and had brought down the Congress in my area. I am a nephew of Khan Bahadur Sadullah. Concealing facts is akin to selling one's conscience.

You must have noticed the antics of Sardar Aurangzeb Khan in the *pandal*. He hovered around frequently so that he could be photographed a number of times. There are so many things to say which may spread over several pages. However, I am presenting two suggestions which, if you like, may be adopted. If you give me time for an interview at Delhi, I am willing to run up there so as to brief you about the incidents and the prevailing conditions. I am of course poor but not so much as not to be able to spend money on my travel in connection with a national cause.

Please arrange to obtain the services of three or four *Aalims* and speakers and entrust the work to the poor workers of ML and

have trust in them as the present office bearers/workers neither work for themselves nor afford an opportunity to the poor to work.

Wassalaam

Your well wisher,
MIR ALAM KHAN
Khan Sahib
Councillor, AIML

167

Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/69-70

[PESHAWAR,]
3 April 1940

Dear Sir,

I hope you must have taken some rest. Really you were mentally and physically worked almost to death (God save you) at Lahore. May God Almighty grant you health, spirits and complete success all round. You are, Sir, just like a father to me, and need I assure you I will carry out most faithfully your behests? But this Khaksar affair has confused[the] Punjab and NWFP terribly a bit [*sic*]. *Insha Allah* our meeting on the 19th April will clarify the situation. Your scheme has captured the imagination of the masses and it will be very difficult for Gandhi or his Muslim camp followers to approach the public against it.

Pray, permit me to offer my sincerest congratulation on your lucid and crushing rejoinder to the critics of Lahore Resolution. Your exposure[1] of Raja [Rajagopalachariya][2] is masterly. His reference to Aurangzeb, Akbar or Sultan Tipu has been met in the most conclusive and convincing way.

King Solomon and the baby episode act like a boomerang against him. Please accept our respectful congratulations.

Poor Sikander is in [an] awful fix. With Chhotu and Majithia in half-hearted revolt against him, he is and must be at his wits' end. Will you come to his rescue? He must be feeling awfully

miserable. Kindly save him through your characteristic statesman-like stroke.

With humble regards,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN
B.A., LL.B. (ALIG.), *MLA*
Advocate

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 1-7.
[2]Ibid., note 1, 5-6.

168

Mohammad Yar Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/266

ETAWAH,
4 April 1940

Dear Sir,

The copy of the [enclosed] resolutions will clearly show how the Hindu courts are crushing the rights of the Musalmans who are under their control. The religious festival, *'Id al-Azha,* was an important occasion when the court could have allowed one day's casual leave to enable them to offer their sacrifice and prayers. Their applications were rejected and orders were served on them through a *chaprasi* and they had to attend their office, leaving their['*Id*] prayers and sacrifice.

The Muslim League having full knowledge of these facts has not so far raised any voice. It is requested that you should please put questions to the Govt. and see that it is not repeated and the said court is warned.

Yours,
MOHAMMAD YAR KHAN

Enclosure to No. 168
Mohammad Yar Khan to M. A. Jinnah & Others

F. 873/267

RESOLUTIONS

The Musalmans of Etawah assembled on 26th Feb. 1940 in the evening at 8.30. p.m. in the Municipal Compound. They all expressed

their deep concern at [*sic* for over] the attitude of the civil court presiding officers and specially that of the *Munsif*, Mr. T.C. Kapoor, towards the Muslim clients, clerks and staff on the 20th of Jan. 1940, the day when the most sacred festival of the Musalmans, i.e. *'Id al-Azha*, was being celebrated at Etawah. [The] following resolutions were unanimously passed:

i. Resolved that the meeting shows its deep concern and disapproves of the conduct of the authorities in not having the 20th Jan. 1940 as a public holiday when the most sacred festival was being celebrated here, with the result that the cases of the Musalmans were decided in default by the *Munsif* which had to be restored on payment of costs.

ii. Resolved that the attitude of *Munsif*, Etawah, Mr. T.C. Kapoor was absolutely unjustified and communal in rejecting the leave applications of some Musalman clerks, etc. of his staff when they applied for the grant of only one day's casual leave which was due in full to celebrate their religious festival. The rejection orders were served on them through a *chaprasi* at their places and they had to come to attend office leaving their prayers, sacrifice, etc.

iii. Resolved that this attitude amounts to an active interference in the religious performances of the Musalmans which may lead to dissatisfaction and may create communal spirit [*sic*] in the calm atmosphere.

MOHAMMAD YAR KHAN

169

S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

F. 304/1-3

ISMAIL MANZIL,
PATNA CITY,
6 April 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I think you have forgotten, as you are very busy and overworked since after the Lahore session, to write to me as promised on the 25th of March last when I personally delivered to you two letters that were received from the Saran District League. I have explained to you their earnest desire that you will be pleased to kindly make it

convenient to come and preside. I had also made a request to you on behalf of the people of Chota Nagpur. I quite appreciate and realize your difficulties and I had therefore fully explained the matter to them on my return. It will be encouraging if you will be so good as to kindly send a helpful message and a written reply to their and my request. It is unfortunate that the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad who was subsequently approached is also not willing to come on account of domestic reasons. We shall manage but your kind message will be helpful and I would advise you to send one in writing.

Your official instruction to hold meetings all over the Province and in all the branches on the 19th of April, Friday, to read and explain the Lahore Resolution and the decision, shall be faithfully complied with. An Urdu version and rendering of the said Resolution in simple language is request[ed]. I request [that it] may be issued from the head-quarters so that the very same translation may be read in all the branches.

You might have followed the news recently published in English papers and in particular I refer you to a move in Lucknow where on the 14th and 15th of April there is going to be held an all-India All Parties' Shia Conference to formulate their demands with a view to redressing their grievances so as to safeguard them in any future constitution of India. One of the members of our League Council, Dr. Sir Syed Sultan Ahmad, has consented to preside and a number of Muslim Leaguers who are Shias (not belonging to the Shia Political Conference) have been invited to attend and to express their views. The situation in Oudh and U.P. and particularly in the City of Lucknow is different from other places and it cannot be denied that the relations between the two sects are very strained. As a matter of faith you know, as I know you, we are both Shias but politically both of us hold wider [*sic*] views. The question is how to make an effort so as to create an atmosphere which should dissuade the promoters of this Conference from going in a wrong direction detrimental to the Muslim interest as a whole, and Shias' interest in particular. I therefore earnestly request you to let me have your views in absolute confidence and also to sincerely advise me whether in the circumstances of my holding the Bihar Provincial [League] Presidentship and also my being a staunch Leaguer I can be permitted to attend such a Conference. If so, what attitude should I take. If I had known that such a situation is going to arise I would have personally discussed with you at Lahore. But until my return I was under the impression that the said suggested

Conference is perhaps postponed. Please excuse this long letter. A reply full of advice will be really appreciated.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. ISMAIL
Khan Bahadur, Nawab, MLC
Fellow, Patna University,
President, Bihar Provincial M. L.

170

Tajuddin to Francis Wylie
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 825/9-11

JUBBULPORE,
6 April 1940

May it please Your Excellency,

It is very rare that a judgment of a court is challenged in the manner we do regrettably today. The usual procedure is to make a regular appeal which the connected [*sic*] person will be advised to do but that we place before Your Excellency the difference in treatment and punishment given by a Hindu Magistrate to a Hindu accused and a Muslim accused.

The cases, subject matter of which are mentioned herein, are regrettable and we entirely dissociate ourselves from what was enacted in the court of law when shoe-beating was done by [the] accused. What we complain of is the punishment of one month given to a Hindu accused and three months to a Muslim accused. This deterrent punishment theory is a clever ruse to hide the mentality working behind the fertile brain.

In one case a Hindu accused gave shoe-beating to a Muslim witness when the case was going on in the court of Mr. Radhakishen, ICS, and Mr. K.P. Tiwari tried the Hindu accused and inflicted one month's S.I. [simple imprisonment] for the offence of contempt of court. It may be noted that there was no plea of provocation or anything justifying the action of the accused. The offence was clean [*sic*] contempt of court. In another case the accused Sultan Khan s/o Gafoor Khan is said to have been abused in filthy language by one

Bania named Dalchand s/o Gulab Chand. The abuse was heinous and filthy, so much so that he was told that he is a son of a pig, pig-eating man and so on. It naturally provocated [*sic*] the accused and in a fit of rage he flung the shoe in the manner he did. No doubt the Magistrate is right in saying that even if he was abused, he had no business to take [the] law in his own hand but it is surprising that no evidence was recorded or [the] truth of this allegation against the said *Bania* was verified. If the *Bania* has uttered there [*sic*] provocative abusive language, he was also guilty of contempt of court, though to a lesser degree than the Muslim accused. [*A derogatory sentence omitted*]. If in identification, this *Bania* has used the language, the accused alleges him to have used, then he is also as much guilty of contempt of court as Sultan Khan. Our complaint against the trying Magistrate is that the said *Bania* was made to go away [*sic*] scot-free and the Muslim accused was punished for[*sic*] three months' S.I.

[*Next para omitted*]

We therefore pray that Your Excellency will cause enquiries to be made in this case and see that injustice done in inflicting severe punishment to a Muslim will be set aright [*sic* for right] and the Magistrate in question warned for future. Actions like these create most unhealthy atmosphere and Muslims feel that law and justice is not inflicted [*sic*] on Hindus and Muslims alike. Hindu and Muslim Magistrates ought to be doubly on their guard when dealing in [*sic*] cases like these so that no communal bias allegations are attributed to them.

We beg to remain,
Your Excellency's most obedient servant,
TAJUDDIN
Vice President,
Distt. and Town Muslim League

171

Tajuddin to District Superintendent of Police, Jubbulpore
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 825/13

JUBBULPORE,
7 April 1940

Dear Sir,

For the last two years Musalmans in general and the local Muslim League in particular, on behalf of the general Muslim public, have been writing against the anti-Muslim activities of Mr. Murli Manohar, Sub-Inspector stationed at Kotwali, Jubbulpore, but it seems it had no effect. It looks his services are more valuable and that too for the Town Police and our sufferings and troubles, which he prides [himself] in [*sic* for on] inflicting on us, are of no value [*sic*].

We would like to draw your kind attention to the latest feat of this indispensable Police officer. We are told stones were being hurled on the shops situated before [*sic*] the Kotwali and this phenomenon was surprising because the only place from where this could be done was the seat of law and order. This continued and no attempt was made to secure the culprit. One day a Police Constable Abdul Aziz was hit and he had the audacity to poke his nose in this matter. He, we are told, caught hold of the son of the great S.I. Murli Manohar red-handed in the act of throwing stones. It looks the boy was making [*sic*] excercise in stone throwing prior to his joining the Shakti Dal.

Naturally nothing could be done against the son of the Hindu Sub-Inspector and on the contrary the said Constable is said to have been abused by the Sub-Inspector. He was told that he would have been shot by a pistol and so on. Next day we learnt that the Constable was transferred and the Sub-Inspector's son had nothing to fear now.

Disturbance of 18th March 1940 is said to have been, according to the report published in the *Times of India*, [caused] by stone throwing on the procession in front of Kotwali. It is to be noted that this stone throwing exhibition of the son of Mr. Murli Manohar coincides with this incident and is worth inquiry.

We do hope that at least the facts of the above case be communicated

to us because all sorts of wild rumours are current in the city.

Yours faithfully,
TAJUDDIN
Vice President,
Distt. & Town Muslim League

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Abdul Khaliq to M. A. Jinnah

F. 896/29

RANI BAGH,
MANGROL, KATHIAWAR,
7 April 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Allow me to say that your address at the recent session of the Muslim League at Lahore was a stirring one and made history. It was a personal triumph for you and I congratulate you on it. God bless you. The address was historic, for it establishes the strongest and most important landmark in Muslim history after the decline of Muslim power in India over two centuries ago. It was stirring because it was not a spectacular landmark only to please the eyes of the onlookers. It was a resounding appeal to the nation to be up and doing, and right[ly] enough they are up and doing. The hour produces the man and it is you. All honour and support to you and best wishes for your health. My respects to Miss Jinnah Sahiba.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL KHALIQ

173

M. A. Jinnah to the Editor, the Muslim Views, *Colombo*

SHC, FCI/4

8 April 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st of April,[1] asking me for a message on the occasion of the birthday celebrations of our holy

Prophet [PBUH]. What message can I give you? The occasion itself has a message for every Musalman, and the message is that we should take to heart the lesson contained in our Prophet's life, namely we should subordinate our entire self to the good of our community and people, just as the Prophet [PBUH]did. And the best way we can serve our people is by serving and strengthening the All India Muslim League.

Yours truly,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.

174

M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow

F. 95/71

NEW DELHI,
8 April 1940

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

This is just to inform Your Excellency that I am leaving for Bombay to-morrow morning by the Frontier Mail.

After Your Excellency's letter of 28th February[1] acknowledging my letter of the 24th February[2] [*sic* for 23 February], in which the views of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League were placed for your consideration, Your Excellency was good enough to grant me an interview on the 13th of March. In the course of the interview Your Excellency intimated to me that you were in communication with His Majesty's Government with regard to the subject matter of the letters. I was expecting to get an early reply from Your Excellency. I hope that you will now communicate to me your final answer as soon as possible to my Bombay address, Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 123.
[2]No. 116.

175

Amir Haider Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 849/1

MAHMUDABAD, OUDH,
8 April 1940

My dear uncle,

Thank you very much for the kind letter you have sent me.[1] I am feeling very hopeful that whatever slight grievances the Shias have today will be redressed with the help of the Muslim League. I do, however, regret that as I have already promised co-operation with the Shias so far as the Conference is concerned, I feel that now I cannot dis-associate myself from it.

Nevertheless, I feel confident that the Conference will give [*sic* for pay] full heed to your advice and I will see that the Shias follow the policy which will be in the best interest of the Musalmans as a whole.

With best wishes,

Yours affectionately,
AMIR HAIDER

[1]Not traceable.

176

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 199/5-6

PRIVATE

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
8 April 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Allow me to congratulate you on the bold and unflinching stand you have taken with regard to the Lahore Resolution of the League. It is a source of the greatest satisfaction and encouragement to all your followers. Your humble workers and loyal followers at Aligarh are indeed very glad that the ideas and the creed which they had been striving to spread and popularise have received the imprimatur of the full session of the national parliament of Musalmans,

the All India Muslim League. We are now taking steps to propagate the message of the Lahore Resolution as widely as possible. We are arranging to bring out a pamphlet, both in English and Urdu, containing your Lahore speech, the speech you delivered at Aligarh recently, an effective elucidation of the Lahore Resolution, and also the statements you and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali have issued recently. I hope you will have no objection to our bringing out this publication.

I have been wanting to speak to you about certain unsatisfactory developments in the University but haven't had an opportunity. At the last meeting of the Court, Dr. Zakir Husain and Mr. Sharif were elected to the Executive Council of the University. The man who stands condemned in the whole of Muslim India as the author of a most poisonous scheme,[1] is honoured by being elected to the supreme executive body of the Muslim University! The other gentleman is well-known for his antipathy to the Muslim League and indeed to all Islamic causes. The Executive Council now has a strong anti-Muslim League element. I am afraid this will prove very detrimental to the Muslim League in the University. I am very sorry that our Muslim League leaders, even those who are in the Court, are very indifferent to the position of the Muslim League in the University. You alone can pull them out of their indifference. They should be made to purge the University of all undesirable elements and bring the University on the lines of Muslim League policy and programmes. I would like to talk to you in greater detail if you could give me some time on Friday next when I propose to come to Delhi.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD
Member, All India Muslim League Council

[1]Refers to Zakir Hussain Committee's Report on *Basic National Education*, in common parlance called the Wardha Scheme. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 543.

177

Mian Abdul Haye to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/268-9

SYEDAN STREET,
P. O. RAHON, JULLUNDUR,
10 April 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I must heartily congratulate you on your recent remarkable statement to the press in regard to proposed Muslim homeland as adumbrated in the Lahore Resolution of the All India Muslim League.[1] I entirely acquiesce with [*sic*] you and would be prepared to expend the last ounce of my energy for this noble cause. But the opponents have, on the other hand, started a very false propaganda. This is exceedingly regrettable. It is however an undeniable fact that they have got very many channels of publicity and there exist a number of widely circulated daily newspapers to propound their viewpoint. Whereas the entire Muslim India have got, practically speaking, not a single daily newspaper worth the name. I have accordingly determined to bring out an up-to-date daily newspaper, before long, from some central place and under your distinguished guidance and patronage. It is, therefore, requested that you may kindly let me have your kind advice with regard to the name of the newspaper and the place wherefrom it may be published. My personal suggestion is that the very name 'Muslim India' of the proposed newspaper, would, to a large extent, combat the mischievous propaganda; and Delhi, being the capital of India, would be the best place for the publication.

I hope you would kindly let me know your candid views as early as possible, so that the project may not be unnecessarily delayed.

Yours very sincerely,
ABDUL HAYE
M. A.

[1]No. 156, Resolution No. 1.

178

Amina Currimbhoy to M. A. Jinnah

F. 383/35

BELVEDERE, [BOMBAY,]
10 April 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing a copy of the letter I wrote to the Raja Sahib for your perusal.

With my best regards,

Yours sincerely,
AMINA CURRIMBHOY

Enclosure to No. 178
Amina Currimbhoy to Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan

F. 383/36-7

Dear Raja Sahib,

As I was reading the other day the biography of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, originator of Aligarh University, it struck me that as you are the Chancellor of the University just now, I may add in a little suggestion for the same.

As the resolution has been passed at the Lahore session of Muslim League for the partition of India, this will be one step forward in showing our determination in proving [*sic*] the Muslim independence of India. As we know, Aligarh has been the Muslim centre for Muslims' elevation in India, but may I draw your attention that with our efforts we can and should make Aligarh the Oxford of Muslim India instead of depending [on] overseas for Muslims' higher education.

Now the question would be of canvassing [*sic*] funds. There are eight crores of Muslims in India. If we can only start a rupee fund we can collect a good amount; whereas I know that several people would very willingly subscribe from ten, hundred, thousand to ten thousand rupees.

Now it is up to you to think it over very earnestly in determining to take up this responsibility which, I am sure, several will shoulder.

There is nothing that can keep you from doing it provided you make up your mind.

I am sure you will give a serious thought to this without fail.

[AMINA CURRIMBHOY]

179

M. M. S. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 103/10

SHAHRU CASTLE,
MOHAMEDALI ROAD, BOMBAY,
10 April 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

In view of the public meetings due to be held throughout the Presidency on the 19th instant in connection with the Pakistan Resolution passed at Lahore, I had requested Mr. Chundrigar to write a note explaining the implications of the Resolution so that it might be printed and distributed to all the District and Primary Leagues to enable them to explain matters correctly. I am enclosing the draft of it [1]for your perusal and suggestions.

We are holding a meeting this evening at [*sic*] which I trust you will find time to attend when it is intended to explain the Resolution to the League workers.

The third annual session of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League is fixed to be held at Hubli on 24th, 25th and if necessary on the 26th of May next. The Committee deputed Mr. Aziz Ghafoor Kazi and myself to patch up the differences between the residents of Dharwar and Hubli and to fix the venue of the Conference. We are meeting this evening at 6.15 p.m. to select a President of the Conference. The people there have suggested the name of the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlul Huq.

My efforts have been to bring about some method in the conduct of the Conference work. I am purposely keeping away from you to give you some rest.

With respects,

Yours sincerely,
M. M. S. ISPAHANI

[1]See F. 103/11-3, *QAP*. Not printed.

180

F. R. Moraes to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1009/28

THE *TIMES OF INDIA*,
BOMBAY,
11 April 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose[1] a cutting from the *News Chronicle* of my write-up on the interview you gave me some time ago.

Would it be possible for me to see you sometime in the near future regarding the partition plan, as I should like to write something about it, not merely for the British, but the American Press. I would like to state quite frankly that while I am opposed to the idea, I am anxious not to misinterpret the attitude of the Muslim League on the matter. I make this clear as I do not want to interview you under any false pretences.

Yours sincerely,
F. R. MORAES

[1]Not traceable.

181

Muzaffar Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/270-4

CONTROLLER OF MILITARY ACCOUNTS OFFICE,
RAWALPINDI,
14 April 1940

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Like most modern educated young men, I had originally the notion that only in a united India could lie our salvation. Time, however, opened my eyes. I studied enough of the ways and principles of the non-Muslims, especially the Hindus (in the larger sense of the word), to convince me that our ways, if ever, lie absolutely apart. We have a different culture [and] a different civilisation, and

hence should have a different entity. For about two years back, I had been thinking that only a separated Muslim India, and for the matter of that a separated Hindu India, could more easily achieve the much-desired independence than the Utopian Hindu-Muslim unity, for I believe that, situated as we are, the Hindu-Muslim unity itself is impossible to achieve. Then there has been the Pakistan scheme, which, though rather inadequate and inexhaustible, nevertheless aimed at success through working on, what I considered, the right lines and doing away with the greatest hindrance in the development of India's future, viz. the Utopian Hindu-Muslim unity. I have always been telling the people I come across, that the Pakistan scheme, whether practicable or impracticable can be seen later on, aims at the right process for the achievement of our desires; it certainly clears away our greatest difficultly. And then came the Resolution at the Lahore session of the Muslim League. Believe me, respected Sir, that no one could have been better pleased than my humble self when that Resolution was passed, for it proves to be the direct echo of my heart.

Our greatest difficultly, I believe, lies in the deplorable fact that the Muslim masses are neither educated enough to follow our line of thought nor do enough of our ideas reach them. The latter is true in fact of quite a goodly number of the townspeople too like, of all things [*sic*], the *imams* of several *mohalla* mosques who do have a following, and the so-called middle classes. A certain *imam* similarly denounced the passing of the resolution by the Muslim League saying that besides being useless in view of Mahatma Gandhi's proposed constituent assembly, it would be utterly impracticable. He found the greatest difficulty about the Muslim residents in Hindu India. The question of migration, he was not prepared to consider. I, however, was able to convince him of the true nature and consequent uselessness for us of the proposed assembly and pointed out how the status and the interests of Muslim residents in non-Muslim areas could be protected on international basis, the relations between the Muslim India and Hindu India being essentially of an international character. But even then I stressed and, I believe, that migration of such Muslims would be in the best interests of both themselves and the Muslim India. They, of course, will prove an added greatness to the strength of the Muslim nation. As to the *imam*'s demanding some earthly reason for a migration, I readily reminded him of the migration of our Prophet [peace be upon him]. Why did he perform the *Hijrat*[1]? Fourteen hundred years back, Arabia enjoyed its own economic and political life and also the cultural one, whatever it be good or

otherwise. Where was then the necessity for a migration? The Prophet [peace be upon him] and his followers or, in other words, the Musalmans could not enjoy their spiritual life; could not enjoy their religious side of life. While they could be in the full enjoyment of their economic and political sides of life (whatever they be) since there was no foreign domination over Arabia nor such disintegration as is in India, they merely for the sake of the attainment of their spiritual or religious life, resorted to migration. Well, now in India, we the Muslims do not enjoy either the economic, political or religious life. What is life? The answer, I believe, can be summed up in one sentence. To live and live more abundantly. Like all, one-sentence programmes, it requires elucidation, but broadly it gives the ideal of life; and I am sure, respected Sir, you will agree with me, as the *imam* also did, that at present the Muslims in India do not enjoy, nay, they cannot enjoy, economic, political or last but not the least their religious life. Then why not migrate as our forerunners did. In fact, now we have threefold reason, I would call it threefold duty, to do so. The *imam* had to agree with me and in fact presented this point on these lines to his followers too though he said that he would still consider it, read a few of the criticisms of the scheme and then talk it over to me.

I am really sorry, Sir, that I could not have another talk with the *imam* for being in Government service, I had to leave for my duty station after the Easter holidays. It is only because I am a bit interested in the public life of every Muslim that I have such sundry talks with the people I met during my holidays, otherwise a person who has to earn his living from Govt. service does not have time for these things, nor can people know what he thinks or feels for he is not allowed to say.

Frankly, respected Sir, I believe that your personality [*sic*] is the greatest need of the present time and the greatest blessing for the Muslims of India. Man is mortal. So we have to think of the end too. Pardon me for the impertinence, Sir, but I shudder to think what would have happened to the Muslims of India if, God forbid, you had not been with us and now what will happen after your retirement. I am a poor inexperienced young man, but even I fail to see your true successor.

I have called myself inexperienced and young. I am twenty seven and a half years of age, possessing an M. A. degree in Political Science and an Honours degree in English but obviously quite inexperienced. In an independent Muslim state I believe a man of my age should have had a vast experience but under the present conditions when after

graduating we have to resort to Govt. service for a living, I have to remain inexperienced. A certain leader, who had been President and dictator of the [Majlis-i-]Ahrar, happened to spend a chance night at my house here last year. During the course of informal talks he said to me "Mr. Muzaffar what have you done? After getting an M. A. in Political Science your place should have been by our side, and you have gone in for Govt. service". My rejoinder was "Maulana Sahib, politics is for that man who does not have to bother about his living". So you see Sir, why I call myself inexperienced and what I mean by it.

I have met you only once (in the Punjab University Senate Hall) when you favoured the Punjab University Political Science Society with an informal talk. Before that and ever more since then, you have been my ideal, the indispensable leader, most needed by the Muslims of India. May God [Almighty] give you a long and healthy life so that you may yourself see the success of your plans, and the high pedestal to which you are gradually raising the Muslims of India; and also the Muslim India which, we hope will emerge as an independent state.

Kindly do write a few lines to one who, but for the exigencies of life, would have prayed to learn his first lesson in practical politics at your feet and would have had pride and pleasure in always following your lead.

Your most well-wisher,
MUZAFFAR ALI

[1]The holy Prophet (PBUH) migrated to Madina from Makkah in A.D. 622.

182

S. M. Zauqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 471/82

DHAN MANDI,
AJMER,
15 April 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

So I am now in Ajmer and have already started the work.

When I saw you last at Lahore, I suggested to you the desirability of your paying a visit to Ajmer—the Mecca [now Makkah] of India. On my arrival here, I am glad to find the Muslims here quite enthusiastic

about inviting you to this place as early as possible. I shall feel obliged if you will let me know the dates, which will suit you to come and stay here for at least a couple of days, so that necessary arrangements be made for your reception and a formal invitation sent to you.

Another point, worth mention[ing], is that as a result of Congress mischief, section 144 [Criminal Procedure Code], is in force here for ten days, ending on the 20th. So the local Muslims will not be able to hold partition-day meetings on the 19th. If permitted, they will hold such meetings on the 21st. The President of the Provincial League has already written to the Secretary, All India ML, on the subject.

Muslims here propose convening a political conference when you come.

I shall send you the promised book later on. Please send me an early reply.[1]

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. ZAUQI

[1]Jinnah replied on 19 April 1940 that he could not fix a date for a visit to Ajmer and advised him to hold the meeting on 21 April. See *QAD* (126a). Not printed.

183

Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 392/8-11

9 GARIAHAT ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
15 April 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You were so busy at Lahore that I could not see you and talk to you about the *Star of India*, [Calcutta]. Before I deal with it I would like to confidentially draw your attention to the fact that Sir Adamjee Haji Dawood and Mirza Ahmad Ispahani are very much hurt that you neither replied [to] nor took any notice of their letters, telegrams and representations about the Excess Profits Tax Bill.[1] They feel that they were at least entitled to a reply or an acknowledgment.

On your request, Mirza Ahmad Ispahani has been taking a great deal of interest in the *Star of India*, and by his efforts he has persuaded Sir Adamjee to come in as well. Both of them have decided to put in their money and improve the standard of the *Star of India*. Mirza Ahmad Ispahani will be writing to you about the Editor for the *Star*

of India. As a matter of fact, he has offered it [editorship] to Mr. Shuaib Quraishi, who is a Minister in Bhopal, and if he does not accept it then two other names have been suggested by him and your advice sought. I will be obliged if you will kindly let me know (1) if you approve of the appointment of Mr. Shuaib Quraishi, and (2) whether you can give us a better man than him. Mirza Ahmad Ispahani will be requesting you for definite and tangible moral support for the *Star of India*. I personally agree with him that it is the least that we can expect from you. The paper is being reorganised and improved. It is the only daily English organ whose declared policy is the policy of the [Muslim] League and, therefore, it should receive every possible assistance from you. I do hope that you will kindly take up this question seriously and help us in every possible way.

I hope you are keeping well. Please remember me to Miss [Fatima] Jinnah.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
K. NAZIMUDDIN

[1]See note 1 to No. 124.

184

K. Kunhayan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 957/12-6

ATHOLY,
QUILANDY,
N. MALABAR,
16 April 1940

Respected Jinnah Sahib,

Firstly, I request you to read this letter of your humble Muslim brother who is ready to come after [*sic*] you in your efforts to protect the Muslims of India from oppression of the majority community.

Moplahs, the Muslims of Malabar, are united under the banner of All India Muslim League, which is the one and only representative and authoritative organisation of the Muslims of India. The so-called nationalist Muslims are in a microscopic minority here. Their leader, who is also the President of K.P.C.C., was defeated in Vandoor *firka*, where the Muslims are only in a small majority, in the last District

Board election. But I do not deny the fact that some Congress Muslims have entered our District Board with the help of the Hindu voters, for in our Board there are no separate seats for Muslims.

Sir, the Hindu Congressmen of my country are severely criticising your partition scheme. They are carrying on propaganda for this. But they have [a] very small number of Muslims for this purpose. So, they have failed in this attempt.

Our District Muslim League conference will be held on 29th and 30th of this month at Calicut [Kerala Province] under the presidentship of Moulvi A.K. Fazlul Huq. Our leaders in Malabar are engaged in [making] arrangements for the conference.

Sir, some months before, I knew from the newspapers that you were visiting Malabar in February. But you have not yet visited Malabar. We are eagerly wishing to see you. So, please send me a reply, saying when you will visit Malabar.

Lastly, I humbly request you to clear some of my doubts. These are the following:

i. If your partition scheme is in working what do you think of [the] Muslims of provinces where they are in minority like C.P., U.P., Madras and others.
ii. How *Isha'at* (spreading of Islam) can be successfully carried on.
iii. How there would be friendship between Muslims of [North] India and [South] India.

Sir, give me your advice as to how I would live as a citizen [*sic*].

I humbly request you to send a reply as early as possible.

I am,
Your faithful Muslim brother,
K. KUNHAYAN

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Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 96/26-28

15/E CHAUBURJI GARDEN ESTATE,
MULTAN ROAD,
LAHORE,
16 April 1940

My respected leader,

I have the honour to send herewith a copy of the letter, which I recently addressed to Gandhiji regarding the controversy between

the [Muslim] League President and the Congress on the question of "Indian nation".

At the outset, I must tell you that I do not belong to the organisers of the Pakistan scheme nor do I look [*sic* for see] eye to eye to [*sic* for with] persons, who have recently come out with alternative federal or confederal schemes. I have fundamental differences with these people. As to the Congress attitude towards the question of Indian nations, I am strongly opposed. The League, by its recent Lahore Resolution, has committed itself to the policy of partitioning India into Muslim India and Hindu India. I have the same object in view. I entirely agree that that is the only solution of our difficulties. But my means to that end are quite different from those of the League and, as a matter of fact, those of sponsors of the Pakistan scheme.

I, for one, look at this vital question from a different angle. I agree with you, so far as you say that there are two nations in India, which are so distinct that they stand poles apart. And that their differences are so marked and vital that it would be a great folly to try their amalgamation into an all-India Federation of the type proposed in the Government of India Act, 1935. A perusal of my letter, addressed to Gandhiji, will tell you that I have tried to make a strong case in favour of my contention that there dwell two nations in India, one Semitic and the other Aryan. The Semitic people consist of the inhabitants of Rajputana, Baluchistan, Sind, Kashmir, NWFP and the Punjab, including the Hindu Jats of the Eastern Punjab and the chivalrous Sikhs of this land of five rivers.[1] I have included the Rajputs of the Central Desert although their prepondering [*sic*] majority consists of the Hindus. We shall have to incorporate them. Their willing co-operation will be of [*sic*] great asset to us. I have given a historical treatment of these people and have argued that all of them belong to the Semitic stock.

The underlying idea of this theory is to organise the people of Northern India on racial grounds and to provide them with a rallying cry on which they can work in unison again. I hope you will appreciate this position in which we should not let religion come to the forefront. In this lies our victory and through this process alone we can preserve a separate existence. This is the central idea of this theory. To me, it appears essential that for the creation of a Muslim state in India, at any rate in the Northern Zone, the Muslims shall have to carry with them the Sikhs, Rajputs and Jat Hindus of the Punjab. With the Hindu Rajputs of Rajputana again throwing in their lot with the Muslims of Northern India, the problem will be

solved. Our Govt. will run strictly on democratic lines irrespective of caste, creed and colour so far as the Indian Semitic people are concerned. When we succeed in evolving a Semitic state in Northern India, which will be obviously an Islamic State as the majority of the people of this religion happen to be Muslims [*sic*] and they are bound to have a predominant voice in all matters, we will demand the separation of Assam and Bengal from Aryan India on the basis of Muslim population of these provinces. I envisage a state of affairs when all questions relating to the affairs of Aryan India shall not be decided without the approval and consent of the Semitic state. Then and then alone we shall be able to safeguard the interests of Southern Muslims and shall be in a position to keep intact the cultural achievements of Hyderabad. As to the important Muslim trading communities, which have established a flourishing trade on the western coast, in Bombay Presidency and Ceylon, they shall have greater security with the establishment of a Muslim State in the North. I hope if we work on these lines we must succeed. Nothing on earth shall prevent us from realising our ideal. If we succeed in infusing this spirit among these Semitic people, the Congress with its so-called might, will not be able to check our progress. It is high time that we should divert our energy in the right direction.

I have not yet expounded this theory fully, though I have collected the material necessary for its elaboration.

I hope you will let me know your personal views on the subject.

I am a young man, who has recently passed the M. A. examination. I am shortly preparing a thesis for the Ph.D. Degree from the Punjab University. As I have clearly stated, I belong to no political party. So my discussion is merely academic. Perhaps my position would help me to look at this question dispassionately and [to] come to conclusions without fear or favour.

I trust you will find some time to write to me.

With regards,

I am,
Yours respectfully,
BASHIR AHMAD

[1]Punjab.

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Sodhi Lal Singh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 930/49

FEROZEPORE CITY,
17 April 1940

Dear Sir,

I venture to think of the problem of Indian salvation in the same terms in which you advocate in your theory of India's partition. I have held this opinion since the Simon Commission[1] days. My friends in the legislature used to laugh it away. How satisfying it is for me to note that now after full ten years, I should find such an eminent compatriot, voicing the old view.

Herewith, please find an article[2] to the press on partition. I hope you will give it some [of your] leisure.

I am,
Yours faithfully,
SODHI LAL SINGH,
ex-MLA

[1]In November 1927, Conservative Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin's Cabinet appointed a Royal Statutory Commission to chart the "next step" in constitutional advance for India. Birkenhead, Secretary of State for India, chose John Simon and six others, all Englishmen, to form the Commission which, reaching Bombay in February 1928, faced a vociferous boycott by both the Congress and the Muslim League, except for a small group of League Councillors, led by Punjab's Mian Shafi, who decided to cooperate with the Commission. See Wolpert, *Jinnah of Pakistan*, 89-90.

[2]Not traceable.

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S. M. Jilani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/276-7

PAKPATTAN,
17 April 1940

Sir,

I have been thinking for the last many days whether to write the letter to you. I attended the Muslim League session at Lahore and I was much impressed with your magnetic personality. I am convinced

that none else than your goodself, could control the excited and agitated public of Lahore. It is very unfortunate that something very unpleasant happened just before you were to be taken in a procession, which would have been matchless in the history of the province.

Coming to the point, I have the honour to tell you that I am a practising lawyer with an established reputation in my profession. I feel that I must do something better than this in this world. It is [of] no use to be a money-making machine only. Man was certainly born to achieve higher things. I have, therefore, decided to devote my life to some noble cause. I find no nobler cause than to serve the Muslim League. But at the same time, I want to be very near to you. As a matter of fact I desire to spend my life under your instruction and to have my headquarters at a place where I can get the maximum opportunity to serve you and to learn from you how should one sacrifice himself [*sic*] for a noble cause.

I had written to Mr. Gandhi as well to allow me to live in Wardha[1] and I got his secretary's reply today, inviting me to that place. I feel that I can never work with the Congress as I am a very staunch Muslim Leaguer. I would consider it a great privilege if you will be kind enough to allow me to serve you.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours in Islam,
S. M. JILANI
Pleader

[1]City now in Maharashtra, India.

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Sayed Mohammed Sayed Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1009/33

SURAT,
18 April 1940

Sir,

We are sending the copy of our weekly, the *Hamdard*, regularly since last January and we hope your benign self have got some opportunity to read its contents, specially its leading articles.

It won't be needless to bring to your notice that *Hamdard* is wholly

and solely entrusted to carry on the [Muslim] League propaganda and has rendered great services to oppose the Congress and support the Muslim League policy and programme. The paper has proved a true fighter for the welfare of the Muslim community and of the Muslim League.

Will you kindly bestow upon us your highly esteemed opinion[1] regarding our paper to encourage us in carrying our mission and oblige?

I remain,
Sir,
Your brother in Islam,
SAYED MOHAMMED SAYED ALI
Editor, Hamdard

[1]Jinnah in his message on 9th September 1940 lauded the services of the periodical for the Muslim cause and hoped it would receive the support of the Muslim community. See F. 1009/95, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/43-7

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,
CALCUTTA,
19 April 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Thanks for your letter. We are celebrating the Muslim independence day today. Thank *Allah* the [Muslim] League has been successful in capturing the Calcutta Corporation. Two out of five aldermen have been elected from the League. Bose Brothers[1] have surrendered and come to terms with the League. I am enclosing some cuttings for you to see the interesting developments in Calcutta and Bengal. Bose Brothers, I learn on the highest authority, are even ready to join the Huq Ministry. They say that they are no longer Congressites as the Gandhists have hounded them out of the Congress. The Mahasabhaites are up in arms against them. There is complete rift in Bengal Congress camp. Bose Brothers are losing influence. But no serious rival of Bose Brothers has yet appeared to take the leadership of Hindu Bengal. The Hindus of Bengal appear to have fallen on evil days.

They are hopelessly divided. The other important thing to report is that Mr. Fazlul Huq is again flirting with his favourite Proja Party.[2] In a recent meeting of the Proja Party held in Calcutta, he expressed the opinion that the League was for all-India Muslim politics while the Proja Party was for provincial politics. I met [Maulana] Muhammad Akrum Khan[3] last night and had discussions with him for four hours. He is also of the opinion that in the next general elections, Mr. Huq will revive his *Proja daal bhaat* slogan. But, thank God, now the League is firmly rooted in the soil of Bengal. Its power is daily growing. Moreover, by passing the Bengal Tenancy Act and Money Lenders' Act, the League has robbed the Proja Party of the main plank in its party programme. The only major issue is now the question of the abolition of the permanent settlement policy. This is an item in the programme of the Bengal League. Hence we are confident that Mr. Huq will not be able to gain much success by Proja slogans. He will be well-advised if he sticks to the League. His weakness is that he has not the courage of going against the Muslim masses and the masses are with the League.

Hence we are making plans with Maulana Akrum Khan, Syed Badruddoja and other young friends to mobilize Muslim Bengal on the side of the Muslim League. I will let you know later on what we are going to do. A short visit by you to Bengal will be very helpful for the purpose.

As regards the composition of the League Working Committee I beg to submit that one of the most insulting and mischievous propaganda made by Mr. A. R. Siddiqi is that he charges you that you have made a conspiracy with the Viceroy through Sir Sikander Hyat [Khan] for wedding the League to the partition scheme. He says that the Lahore Resolution was drafted by Sir Sikander at the instance of the Viceroy. We know this is all nonsense but [Mr.] Siddiqi has been propagating these lies in private and in public. Hence, I am now definitely of the opinion that no useful purpose will be served by keeping him on the League Cabinet.

You may take Maulana Akrum Khan or Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy from Bengal. Maulana Akrum is an elder politician of Bengal and the proprietor of the biggest Muslim newspaper daily *Azad* with a circulation of 28,000. If he is encouraged, he can mobilize the whole [of] Bengal for the League by his daily *Azad* [and] by his monthly *Muhammadi*. He wields great power. Mr. H.S. Suhrawardy is the strongest organizing power in Bengal. He is true to League ideals to his core. He has done very great work for the League in Bengal. His

draw-back is that he does not take any interest in any extra-provincial matters and does not know much about the Muslims of other provinces. He is a leader of workers with an excellent parochial mind. But he is very intelligent, able and hard-working and will do justice to the League if he is selected. It is difficult for me to make a choice between Maulana Akrum and Mr. Suhrawardy. You can select (1) Mr. Huq, (2) Mr. Suhrawardy and (3) Maulana Akrum Khan MLC for this year. This is my suggestion.

But I am firmly of the opinion that the said change in the League Working Committee is not so important as that of associating an influential Momin-Ansar leader with the League Cabinet. This is a very very crying need. For heaven['s] sake take on such Momin leader and kill the Congress propaganda. For this object you can take the following from Bihar:

(1) Nawab Syed Mohamed Ismail, MLC (2) Mr. Latifur Rahman, MLA, Vice-President, Bihar Provincial Muslim League; President, Bihar Provincial Momin Jamiat, and (3) Mr. S. M. Asheque.

What about the English daily of the League? I understand the Bombay League is going to start one from Bombay. If free from any engagements in Bengal, I will gladly offer my services for the progress of the League daily, which is the first and primary demand of the hour. May *Allah* crown your sincere efforts with success.

Yours most sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN
General Secretary,
Calcutta District Muslim League

[1]Subhas Chandra Bose and Sarat Chandra Bose.
[2]Krishak Proja Samiti (Peasant-Tenant Party).
[3]President, Bengal Muslim League.

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Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah

F. 95/73-5

VICEROY'S CAMP,
BANBASA, INDIA,
19 April 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I was glad to gather from your letter of 24th February[1] [*sic* for 23]

that my letter to you of 23rd December[2] had removed some of the doubts which had been felt by the All India Muslim League. I do not read your letter as indicating that the Working Committee of the League expects anything further from me in regard to the first and third of your points—the scope of the re-examination of the constitutional position to follow the war and policy in Palestine.

You ask, however, for further clarification of the position in regard to the use of Indian troops against Muslim powers or countries, while explaining, as I note and appreciate, that you had no intention of attempting to circumscribe their use in defending India against attack or aggression. I presume that you do not expect a guarantee, which it would obviously be impossible to give, binding us in future contingencies which no one can foresee. But you need have no fear that if at any time such a contingency arose the consideration underlying your suggestion would be overlooked. Fortunately, however, so far as the present situation is concerned, His Majesty's Government are in friendly and sympathetic relations with all Muslim powers and to some of whom indeed, they are bound by alliance, while with the rest, they are on terms of most cordial friendship.

You represent that your second point was not felt by the Working Committee to be adequately met by the terms of my letter. You have, no doubt, noticed the passage in the Secretary of State's speech in the House of Lords on April 18 in which he used these [following] words:

> But that does not mean that the future constitution of India is to be a constitution dictated by the Government and Parliament of this country against the wishes of the Indian people. The undertaking given by His Majesty's Government to examine the constitutional field in consultation with representatives of all parties and interests in India connotes not dictation but negotiation. Admittedly a substantial measure of agreement amongst the communities in India is essential if the vision of a united India, which has inspired the labours of so many Indians and Englishmen, is to become a reality, for I cannot believe that any government or parliament in this country would attempt to impose by force upon, for example, 80 million Muslim subjects of His Majesty in India a form of constitution under which they would not live peacefully and contentedly.

This statement, I am sure, you will agree has removed any possible doubts on this point.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW
Viceroy of India

[1]No. 116.
[2]Annexure to Enclosure to No. 85.

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S. A. Hamid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/280-2

AUWA RAILWAY STATION,
MARWAR,
20 April 1940

Respected Sir,

Before I write anything else, I would most respectfully beg you to please pardon me for intruding upon your most precious time. I had been contemplating since long writ[ing] to you about the vital need of a high standard Muslim press, as I know through your honour only this scheme can be successful. You are the only Muslim hero, who has been boldly and sincerely championing the cause of the Muslims.

You have been acknowledged as a unique personality by the Muslims as well as non-Muslims. The approach of the Congress ring leader [*sic*] to you with the Hindu-Muslim settlement produces the soundest proof of acknowledgment.

I am overjoyed to learn that you have raised a fund to start a Muslim press, the need of which is being very keenly felt by the Muslims. We are having a great drawback in the political sphere as we are unable to expose our Muslim League policy for want of press. The Muslims are being misled by the press of the non-Muslims, who are straining every nerve to mould the ideas of the Muslims and divert our attentions towards the Congress and thus creating hatred towards the Muslim League which is the sole representative body of the Muslims.

The great need of the hour is to organise the Muslims and to bring them under one banner and this can be attained through the press, which we are unlucky to disown [*sic*]. This is the best organ to infuse political consciousness in the Muslims and to enable us to study the

present situation in India thoroughly when the Muslims will be reduced to the position of depressed classes if we fail to stand on the right occasion. So far as my experience goes, the Muslims in this region are in overwhelming majority, but sorry to say that we have got no sources to show our strength, zeal and enthusiasm while on the other hand the Hindu press is propagating their own fabricated policies. I would request you most sincerely to please make a rapid move in this respect and establish a Muslim press as soon as possible to combat the *Hindustan Times* and the *National Herald*, the leading Congress papers, which are spreading poison against the Muslim League and spoiling the Muslim mentality.

I am neither a politician, a barrister, nor a *vakil* but an ordinary layman. I am a staunch Leaguer and proud of being a follower of the Muslim hero (Mr. M. A. Jinnah). Whenever I speak to any Muslim, I consider [it] my sacred duty to impress upon him the importance of Muslim League.

Your rational scheme of partition of India is getting a repudiation from the non-Muslim quarters through their press but [I] regret to say that the articles by the Muslims in favour of your scheme are not entertained in the Hindu press with the result that only one-sided arguments are passing through the eyes of the public.

I most respectfully and sincerely request you to please arrange the establishment of a first class Muslim press to show to the Muslim world that we too have got some strength and can fight for our own cause. Closing it with best wishes for your long life to guide us. Your reply shall highly oblige and honour me.

Your most obedient follower,
S. A. HAMID
Sub-Permanent Way Inspector

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S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

F. 304/4-7

ISMAIL MANZIL
PATNA CITY,
21 April 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am surprised [*sic*] whether my letter dated the 6th April[1] reached

you, which was addressed to your Delhi address. From newspaper report I learnt that you left Delhi on the morning of the 9th April. If the post was punctual, this letter of mine dated 6th April should have reached Delhi on the morning of the 8th April. However, we had a most successful conference at Chhapra and I conveyed, on your behalf, your message which was orally given to me when I met you last at Lahore on the morning of the 25th March. By the blessings of God, we had most successful observance everywhere in Bihar on the 19th of April,[2] where in every mosque and in every *thana,* the Lahore Resolution[3] was fully explained and endorsed. At our headquarters at Patna and Patna City we had two very largely attended meetings which I addressed myself and where the Resolution was fully explained and loyally [*sic*] endorsed. Attempts were made everywhere to have [*sic*] counter demonstrations in the name of Hindustan Day but thank God our meetings had not only been most successful but terminated peacefully.

Referring to my own Province of Bihar, it is my most painful duty to inform you that in the smaller towns and villages there had been a series of riots since [the] last *Holi,* i.e. the 25th of March. In most of these places, there had been absolutely no cause but, suddenly, some serious mischief has been done which we are enquiring into. The thing which I am afraid of, I must inform you, is that each community is trying to take advantage of things which cannot be explained. And since there is no love lost between the two factions [*sic*], namely Hindus and Muslims, the minority is being unaccountably provoked and molested. The local authorities, in the name of law and order, take advantage of the course open to them under the C[riminal] P[rocedure] C[ode] and the Police Act, and at once proclaim the area as [a] disturbed area. We at the Patna headquarters are frequented with requests to take up immediate enquiries. As far as possible, and I may say humanly possible, we depute responsible men but, you will I hope realize, once the cases are started and the matters are *sub judice,* how far is it reasonable and helpful to start another enquiry? I am apprehending more trouble in remote villages where Muslim population is few [*sic*]. I have fully discussed the matter with the Adviser in charge of Law and Order and I am still continuing negotiations with the Government. There had been instances where respectable Musalmans have been intentionally humiliated and disgraced by the local authorities. And while the Adviser of the Government agrees on most points and tries to express his sympathy,

he is adamant in believing [*sic*] the excesses committed by the local authorities. Next week I am meeting him and Sir Thomas Stewart once again and if I will [*sic* for do] not find them helpful I shall have no option but to publicly publish the report based on the evidence that we have collected in most places. But, Sir, while in some places, we can prove that we were really oppressed, we cannot deny the fact that in some places we the Muslims in our religious zeal have exceeded the limit of endurance. This is because, in the circumstances, it is difficult to balance [*sic*] our mind. And this is what distressed me most. May I respectfully suggest that it is now high time that a definite lead should be given as to what should be the attitude of the Muslims in these isolated places. There are thousands of ceremonies and festivals, not quite common all over India but particular in some provinces, and I am concerned with my own Province of Bihar only, which had been previously observed most peacefully without hitch or hindrance. It is now that these fresh troubles have started. They are mostly confined to the passing of processions with music before mosque[s] at prayer times, and also some other processions like *Holi* in which the vulgar section indulge in vulgarism and abuses. Recently trouble had started in the little town of Jamui over this festival resulting in several persons [getting] injured and one old woman killed because a Muslim hide merchant took objection to the Hindu processionists singing offensive and dirty songs. After the hide merchant took objection the whole assembly dispersed. This occurred on the 25th March at 3 p.m. and immediately the news spread throughout the town; all shops were closed [and a] panicky condition prevailed. Next morning, the 26th March, the whole town was deserted till 2 p.m. when foolishly all Muslims resumed their business and no Hindu resumed his business. Within 15 minutes, serious rioting at once commenced with the result as stated above. No police help was rendered until several innocent persons were injured and molested. This is not a solitary instance that I am illustrating. There are hundreds more which are impossible to illustrate in this brief letter. Although according to the local circumstances we shall effectively deal still since [*sic*] the condition is now assuming such a dangerous character and turn that without a definite lead to the Muslims from the centre, which should be uniform at least for U.P. and Bihar, it will be impossible to render locally such material assistance that can provide sufficient security against [the] apprehended danger. Such being my difficulties, Sir, I seek your valuable advice although I know your time is occupied so preciously that I cannot

expect ready response to every reference made. Still in the interest of the League I have to seek your guidance. Another thing about which enquiry is being made from *mofussil* and branches is about our attitude towards [the] Khaksar Movement. It is also banned in this Province with the safeguard [*sic*] that they are allowed to take permit for special occasions. May I once again enquire and suggest that a definite policy is necessary to indicate as to how far the All India Muslim League is going to sympathise with this Movement, also whether a Khaksar, if he signs the pledge of the All India Muslim League, can be taken in as a member of the Primary League and at the same time enjoy the liberty of his action as a Khaksar which is in direct conflict with the Muslim National Guard Movement. I hope and trust to be favoured with a kind reply. Of course, I realize that some matters mentioned in my letter require deliberation and decision in [*sic* for by] your Working Committee but the other points can be dealt with individually by yourself.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. ISMAIL
President, Bihar Provincial ML

[1]No. 169.
[2]Jinnah had directed all the provincial, district and primary Leagues to hold public meetings across India on 19 April 1940 to explain the import of the Lahore Resolution. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 11.
[3]No. 156.

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Proceedings of Sind Provincial Muslim League Council Meeting

F. 580/32-4

21 April 1940

A meeting of the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League was held today at Karachi under the presidentship of Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon. The yesterday's adjourned meeting of the Working Committee was merged into the meeting of the Council. The following gentlemen were present.[1] The following resolutions were passed.

RESOLUTION NO. 1

a. The Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League while declaring that the much longed-for end of the Allah Bakhsh Ministry in effect amounts to the real deliverance of the Sind

public as a whole from the grip of the harmful regime, expresses its fullest satisfaction over the fact that the representatives of the minority community have after all realized that it is in the interest of the Province that they should co-operate with the accredited and true representatives of the majority community in running the administration of the Province.

b. This Council assures the Hindu, Muslim and other members of the new party that the Muslim League as an organization has never desired, nor will it ever desire, that the Hindus and other minorities should be denied their legitimate rights and privileges.

c. While this Council is in favour of ensuring to the Hindu minority maximum amount of security in all respects, it is also of the view that three or four out of the twenty-one conditions, on the basis of which the new government has been created, are such that unless some suitable modifications are made in them, there will be difficulties in their achievement in the fullest measure, for the purpose of re-establishment of inter-communal peace and harmony which, the Council understands, is the real object behind the new arrangement.

d. The Council is confident that [the] Sind Assembly National Party will run administration of the Province in such a manner that legitimate and fundamental rights of all communities in the Province are fully protected and every section of the population enjoys the fullest measure of the sense of security.

RESOLUTION NO. 2

In order to organize Muslim League operations in respect of:

(1) the Sukkur Court of Inquiry,[2]
(2) Manzilgah Tribunal,[3]
(3) general relief,
(4) inquiry into official excesses,
(5) collection of funds and examination of accounts,

the Council delegated its power to Syed Ali Mahomed H. Rashdi who will attend to all five branches of work described above.

RESOLUTION NO. 3

In view of the fact that corruption is rampant in the Sind administration on a highly extensive basis, this Council is of the view that the Sind Government may give immediate relief to the people by immediate appointment of an anti-corruption officer of outstanding merit and un-blemished character to

conduct anti-corruption operations on the same lines on which a similar officer is functioning in the Province of Punjab.

[1]List not printed.
[2]Refers to incidents of violence and lawlessness in and around Sukkur during 1939, in which Hindu villages were pillaged and several people killed. A court of inquiry, at which Justice Weston presided, found that the communal disturbance was premeditated but that there had been sporadic outbreaks of violence. See Hamida Khuhro, *Mohammed Ayub Khuhro*, 183-4.
[3]Masjid Manzilgah, on the bank of River Indus at Sukkur, dating from the time of Moghul Emperor Akbar was, among other buildings on the site, in the occupation of British officers. Muslims had been calling for its restoration since 1920 and had carried on sporadic agitation. Appointment of a tribunal had been demanded, which was to determine, *inter alia*, if any of the domed buildings on the site was originally a mosque. Ibid, 169-92 & 537-8.

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Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 199/7-8

4A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
21 April 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am herewith sending you copy of report of proceedings of the meeting which was held on the 19th.[1] All Aligarh, except a few irreconcilable and incorrigible, is wholly for separate Muslim states. The idea has captured the imagination of students as indeed of the masses. But I am sorry to say that many members of the staff of this University, who should have been the pioneers and inspirers of this idea, are stuck in the old ruts. Muslim India is in the grip of a state of war but the generality of Aligarh professors, with a few exceptions, are supremely indifferent. They take things easy and make merry. I am bringing this to your notice with a heavy heart as I am a member of this body. But I would submit it to you that the League as League must now have [*sic*] its attention to the administration of the University and release it from anti-Islamic and reactionary elements whose hold, I am sorry to say, is increasing. The only man among your lieutenants who understands Aligarh well and who can be depended upon is Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. I would beg of you to ask Nawabzada to prepare a definite plan to bring the University in line with the policy and programme of the Muslim League. As long as the University is in the hands of those

who have no definite principles and conscience, who have no interest in the fate of the Muslim nation, and who are only concerned with preserving their own interests and position, so long will the University fail to fulfil its function as a truly Muslim national institution. I need hardly say that the humble workers of the Muslim League here are prepared to render every assistance even at personal risk.

If there is anything I can do for the League during vacations, please let me know.

With best wishes,

Yours most sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]Not traceable.

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Currimbhoy Ebrahim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 607/9-10

21 April 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sorry to trouble you by writing this letter as it is possible to serve the purpose of collecting the funds for the Muslim League [*sic*]. This morning two Arab gentlemen came to see me by the name of Hassan-al-Gosaibi[*sic*], whom I know, and informed me [that] His Highness Prince Saood of Bahrein would be here next Saturday. He gave me to understand that His Highness is aware [of] what work the Muslim [League] has done for Muslims. He further stated that they have full sympathies with us. Regarding the resolution of Muslim League in connection with the Palestine Arabs, they highly appreciate [it]. Further, he said that it would look well if leading Muslims of Bombay welcome him [the Prince] on the day of his arrival. [It] would be highly appreciated. Further, he asked if there are good bungalows available, so I thought of your bungalow at the Little Gibbs Road though I know it is unfinished but they will do all that [*sic*]. Kindly wire me at once [as to] what rent I should tell them as they want it for two months only.

Please advise me by welcoming such a person is there any objection [*sic*]. I suggest that being in touch with such [a] personality here would be [useful for] doing propaganda in the other Muslim countries.

Kindly wire and oblige. Hoping this finds you in the best of health.

With my very best regards,

Yours very sincerely,
CURRIMBHOY EBRAHIM

PS. Wire me at the address below.
United India Building, Sir Pheroz Shah Mehta Road,
Bombay

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Syed Abdul Aziz to M. A. Jinnah

F. 230/2-3

HERMITAGE,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
21 April 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I deliberately refrained from writing to you for fear of encroaching on your time when you were extremely busy during and after the last League Session. I wanted that you should have some respite after your strenuous time at Lahore. I do not, however, think that you have had much peace and rest. You must, however, be much happier than Mr. Gandhi and his party, who seem to have taken your scheme as a mustard plaster for themselves. Since they cannot be given credit for wisdom and sobriety and fairness towards others, we need not be surprised at their screams over what they call vivisection of India. They do not realize that the natural division of India does exist already even if no new demarcation of boundaries for the proposed zones takes place. There already exist Muslim states and Hindu states. Instead of welcoming an enduring solution of the problems which confront us, they would rather indulge in unrealities [*sic*] blinded by a little success of their organization due mainly to the short-sightedness and weakness of both the Muslims and the British. The former, fortunately, have awakened and have begun to be active but the latter still seem to be lacking in courage and playing a waiting game out of their leaning towards the Congress.

I did not mean to write to you a long letter. I only wanted to pay a tribute to you for the outstanding fact of your extraordinary

achievements in a difficult situation at Lahore.

With kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah,

Yours very sincerely,
SYED ABDUL AZIZ

PS. I may visit Bombay for a couple of days and hope to arrive there on the 26th April. I hope I shall have the pleasure of seeing you then.

SYED ABDUL AZIZ

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Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah

F. 302/27-8

RANI BAGH,
QUETTA,
22 April 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Let me congratulate you that Independence Day[1] all over Baluchistan was celebrated most successfully. On the 17th, I left for a tour of eastern Baluchistan. Maulana Abdul Hamid Badauni met me at Jacobabad. On the persistent demand of the Musalmans of Jacobabad, we held a meeting there (though Jacobabad is in Sindh).

Maulana Sahib and myself addressed the meeting and put the Pakiṣtan scheme before them. I explained it to them thoroughly, which was unanimously accepted. Then we toured Nasirabad District of Baluchistan, holding meetings at Rajan and a remote place like Usta (the place where Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan of NWFP was beaten and turned away last year). I wish you had seen the enthusiasm of the Musalmans, shouting for the long life of their Quaid-i-Azam. Maulana Sahib was very much impressed. On the 19th morning, along with Maulana Sahib, I reached Quetta. Prayers at the Jum'a mosque were led by Maulana Sahib where the Lahore Resolution was explained to the congregation and passed. Then the same afternoon, we drove to Pishin where Maulana addressed a largely attended meeting—the Resolution was passed here too. At night, a large public meeting, arranged by the Provincial Muslim League, was held at Quetta and [was] attended by more than ten thousand people. Besides this, men from the remotest parts of the Province are filtering that [sic] successful

meetings have been held everywhere. The proceedings have been sent by telegram to all the English and important Urdu papers of India. But I am sure no English paper would publish anything about the political awakening of this unhappy Province of ours.

At Jacobabad, K.B. Allah Bakhsh, the ex-Premier of Sindh, received us and we stayed a day with him. In the presence of Maulana Sahib, I appealed to him, argued with him and got round him in several ways. He has agreed that he has nothing against the All India Muslim League, but it is the Provincial Muslim League which annoys him. He trusts you implicitly and showed a very keen desire to meet you and put his whole case before you. He has asked me that I should [*sic*] take him along to you. Musalmans of Sindh are now getting fed up of [*sic*] the present ministry, which has a large League element in it and, in spite of this, doing things outside the policy of the League. The pendulum seems to be swinging again towards Allah Bakhsh. So in my humble opinion, it would be better if you grant him an interview. I shall bring him along with me.

As regards Jamali's case, the local government has replied to the Foreign Secretary's letter, and I wonder if he has informed you about the decision. Please advise me what to do.

My wife sends you and Miss Jinnah her best regards. My regards too to Miss Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,
ISA

[1]Jinnah appealed to the Muslims to observe 19 April 1940 as Muslim Independence Day. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 11.

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Abbasbhai Tayabali Rajkotwala to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/287

MIRZA STREET,
PARSI GALI, BOMBAY,
23 April 1940

Respected Sir,

I beg to enclose herewith a copy of my letter sent to the Director of Programmes, Broadcasting Station, Bombay.

I am doing so only to give this information so that you can also

have an idea about the work carried out by the All India Radio, Bombay.

I beg to remain, respected Sir,

Yours faithfully,
ABBASBHAI

Enclosure to No. 198
Abbasbhai Tayabali Rajkotwala to Bombay Broadcasting Station
F. 873/284

MIRZA STREET,
PARSI GALI, BOMBAY,
21 April 1940

Dear Sir,

We beg to bring to your notice that we do not hear any good records from your broadcasting station from morning right up to the afternoon.

It is really a matter of very deep regret to me, a Muslim, that, on the occasion of the birthday of the [holy] Prophet [PBUH], which came off [*sic*] today, I could not hear anything on the air, except *Prem* and *Bhajans*. Bombay is one of the largest cities in India, with a Muslim population of over 500,000 and on this auspicious day you should have used your discretion and should have introduced in the programme a religious theme and *Mersiyah Khwani* [sic] concerning Islam. The Prophet's birthday is a festival which is celebrated in the whole Islamic world.

On Fridays too, we do not hear any good records concerning Islam. Sometimes, we hear the same records which have been played before weeks at a time [*sic*]. There are a lot of good new records come out [*sic* for available] in the market, but you do not use them at all. The few records which you are playing are old which have lost all its [*sic* for their] novelty long ago. Hence, we would request you to kindly use new records instead of the old ones.

In the past, *Qur'an* was read by a *Maulvi* on Fridays. Now, this system has also been stopped. But it is existing in [*sic*] Delhi. On top of this, you satisfy with your old records [*sic*]. If this is the condition of things [*sic*], then what is the use of our keeping a radio at all?

Further, the gentleman who broadcasts Gujerati and Marathi news does not seem to know good manners. When he mentions Gandhi as Mahatma Gandhi why should he not mention Jinnah as Janab Jinnah

Sahib? If you want the reason for this, he [Jinnah] is one of the greatest leaders of the Muslims in the whole of India. Some Muslims, like me, even go to the extent of considering him as a prophet [*sic*]. So, if his name is slighted, as is the case with the gentleman who broadcasts in Gujerati and Marathi, imagine for yourself the insult that he is throwing [*sic*] at him.

We would, therefore, request you to kindly rectify these things.

Yours faithfully,
ABBASBHAI

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S. A. Latif to H. Abdoola Haroon
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 370/39

YUSUF MANZIL,
ADIKMET,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
23 April 1940

My dear Sir Abdoola Haroon,

I confirm the following telegram sent to you on the 22nd instant. It must have crossed your telegram of the same date.

> Owing to wife's critical health cannot attend meeting twenty sixth. Instead sending detailed note for Committee's consideration.

I have prepared a note which you may kindly place before your Committee for their very earnest consideration.

I should have welcomed Rashdi[1] here a few days before this meeting. But you wired to me saying that he was not keeping well. Is he now any better? If he is in Bombay with you, you can still send him to me with the latest proceedings of your Committee after the meeting is over so that I might have the benefit of discussion with him, item by item, the conclusions that you would have arrived at the meeting. I shall give him full rest that is possible at my cottage. The result of such discussion may be circulated among the members of the Committee so that the views obtained from every member may be co-ordinated by the Secretary and placed by you finally

before the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League for final decision.

I greatly regret that I am not in a position to come to Bombay.

Remember me to one and all.

Yours very sincerely,
S. A. LATIF

Haji Sir Abdoola Haroon,
Majestic Hotel, Fort, Bombay

[1]Syed Ali Mahomed Rashdi, Editor, *Moslem Voice*.

Enclosure to No. 199

F. 370/40-4

Note for the consideration of the Constitution Committee of the All India Muslim League

SECTION I

So far as I could find from the gist of proceedings of the Committee's meetings forwarded to me by the Secretary, it seems to me that the Committee is intent on assuring a dominant voice in administration for six crores of Musalmans, living in the North-West and the North-East. In fact, it would like these two blocs to be sovereign states.

NORTH-WEST BLOC

Three alternative boundary lines are suggested for the North-West bloc:

1. Consisting of the British Provinces of the Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan, Delhi, N.W.F.P. and the Tribal Area on the Frontier. In this bloc the Muslim percentage would be 61. 65.
2. Consisting of the areas under (1) supra plus Rajputana States of Bikaner and Jaisalmer. The Muslim percentage under this arrangement would be 60.06
3. Consisting of the area under (1) supra plus the adjoining native states but excluding Bikaner and Jaisalmer. Under this arrangement the Muslim percentage would be 61.65

Evidently, the idea is to constitute this bloc into a separate federation probably joined to a confederate centre.

NORTH-EAST BLOC

In this case, two boundary lines for the Muslim zone are suggested:

1. Consisting of the British Provinces of Assam and Bengal exclusive of the Districts of Midnapore and Bankura and inclusive of the District of Purnea in Bihar. Under this, the Muslim percentage would be 54.0
2. Consisting of the area under (1) supra plus the Indian states in Bengal and Assam. Under this, Muslim percentage would be 53.5.

This bloc is also intended to be a separate federation.

Under the above arrangement the Committee has thought that about 72.5 per cent Muslims would "receive full protection and enjoy immunity from molestation at the hands of the Hindus". The rest, viz. 27.5 per cent or, according to the last census, two crore and seventeen lakh Muslims dispersed in the rest of India, will have to be subject to the Hindu majority. The Committee seems to be anxious to protect their interest but has not so far explored the necessary ways of protection.

SECTION II

This is what I gather from the gist of the proceedings of the Committee supplied to me. I hope I have analysed the proceedings correctly.

Now I wish the Committee to review their whole proceedings in the light of the following submissions:

1. Our main object is to establish Muslim states, either federated or confederated to a centre. I earnestly entreat the Committee to consider whether the blocs envisaged by the Committee could honestly be styled as Muslim states. Take the Eastern bloc to begin with. Does 54.0 Muslim percentage or 53.5 percentage under any democratic form of government justify that state to be styled as a Muslim state? The Committee must be aware that the Musalmans in India, owing to [*sic* for for] economic reasons, are subject to wearing [*sic*] loyalties to the Hindu money-lender or zamindar. Then there is the divisional [*sic* for divisive] tendency at work among us as a result of sectarianism. Further, the personal factor based on jealousy and selfishness will always be there. The present division of the Muslims in the Bengal Assembly and even in Assam should point [to] the fact of our Muslim life that we do not always care to live under a single banner. If some of us in Bengal and Assam, for any reason whatsoever, choose to join hands with the Hindus in the legislature, how will we stand there as a Muslim state? Can we always command a majority? The margin is so narrow under the Committee's suggested plan. Inevitably you will have to live under

a perennial coalition government which will not give you the status of a Muslim state. There will be no change from the present position. You will be simply fooling yourself and unnecessarily irritating others. It will lead you nowhere. It is not partition in any sense of the term.

I had suggested in my last chapter of the *Muslim Problem in India*, outlining an alternative constitution for India, that a bloc should be formed composed of the Eastern Bengal and Assam. Under this arrangement, you would have a predominant majority of Muslims and, in spite of divisional [*sic* for divisive] tendencies among Indian Muslims; you would command a majority of votes in the legislature. Kindly think over all this once again.

2. This observation of mine, more or less, applies to the North-West bloc as suggested by the Committee. Why do you care to include in your Muslim state Jaisalmer, Bikaner or any other Indian state governed by a non-Muslim ruler? What good will that bring to you? Such states may come easily as independent units under the zonal or regional boards scheme given on page 45, just to co-ordinate with your Muslim bloc for common economic and other purposes. There will be constant clashes if you bring them all under a single federal administration. Under the Committee's proposal, the North-West bloc will not be entitled to be called a Muslim state and no real partition will be effected.

3. The League is committed to partition. Why was the idea mooted? It was because there was inherent in the combined life the danger of cultural clashes in different forms. The partition proposed by the Committee is simply an alteration of provincial boundary lines. Will the Committee's arrangement eliminate the troubles which we notice from day to day in the form of Hindu-Muslim riots? In the so-called Muslim bloc proposed by the Committee, there will be no change in the present situation. I may be forgiven if I say that the Committee has talked of partition without partitioning India on a cultural basis. It is merely perpetuating the eternal quarrels between Hindus and Musalmans. If it is only a change of geographical boundaries and no formation of real cultural zones, which is the main aim of partition, why talk of partition and of Muslim blocs.

The Committee has so far paid little attention to areas where Muslims are in minority. If the Muslim League is only to care for the Muslims where they are in majority, where they need no safeguards, and leave the rest of the Musalmans to their own fate, the League will have no right to exist as an All India organization. I am sure that

either another Muslim organisation for the minority areas will come into being, or all the labours of your Committee will go to the dustbin.

I appeal to the Committee to thoroughly grasp the significance of the outlines of the alternative constitution given in my last chapter of the *Muslim Problem in India* (pages 42 to 50). It is a stepping stone to a federation or confederation of culturally homogeneous states. It strengthens the position of the Musalmans, both in the majority and minority provinces, and is drafted in consultation with those who have studied comparative constitutionalism. The idea of a single federation proposed by me, with residuary powers vesting in the federal units and the federal list reduced to a bare minimum, will in practice mean a confederation. Further, the proposed constitution guarantees economic, educational and legislative independence to the Muslims wherever they are in minority. The scheme will ultimately lead India to resolve itself into a confe[de]ration of culturally homogeneous sovereign states through voluntary inter-migration. What else do the Muslims want at this stage?

In the light of the proceedings of the Committee, I have, however, modified my outline of an alternative constitution and attached it hereto as an appendix.[1] It will not be so distasteful to the non-Muslims and the British as the proposals of the Committee. It envisages partition of India without using the term partition.

I pray I have not hurt the feelings of any of the members of the Committee. If so, I apologize. But I press my views with all the earnestness I possess and, in humility, I have drafted this in a moment of domestic perplexity. The Committee may improve upon what I have suggested. I wish I were with the Committee at Bombay. But I have done my duty in explaining things in detail even from a distance.

S. A. LATIF

[1]Annexure.

Annexure to Enclosure to No. 199

F. 370/45-9

APPENDIX

Whatever status India might achieve in the near future, whether dominion status or full independence, it will be in its best interest that it should resolve itself into a confederation. The constitution might be purely confederate [*sic* for confederal] or federal as in Switzerland.[1] The Hindus and the British may likely agree, at least

to the latter form, if the Muslims press strongly for the former under which the Muslim states will have the right to secede from the confederation.

The confederation should be composed of free autonomous Muslim and Hindu states as under:

MUSLIM CONFEDERATED STATES OR MEMBERS

1. A confederated state composed of the Punjab, Sindh, British Baluchistan, NWFP and Frontier tribal area. This will form a single unit of administration and should be entrusted with the task of defence on the North-West on behalf of the Centre.

2. A confederated state composed of eastern Bengal and Assam forming a single administrative unit.

3. A confederated state to be carved out of the present U.P. covering the western part of U.P. and the present Delhi Province. It should be formed in a manner calculated to secure a majority of population for the Muslims.

4. All the Indian states governed by Muslim rulers—Hyderabad, Bhopal, Rampur, Bahawalpur, Khairpur and others—should also constitute Muslim confederated states enjoying sovereign rights and the right of augmenting the strength of their Muslim population by some suitable means of inter-migration from adjoining non-Muslim areas or Muslim colonization.

HINDU CONFEDERATED STATES

The rest of the country may resolve itself into Hindu confederated states on linguistic or any other basis as the Hindus may decide between themselves. The Hindu Indian states will be regarded as Hindu confederated states.

RELATIONS BETWEEN CONFEDERATED UNITS AND CONFEDERATE [*SIC* FOR CONFEDERAL] CENTRE

1. The confederated units will be fully autonomous. All the residuary powers will vest in them.

2. The central list of subjects will be limited to the barest minimum, such as foreign relations, defence, means of communication and foreign commerce, etc., subject to the following provisos in respect of defence.

DEFENCE

1. Each confederated state will maintain an army at its own expense, the strength of which will be dependent on the importance of its strategic position. The Centre will also contribute proportionately to the military expenditure of each state according to the strength

of the army maintained. In normal times, the military force in each state will be controlled by its own military department and supervised by the Centre. But in times of common danger to the whole country the Centre will direct military operations. In so far as the North-West bloc or state is concerned, it will have the right to enlist forces according to its needs from its own population and man them without any interference from the Centre. There shall be no non-Muslim force from any other state stationed on the frontier. (So far as military considerations permit, each corps shall consist of troops from the same Canton).

The composition of such corps, the obligation of maintaining their strength, and the appointment and promotion of their officers rest with the Cantons, subject to general regulations communicated to them by the Confederation. (The Swiss Constitution. Article 21).[2] The force guarding the frontier should be Muslim, because the frontier tribes will cease to give trouble when they are assured that the adjoining state to their east is a Muslim state.

2. The Navy will be entirely under the control of the Centre subject to such concessions as the coastal states might need.

RELATIONS BETWEEN CONTIGUOUS CONFEDERATED UNITS
REGIONAL BOARDS

There may be subjects of cultural and economic importance common to contiguous confederated units and it will be found useful to have for them regional or zonal boards to evolve common policies, leaving the individual units to legislate in the light of the common policies so evolved.

Three of the regions may be constituted as follows:

1. North-West Zone composed of Sind, Baluchistan, NWFP, Kashmir, Khairpur, and the Indian sates of the Punjab Agency.
2. North-East Zone composed of the proposed state of eastern Bengal and Assam, Hindu Western Bengal, and contiguous Indian states etc.
3. The Dominion of Hyderabad. This will stand by itself as a region. The rest of India may be resolved into regions on a linguistic basis.

SAFEGUARDS FOR MINORITIES, MUSLIMS OR HINDUS OR ANY OTHER

The safeguards mentioned below shall be applicable equally to Muslim and non-Muslim minorities.

The undermentioned safeguards for minorities shall be incorporated in the constitution.

A. REPRESENTATION OF LEGISLATURE

The Hindus and Muslims wherever they are in minority as well as other minorities should be allowed the option of being returned to the legislatures of confederated states through their own electorates.

B. LEGISLATION

All subjects touching religion, personal law and culture of the Hindu or Muslim minorities in any confederated state will be the exclusive concern of the Muslim or Hindu members of the legislature concerned, constituted into a special committee for the purpose. The strength of the committee should be augmented by a third by co-opting representative persons learned in their law and religion. The decisions of such a committee should be accepted by the whole legislature. If such decisions, should they seem to affect the interests of others, might on reference made by the head of the administration be reviewed by the legislature as a whole, but no amendments shall be permissible which should affect the basis of the legislative enactment.

C. EXECUTIVE

1. The executive in each confederated state should be composite in character and must always include a representative or representatives of the Muslim or Hindu minority as the case might be.

2. In the central executive, the Muslims must have half the seats, because it is they who will be mainly responsible for the defence of India on the North-West and the North-East.

3. In the case of the portfolios affecting law and order and education which have to deal with problems over which cultural differences arise, provision should be made to have a minister and an assistant minister and to appoint a Muslim or Hindu who might be in the minority to either of the two posts in order that the government may have the benefit of his steadying influence.

D. PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

It should be provided in the constitution that in all the confederated states where the Muslims or the Hindus are in a minority, at least one of the members of the public service commission should be from the minority party or whose duty shall be to see that the ratio fixed for his people in public services is properly adhered to in practice by the government concerned.

E. BOARD OF EDUCATION AND ECONOMIC UPLIFT

It should be provided in the constitution that in each unit an educational board should be established to control and supervise technical and industrial training and cultural side of the education of Muslims and Hindus whoever might form minority in the state, to

devise measures for their economic and social uplift. For this purpose a proper budgetary provision shall be made.

F. SPECIAL TAXATION

If, for any special object, the Muslims or Hindus are willing to tax themselves, the necessary legislation should be passed.

VOLUNTARY INTER-MIGRATION

One of the objects of the constitution shall be to facilitate and prepare the ground for migration of Muslims and Hindus into zones specified for them so as to develop them into culturally homogeneous states. At first, migration should be on a voluntary basis. For this, necessary legislation will have to be passed for each zone and a machinery set up to organize and regulate this voluntary migration.

The result of voluntary migration may be reviewed from time to time and should it be found that it has eliminated the cultural clashes between the Muslims and the Hindus to an appreciable extent and [has] given them a sense of security wherever they needed it or has brought about a change of heart in either camp, the question of compulsory migration may be put off indefinitely and the voluntary method adhered to.

S. A. LATIF

[1]A Federation comprising twenty-six cantons.
[2]This bracketed portion has been included in the note by S.A. Latif.

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Abdul Majid to M. A. Jinnah
F. 1009/35

SUNNY VIEW,
GUJRAT, PUNJAB,
24 April 1940

Respected Sir,

I take the liberty to encroach upon your most valuable time and dare to send herewith a few articles for your kind perusal.

I sent these articles to the Editor[s] of the *Statesman* and the *Civil & Military Gazette* for favour of publication in their "Letters to the Editor" columns, but neither of them published anyone of these. I am sending a few chits issued from their respective offices.

It is indeed a great pity that at this most critical period of Indian history, when the future of India is in the melting pot, the Muslims

have almost no organ of their own. It is hardly necessary to say that in this age of propaganda, no nation can afford to live without proper press arrangements. It is, of course, a great consolation that you have started a regular campaign this way and there can be no doubt that you would not rest till you have achieved your object. The Indian Muslims as a nation have full confidence in your leadership; if they are not properly organised, it is due to the apathy of your lieutenants.

I am sending these articles for the twin purpose of emphasising the necessity of a Muslim press and seeking your advice, being a young man. If you approve of these articles and consider them worth publication, after any modifications you may be pleased to suggest, I intend to get them published in the form of a pamphlet at my own cost.

I am also sending herewith a copy of a letter[1] addressed by me to Mr. Gandhi and a copy of his evasive reply.[2]

Hoping to be excused and honoured with an early reply.

Yours faithfully,
ABDUL MAJID CHAUDRI
Pleader

[1]No. 92.
[2]Annex II to No. 92.

Enclosure to No. 200
Abdul Majid to the Editors,
The Statesman *and the* Civil & Military Gazette
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 1009/46-8

GUJRAT, PUNJAB,
31 January 1940

The Right and Straight Way

Sir,

In your leader, headed *Over or Round,* dated January 21, [1940,] you have suggested for India a democratic constitution on the basis of functional representation. Being a member of a minority community, I feel it my duty to express my views on the topic.

It is indeed a great pity that at this critical moment of Indian history, Muslim community has fewer facilities than the Hindus and

Europeans for the expression of opinion through the press in India.

Some Anglo-Indian papers, either being impressed by the constant and untiring propaganda of the majority community or on account of their natural inclination and likening [*sic*] for the western ideas and principles, cannot help considering the Indian problems in the light of those ideas. They totally fail to realize the obvious fact that India as a whole is not a country fit for the western type of democracy.

In a democratic constitution for India as a whole, on whatever basis of electorates you may have it, you cannot avoid a religious majority. The argument that in a democratic constitution, on the basis of electorates on economic lines, a working agreement higher above the party scale will follow because it is his economic interest that matters most to the man, and for this interest men will unite, may be conceded to some extent. But it should also be borne in mind that the Government of the country, unlike a purely commercial concern, has to deal with religious and cultural problems as well.

The fact, as mentioned by you, that the embryo[nic] trade union movement in India has been more successful in having Muslims and Hindus co-operate than the Congress, does not support the argument that a democratic constitution for India as a whole, even on the basis of electorates on economic lines, can be a success in this country. On the other hand, it illustrates that, in a purely commercial concern, Hindus and Muslims may unite, but where the question of religious and cultural rights is involved it would be different.

While advancing the argument that in England, functional representation was the basis of democracy and today the House of Commons is not so much composed of Conservatives, Liberals, and Labours [*sic*] as of the representatives of employers' federations, trade unions, farmers and so on, you unconsciously commit the same mistake of solving the Indian political problem on the western lines. You ignore the hard facts that in India there are no political parties, such as Conservatives, Liberals and Labours. In India, there are unchangeable and inflexible politically-organized religious groups.

The straight and right course would be to settle the communal difference once for all, leaving no conflicting interests between the communities, by dividing India into suitable communal zones, with separate federations. This alone can end the Hindu-Muslim controversy by eliminating every possibility of conflict and lead India into contentment and happiness. In this way, India shall have autonomous communities equal in status, in no way subordinate to one another

in any aspect of their domestic affairs, and united by common allegiance to the British Government.

This will make India more [*sic*] strong and united than it would be in a single Indian state with its people torn up by their domestic differences and line [*sic*] the right solution of the question of the defence about which we all are very anxious.

[ABDUL MAJID CHAUDRI]

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Firoz Khan Noon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/296

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

49 PUTNEY HILL,
LONDON S.W. 15,
25 April 1940

My dear Jinnah,

As a Muslim, I feel I must write and thank you and congratulate you for uniting the Muslims of India. Believe me that Muslims of India have never commanded here the respect they do today because they are united and this, it is universally conceded, is due to you and the political short-sightedness of your opponents.

My official position has always prevented me from writing to you all that I should like to.

How is Abdoola Haroon progressing with the suggestion of having an office here?

God bless you. Kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
FIROZ NOON

202

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 335/62-9

8 B HARDINGE AVENUE,
NEW DELHI,
26 April 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The film of the League session that was taken at Lahore is ready.

We saw it last evening—on the whole it is quite good and should prove useful for our propaganda. Before I decide about the purchase of it, I should like you to see it and give your opinion. The film could be sent to you by post and you could arrange with some cinema people to show it to you. If you approve of the film and if you think that we should buy it then I would request you to get in touch with someone interested in films to arrange for the exhibition of the film in the Bombay Presidency and Kathiawar. In other words, we could appoint him as a distributor for that area on agreed terms. In the same way, we could arrange with some people in other parts of the country. If we were to have, say, six copies of the film showing all over the country at the same time, it will cost us roughly seven thousand rupees for the six copies. Now we must get all this back and make a little profit, if possible. When I send the film down to Bombay, kindly arrange to get a certificate for it from the Board of Censors. If you like, I could send the film down with Mr. Mandal, who is one of the employees of Sarony Studios. But it will cost us over a hundred rupees as we will have to pay his travelling expenses etc.

Kindly let me know by wire if I should send the film to you at Bombay and whether you would like me to send it by post or send Mr. Mandal with it. It is necessary that we should decide about it as early as possible. I shall be awaiting your reply.

Mr. [A. S.] Bokhari, the Controller of Broadcasting, came to see me the other day. He wants to know if you would be willing to give a broadcast talk on [the] Constituent Assembly. His idea is that if he can succeed in persuading the Government to agree to it, he would arrange for two 15-minute talks on this subject—one by you and one by some Congress leader. He does not want to move the Government for their permission unless he has found out privately that you and someone on behalf of the Congress will be willing to give a talk. I told him that I would write to you to find out what you thought of the proposal. But, on my own, I told him that I doubted very much if you would agree to it because as far as we are concerned the proposal for a Constituent Assembly was dead and buried and we would not care to resurrect it by giving the subject so much importance. But if he was keen to have some political talk and could get the Government and the Congress to agree to it then you might be willing to give a 15-minute talk on the partition of India, which really was the live issue at the moment and not the Constituent Assembly. This, of course, I said on my own and you are not committed to anything. However, please let me know

what you think about this proposal of Bokhari.

I got a letter from Abdul Hameed Khan of Madras, which together with the reply that I sent to him, I am sending for your perusal.

I am going tonight to Lucknow and Shahjahanpur for Muslim League meetings and shall return to Delhi on the 30th.

I hope you and Miss Jinnah are keeping very fit. With our kindest regards and Ashraf's love to you and Miss Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

203

Ziauddin Chaudhri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/298

KARACHI,
27 April 1940

Respected League Chief,

The move to divide India on communal basis, as sponsored by the Muslim League at its Lahore Session, has aroused tremendous interest all over India. The Congress President,[1] while vehemently opposing any such partition, has shown his readiness to leave the question to be decided by the Muslim representatives in the Constituent Assembly.

Instead of waiting for an indefinite period, would it not be advisable to refer the matter to the elected Muslim Members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures, who undisputedly [*sic* for indisputably] represent the majority of Muslim masses.

Meetings of these Members should be arranged at various provincial centres simultaneously to record their votes in clear terms of Yes and No on the partition issue. The result will be the verdict of the majority of Muslim masses.

Your considered opinion on this suggestion is awaited eagerly.[2]

Yours respectfully,
ZIAUDDIN CHAUDHRI

[1]Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.

[2]Secretary to Jinnah informed him that the matter would receive Jinnah's attention. See *SHC*, Sind I/7. Not printed.

204

Sayed M. F. Peerzade to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/300-3

ANKOLA,
27 April 1940

Revered leader,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I beg to be kindly excused for making bold to address the following words to you in the midst of your pressing engagements. The partition proposal of the Muslim League has evoked, as you know, a spate of fierce opposition from non-Muslims as well as those Muslims who are opposed to the League. It has also given rise to what looks like a command performance now being staged at Delhi by almost all those elements in the community who have made it their business generally to dance to the tune of the Congress. The so-called All-India Azad Muslim Conference may succeed, if it succeeds at all, only in splitting up the community to the serious detriment of the solidarity and vital interests of the Muslims. A country-wide campaign, supported by the fund[s] and propaganda machinery of the Congress, may follow in the wake of the conference against the League and what it stands for. And this, if not counteracted betimes, is likely to create an unfavourable impression abroad about the League, besides giving a fillip to the harmful activities of mischief-mongers within the community itself. In my humble opinion, our community has to fear the fissiparous tendencies, however slight, that start from within far more than even fierce onslaughts directed from without.

I think quite a large number of those now assembling at Delhi has been nursing a grievance, rightly or wrongly, against the League that they have not been treated fairly, or have been let down badly, or simply ignored by that body. If Gandhian technique or tactics were adopted in handling such persons, that is, if "humble" attempts were made at converting and winning them over, or in the alternative at putting them in the wrong, much of the opposition, to my mind, that is now seeking to find expression in an organized form, would have been nipped in the bud. Be that as it may, you being at the helm of affairs of the community ought to know much better than persons like myself.

Nor is this all. The affairs of Sind are far from satisfactory from the point of view of the League. No leader of note of that province seems to be capable of rising above petty personal jealousies and selfish motives. The only remedy appears to lie in thoroughly educating and organizing the Muslim masses of Sind and having at the next elections all the power-seekers replaced by selfless and efficient persons. I do not know how you view the situation obtaining and what plans you have under contemplation to set matters right. As for the North-West Frontier Province, it appears to be still in the firm grip of the Congress. Can't you do anything to bring round the Khan Brothers and their associates?

The Shia-Sunni dispute goes on hanging fire as before. It is high time the League had [*sic*] actively tried to bring about a *rapprochement* between the two warring factions. It was better to have tried and failed than not to have tried at all. The very sincere attempts would have greatly enhanced the power and prestige of the League and the Shias as a body would have been attracted to the League much more than they have been hitherto. Somewhat similar but easier of solution is, I think, the Khaksar problem. You may successfully exert your influence on both Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung and effect a settlement. A satisfactory solution of this problem too will greatly add to the influence of the League. But you may have good reasons of your own in not having intervened so far in these matters.

One more point, and I will have finished. Are you quite serious about the Pakistan scheme? Do you think the scheme, even if it be taken to be ultimately in the interest of the Muslims living in the Hindu majority provinces, [is] capable of being realised in view of almost insuperable difficulties in its way? Won't you be satisfied with something less but more practicable, say a confederation of independent Indian states with coalition ministries both at the Centre and in the provinces and with as little power as possible for the Centre, if this be acceptable to the Congress and other parties. But if the partition scheme alone is to be adopted and enforced, the Muslim community as a whole will have to be organized like one man ready to make any sacrifice to achieve this ideal. This, however, appears to be very difficult at least for [a] considerable time to come in view of some of the Muslim organizations pulling themselves in the opposite direction and the loose discipline existing at present in the ranks of the League. Not a few people confess to a shrewd sense of suspicion that the partition proposal is meant

merely to force the communal issue to the forefront by compelling the recalcitrant Congress to see the justice by [*sic*] the Muslim demands and that you will be prepared to accept something less or different from the arrangement proposed under the proposal provided it fully safeguards the vital interests of the community. Is this true?

I am already deeply grateful to you for your kind reply to my letter written to you soon after your appeal to the Muslims to observe a Day of Deliverance on December 22, 1939. I shall be highly indebted if you kindly give me now a bit of your mind—may be in confidence—in regard to the matters referred to above. I am greatly agitated at the turn the affairs of our community have been taking recently and an early reply from you bearing upon this vital problem will cause immense relief to those who believe that the interests of the community are quite safe in your hands now as ever before.

With humble regards to [your]self,

Your humble brother-in-Islam,
SAYED M. F. PEERZADE
B.A., LL.B.
Pleader

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Proceedings of a Meeting Held at Ajmer

F. 825/38-40

AJMER,
28 April 1940

A public meeting of the Muslims of Ajmer was held last night from 9 p.m. to 12 midnight under the auspices of the Muslim League. The audience numbered five to six thousand and loud-speakers were used to make the speakers audible to them. Mirza Abdul Qader Beg, Advocate, was elected President of the meeting and after recitation of the holy *Qur'an* and the *tarana* of Dr. Iqbal, he explained that the object of the meeting was to consider the Resolution passed by the All India Muslim League at its 27th session at Lahore in regard to the demand of the Muslims in the shaping of the future constitution of India [*sic*]. This meeting could not be held on 19th April on account of the promulgation of an order under section 144 Cr.P.C. in Ajmer.

The political problem before the Muslims in regard to their future was whether they would treat themselves as a separate entity in the

Indian population or like to merge into what may be called the one Indian nation. India is a country in which religion and religious sentiments are the be-all and end-all of all activities, social or political, and but for this deep-rooted religious background, political leaders like Mr. Gandhi and Messrs M[ohamma]d Ali [Johar] and Shaukat Ali would not have been hailed by the masses as the Mahatma and the *Maulanas*.

The Government of India Act 1935 has introduced in the body politic of India a democracy based not on any moral conceptions of justice, equity or fraternity but on the right of the majority to rule the minority. Thus it is that the Congress, which is pre-eminently a Hindu organization, in spite of its hatred of everything having an English origin, has accorded a cordial welcome to this democracy and the Muslims, who are a minority in the population of India as a whole, have set their faces against it, as while exalting the Hindus to the status of the rulers of India, the democracy of the Government of India Act, [1935] reduces the Muslims permanently to the status of a subject and dependent race. To expect the Muslims to co-operate with the Congress in the attainment of freedom through this type of democracy is obviously inviting them to dig their own grave. And to give an assurance to the Muslims that they could rely on the good sense of their countrymen for the protection of their religion, culture, social and economic interests is to add insult to injury. No people have ever thrived on the sufferance of others. And if India is to be free, each nation in the country must be in a position to evolve its potentialities on its own lines. That Hinduism and Islam represent two distinct spiritual, moral, social and economic systems and cultures is a fact which none dare deny. A blending of the two is beyond the scope of practical politics. Subjection of the one to the supremacy of the other is bound to provoke bitterness and heart-burning. The best plan to secure freedom and peace in India is to devise a constitution which would give Hindus and Muslims equal opportunities to develop themselves on their own lines and this can only be secured by a proper delimitation of the boundaries of the various provinces of India so as to give a predominant majority to the Muslims in the East and the West of India and ensure the same for the Hindus in the remaining portion of this vast continent [*sic* for sub-continent] on the surface of the globe. This would enable the Kingdom of God to exist side-by-side with the *Ram raj* in India, each independent of the other but bound by solemn treaties for the defence of the country and the regulation

of mutual economic relations and trade as well as the protection of the rights and interests of the minorities living under them.

The Lahore Resolution of the All India Muslim League was read, explained and passed unanimously with great enthusiasm. It was also resolved that an Ajmer-Merwara Muslim Political Conference be convened at Ajmer on such dates as may suit Mr. Jinnah to preside at it. The meeting expressed full confidence in Mr. Jinnah and declared that it had no confidence in the so-called Azad Muslim Conference being held in Delhi.Prayers for the health of Syed Abdul Hameed of the *Wahdat* and *Al-aman*, Delhi, were also offered.

S. M. ALI
Honorary Secretary,
Ajmer Muslim League

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/48-51

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,
CALCUTTA,
29 April 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

Thanks for your letter. We have won the Mayoral election and hope to also capture the Standing Committees through which the Corporation of Calcutta carries at [*sic* for out] its administration.

Mr. Nausher Ali, ex-Bengal Minister, who took part in the Delhi Azad Conference was sent off to Delhi with shoes and brickbats. The other ex-Ministers who were prominent figures of the Azad conclave were Yasin Nurie of Bombay, Dr. Syed Mahmud of Bihar, Allah Bakhsh of Sind, and K.B. M[ohamma]d Jan of Calcutta, the Chairman of the Reception Committee and strongest of the lot. He was elected on the League ticket and through the help of the League to the Bengal Legislative Council (Upper Chamber) but since then has broken his pledge and come under the spell of Mr. Abul Kalam Azad. He recently went over to the Congress Party of Subhas Chandra Bose and contributed Rs. 5,000 as a price for his election as Alderman of the Corporation of Calcutta. But due to the last-minute pact of Bose with the League, M[ohamma]d Jan was

rejected as a Congress candidate for the Aldermanship. M[ohamma]d Jan, on this, openly joined the Hindu Mahasabha Party and contributed a large sum of money for his adoption as a Mahasabha candidate. He was set up by the Mahasabha as a candidate for the Alderman election against the Congress-League combine and was defeated by 51 to 29 votes. These facts have been published in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika,* dated the 18th April 1940, and other Congress papers also.

I enclose herewith[1] a leader of the *Statesman*. Please mark the sentence: "we are not to be convinced that such men as the late Dr. Ansari, Maulana [Abul] Kalam Azad and Dr. Syed Mahmud can be dismissed as time-servers and men of straw." They may or may not be time-servers or men of straw but they do not represent the community at all.

The only way to show and demonstrate this is to throw a challenge to (1) Abul Kalam, (2) Nurie, (3) Allah Bakhsh, (4) Syed Mahmud, (5) M[ohammad]d Jan to contest elections on the issue of partition versus Anglo-Hindu federation. Let them face the Muslim electorates. Let the issue be decided by a general election on that issue.

For the present, please throw a challenge to these gentlemen of the Congress, particularly Allah Bakhsh, Mahmud, Nurie and M[ohamma]d Jan, to resign their seats in the legislature and seek re-election on the basis of Lahore versus Delhi Resolutions. This challenge will clear the atmosphere.

I suggest the following for your kind consideration:

1. I think the Delhi Provincial Muslim League should hold a provincial conference to counteract this sinister move of the Azad Conference. The *'Ulama* of the League Party should be specially invited to attend and address the conference.
2. Instruct all other Provincial Leagues also to arrange special Provincial Muslim League conferences to:
   - (i) counteract the propaganda of the Azad Conference and the Congress,
   - (ii) ratify the Lahore Resolution in every province and
   - (iii) set up special committee[s] to devise ways and means for the protection of Muslim minorities.
3. Please also take special measures to reassure the Muslim minorities regarding their protection. Also contradict the false statement that the Lahore Resolution seeks or advocates emigration of Muslims from the provinces. State in categorical terms that a complete and definite code of laws and institutes

for the safeguard of the Muslim minorities embodied in a special statute for the protection of the nationals of the Muslim nation in the Hindu zones, will be the very foundation and the first political measure of the foundation of Muslim states which will be in treaty alliance with the other states for that object.

The Muslim National Minority Statute will be a very comprehensive, mandatory and effective document.

A statement on this subject will be very welcome at this juncture.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN
M. A.
General Secretary,
Calcutta District Muslim League

[1]Not traceable.

207

R. Natarajan to Anonym

F. 924/ 98-9

BLOCK 8, PLOT 489,
MATUNGA,
BOMBAY 19,
29 April 1940

Dear Sir,

I introduce myself as an oppositionist of the Congress in the South. I belong to Madras and I have been identified with the Sanatanist Group. I am [at] one with you in the matter of fighting tooth and nail the inroads of the Congress. It has to be crushed at any cost. Let the method be of any type; [it] does not matter. The movement has to be put to an end.

I have been an ardent admirer of our Quaid-i-Azam since his demand (21 points) before the first R[ound] T[able] C[onference]. No other leader could have done so much [more] for the Muslim League than him. But for his wonderful leadership the Congress would have thwarted Muslim opinion and would have scored as they liked. His recent Pakistan scheme has my admiration and approval.

Though I am not a Muslim till now, I fully subscribe to his views

and hold him as my leader.

I have come down here on an urgent business and will be staying here till Saturday next. In the meanwhile, I have a great longing to meet you and discuss certain things personally. Please let me know when it will be convenient for you.

I have a great yearning to embrace Islam and fight against the Congress as a Muslim under the Muslim League's flag and I believe you would be able to help me in that direction. Kindly let me have your reply as early as possible so as to enable me to have the pleasure of your company.

May the blessings of *Allah* be on us!

Yours faithfully,
R. NATARAJAN

PS. Please also let me know whether our leader Mr. Jinnah is in town.

R.N.

208

A. M. K. Dehlavi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 256/84-6

SADAR HOUSE,
SURAT,
29 April 1940

My dear Jinnah,

The position regarding my touring the 19 districts of the Province is as follows:

On 18th December 1939, Mr. Ispahani communicated to me the resolution of the League that my proposals regarding the tour, communicated to him in my letter of 28th November [1939], had been approved.

In reply to the above, I drew his attention on 20th December [1939], amongst other things, to paragraph 5 of my letter of 28th November, purporting to enquire as to what arrangements the League agrees to make as regards the amount to be advanced to me, and to whom was the account of expenses incurred by me to be rendered, etc. Further, all that was to be communicated to me in the clearest possible

instructions, and those preliminaries had to be cleared before I started on my tour.

He replied on the 31st December [1939] to state that as regards the expenditure, all that he knew was that it had to come from the recent collections of money for press and propaganda. That was what he understood from you; that you were at Matheran at Rugby Hotel and that your phone number was 7.

I replied on the 1st of January [1940], and told him that it was no use referring me to you and to your phone number, and that my query as regards drawing the money and rendering the account still remained unanswered.

His reply came on the 2nd of January in which he assured me that on your return from Matheran, things would be settled satisfactorily.

No communication from him for weeks and I sent him a reminder on 26th January [1940], with these words:

> May I once more, and perhaps for the last time, draw your attention to my letter of the 1st instant? The month is coming to its close and I have not had any definite reply as to the expenses of my tour. I had addressed the League leaders in all the districts on the question of my tour. Their replies are with me, and now it is they who are enquiring as to when I am going to tour their parts. I do not know what reply to give. In your last letter of 2nd January [1940], you said that when Mr. Jinnah returned from Matheran, matters would be settled satisfactorily. But, you have intimated nothing to me.

He then sends me a copy of a letter he wrote to you on the 10th of February [1940], which was a communication to you of the proceedings of a meeting of the Provincial Muslim League Committee held on the 9th, in which, as regards my expenditure of the tour, you, as the President of the Press and Propaganda Committee, should be requested to sanction the same and officially to credit the account of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League for Rs. 1000, of which I should be informed, so that I might draw, from time to time, such amounts as I might need and account for the same.

I have heard nothing regarding this matter from Mr. Ispahani since. The result of all this was that several District [Muslim League] leaders wrote to me that I should tour their parts when the crops were ready and people had money in hand. That season has come and gone. Now the hot months of summer have stepped in and travelling is certainly made uncomfortable besides the fact that many of the leaders might have left their places for cooler spots. June means rain, and holding open-air meetings might be rendered difficult. I had good hopes of collecting at least rupees 50,000 from these districts, even at the rate of one rupee per head. But there would be many, as in Surat, who would come forward to pay even more than a rupee.

I have placed all these facts before you with the object that you should see where the hitch was and who was at fault. Attempts, however, may be made to visit certain parts where local leaders might welcome me even at this time of the year. I, therefore, repeat my request once again to let me know where I have to draw the money from and to whom I have to render accounts. I have allotted Rs. 1,000 for each division, but I think the expenses would come to very much less because I do not like, nor believe in touring with a crowd with me of all sorts and conditions [*sic*] of people.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. M. K. DEHLAVI

209

Abdul Latif Sethi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 136/23-4

CHAWINDA,
DISTRICT SIALKOT,
30 April 1940

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

One of your humble admirers writes this letter to you from a remote village of the Punjab. He hopes you will, please, excuse the liberty he is taking in doing so.

I am one of those believers of the present leadership of the Muslim League who can easily carry and convey your messages to the country people. Now the League politics is growing very popular in the countryside and your messages are accepted and translated into action. We may be able to have a branch of the Muslim League here very soon.

What I am prompted to write to you is the suggestion for a new name of the Muslim League. If the change does not, any way, affect the good of the Muslims, it is the request of the villagers of this side to move the changes in the Executive Committee of the Muslim League and if possible get it changed. The name which is suggested is "The All India Muslim and Minority Communities League."

The advantages of such a change would not [be] out of sight of you inasmuch as it widens the scope of the League and offers a wider field of action for the Muslim young men.

Also the villagers of this *illaqa* believe that after the change of name is made, a conference of the minorities be summoned and their demands be accepted forthwith in full even at the sacrifice of a few rights of Muslims. The step would be such that the Congress has [been] unable to take as yet.

Will it not be the last bomb ever thrown on the present leadership of the Congress which may crush it and it may not rise again?

Hoping to hear soon and with due respects,

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL LATIF SETHI
B. A.

210

M. A. Jinnah to Motiwalla

F. 1098/270

30 April 1940

Dear Mr. Motiwalla,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd February 1940.[1] I could not reply to it earlier as I was very busy in the Delhi Session of the Central Assembly and thereafter attended the Lahore Session of the All India Muslim League, held at Lahore towards the end of March last.

I am glad to note that a Muslim Committee is established at Kobe in Japan and that steps are being taken to frame the rules and regulations of the said Committee.

The message addressed to the Muslims in Japan given by me to you was with the object of arousing the Muslims to play their full part not only in Japan but also in China and other parts wherever Muslims are living. My message applies to them all and there was no intention, whatsoever, of excluding any Muslims from my thoughts. All Muslims all over the world by religion, culture, social life and outlook have [a] great deal in common amongst them and I always beseech them to work in harmony together in the interest of Muslims all over the world. Muslims inhabiting in [*sic*] different parts of the world as different have their own political life and career which distinguish the Muslims in Japan from the Muslims in China and in Russia too, and they should make their individual efforts to better their prospects such as political, economic and social with the help and co-operation of each other and if possible of other

Muslims also.

I, therefore, appeal to all the Muslims, whether living in China, Japan, Far East or Near East, to live together in peace and harmony and protect their rights and interests wherever they are and help the Muslim level [*sic*] to full co-operation and assistance wherever possible.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.

211

M. A. Jinnah to Motiwalla

F. 148/9

30 April 1940

Dear Mr. Motiwalla,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd March[1] last and was very glad to learn that you are making efforts to collect the necessary funds for the Muslim League Press and Propaganda Fund, started by me in Bombay some time ago. It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that our people far away in foreign countries are following the Muslim movements in India and not only showing warm sympathies with us but, unasked, are willing to support and help us in every way they can.

My idea is to start daily papers in English, Gujarati and Urdu to place [*sic*] the Muslims in general, wherever they are, of the true and correct political and economic rights and interests of Muslims of India so that a correct picture of the position of Muslims in India may be brought in proper perspective and the public in general in India and abroad should know the difficulties which the Muslims of India have to face, and [the] struggle they are carrying on to achieve Muslim independence and protect their vital rights and interests.

The need and necessity of establishing such daily papers is very urgent to counter the malicious propaganda which is being carried on daily in press and public meetings against the rights and interests of the Muslims by other political bodies with ulterior motives. Approximate estimate of establishing good daily newspapers in English, Gujarati and Urdu is about rupees ten lakh and till now I

have succeeded in collecting funds up to rupees two lakh which is not at all sufficient for starting the said newspapers.

I am glad to learn from your letter that efforts are being made by you on your side to collect funds for the said Press Fund. I hope you will continue your efforts to collect further and larger amounts which are absolutely necessary as I have explained above, and remit the amount to me at your earliest convenience.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.

212

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Khaliq

F. 1098/271

30 April 1940

After my return from Kathiawar tour I was very busy in the Assembly sessions and thereafter at the Lahore Sessions of the All India Muslim League and have now returned to Bombay. I take this opportunity of thanking you for the hospitality shown by you, your father and the general public of your place when I was at Mangrol. I also thank you very much for the donation of Rs. 5,000 promised at the time from your place. So far, I have received Rs. 4,250. I hope you will be good enough to send me the balance of Rs. 750 so that the official receipt for the full amount of Rs. 5,000 may be sent to you. The receipt will be made as per draft enclosed herewith.[1] If you desire that any change in the receipt should be made, please let me know.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.

213

S. Ahmad Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 957/19-21

BOMBAY,
2 May 1940

Respected Sir,

I had a great desire since long to see you but could find no opportunity. I am a student of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, and luckily have happened to come here for some time. For me it was a golden opportunity. So it was with this purpose that I came to see you day before yesterday. But to my great disappointment I was told that I could not see you and that if I wanted anything I could have [*sic*] it in writing.

It was not merely for information['s] sake but was mainly for the great pleasure that I would have derived by seeing [*sic*] a long dream and the magnetic personality of yours. The other issue was more or less an excuse for the purpose. However, I had the following things in mind at that time:

i. Is it possible for India (at this time) to free her[self from] bondage from [*sic*] British yoke? If not, is it possible under the existing circumstances for the Indians in general and the Muslims in particular to take any advantage of the opportunity offered to them by [the] war?

ii. Does the Muslim League propose to prepare (from this very time) the Muslim masses, especially the illiterate, for the struggle, if need be, in connection with 'Pakistan' scheme?

iii. How much time will it take for the Muslim League to start publishing its [news]paper? May I also know the name that has been suggested for it? Does it propose to arrange for some special correspondents from the Islamic countries?

iv. Are the Khaksars justified in their present stand against the Punjab Govt.? What if they are allowed their parades of military nature without arms (*belchas*)?[1]

Hoping for favourable consideration,

I remain,
Ever sincerely yours,
S. AHMAD HUSSAIN

[1]Spades.

214

M. Abdul Hassan to M. A. Jinnah

F.951/1-2

23 MARKET STREET,
SINGAPORE,
2 May 1940

Respected Sir,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am extremely glad to have you as the President of the All India Muslim League. You are a boon to the Muslims in general.

You have dedicated your entire being to the cause of Islam and the spirit with which you have been identifying yourself with it is indeed praiseworthy, and the Muslim world is well aware of it. Hence, I earnestly pray for your longevity of life [*sic*] and success in all that you attempt. May the Almighty condescend to [grant] my humble [and] earnest prayers!

Let me, with your permission, make this request to you, respected Sir. The press, as you are aware, either mince matters or interpolate [something] in [to] the upshot of the meetings of the All India Muslim League; and to cause a cessation to this ghoulish nature and activities of the press, I humbly appeal to your goodself to see that this sort of unwholesome affair and a recrudescence of it is a thing of the past. To be short, the stoppage of this sort of unwholesome affair means that the Muslim world is put on the right track, with news of the world that is nothing but genuine and wholesome [*sic*]; and the result is—the progress of the Muslim world.

To achieve this, my suggestion for your perusal and approval is as follows:

The outcome of each of the meetings of the All India Muslim League should first be sent to the Provincial Muslim League from which place [*sic*] it should be sent to the various branches in their serial order, [that is] to say, from province to district, from district to *taluka*, etc. By this means you are not only forging a link between the various branches of the Muslim League but render [*sic*] them understand one another better and still more put them on the ken of one another and their activities.

In conclusion, I hope that you will give your valued consideration to this letter of mine to you, respected Sir.

Yours fraternally,
M. A. HASSAN

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A. M. K. Dehlavi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 256/87-8

SADAR HOUSE,
SURAT,
4 May 1940

My dear Jinnah,

As the next all-India census is approaching—in fact, Government of India have already set their machinery for it in motion—, I thought I might bring an important matter to your notice and for the All India [Muslim] League to take up promptly and vigorously, in that connection.

I know the Muslims, as a minority, can never become a majority or even an equality, but correct figures of the Muslim population and the true Hindu population, in the real sense of the word, would make a great deal of difference to the political issues arising out of the census. Two such matters strike me as very important for us to take up:

i. Muslim volunteers for census purposes must be organised all over India, and the Government of India be asked to recognise them for helping the census enumerators, or whatever their designation be, when they go round on a house to house visit that particular night. Each such operator should be accompanied by our volunteer, and each such volunteer should be asked to persuade each family to give all possible names of its members.

ii. The second foremost demand of the League should be that only such people should be catalogued as Hindus as come within the four—what I might call Varnas of the Manusmriti; that is, the Brahman, the Kashtriya, the Vaisya and the Sudra. The rest must be classed under a separate head as Panchama or Scheduled Classes or whatever they choose to call themselves. This will remove a big chunk out of the so-called majority.

Now, this is, I presume, some useful food for your consideration, reflection and action. Do think it over seriously and issue such orders as you may think fit.

Surat is terribly hot these last few days, hot winds blowing during the middle of the day. I hope it is pleasant at Matheran, where I presume you are.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. M. K. DEHLAVI

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Abdul Majid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/312

SUNNY VIEW,
GUJRAT, PUNJAB,
4 May 1940

Dear Sir,

A few days back, I sent to you some articles for your kind perusal.[1] I venture to send herewith another article *The Golden Path* with the same purpose.

I have also sent its copies to the editors of the *Civil & Military Gazette* and the *Statesman*, for favour of publication. It being in disagreement with their policy, there is very little doubt about its fate.

As mentioned in my previous letter, I intend to publish these articles in the form of a pamphlet. If you approve of this, and think these articles to be worth publication, please let me know, and I shall get them published for free distribution at my own expense.

An early reply is requested.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL MAJID
Pleader

[1]No. 200.

Enclosure to No. 216

F. 917/162

GUJRAT,
4 May 1940

THE GOLDEN PATH

It is indeed a matter of intense regret that when almost the whole world is engaged in a common struggle against the storm of aggression and oppression, there exists, to-day, in India a perfect constitutional deadlock. Is there no solution? Cannot the statesmen in India and in Great Britain find a way out? Certainly they can. What is needed is mutual understanding, a spirit of co-operation and compromise.

The Congress, undoubtedly, is and shall always remain an organisation of religious majority. It insists on full self-determination for itself, but with singular inconsistency, it refuses the same to the minorities. He who wants equity must do equity [*sic*]. The Congress stands for complete independence, democracy in India as a whole, and a constituent assembly.

On the other hand, the minorities, specially the Muslims, after three years of sad experience of democracy in various autonomous provinces, are now definitely for separate national states.

The British Government seems ready to play the game. It recognises the right of the Indian people to play a vital part in the framing of the constitution of their country. But [it] is not as yet ready to concede the demand of complete independence and that of a constituent assembly; neither is it in favour of separate states.

The main points of contention are:

1. The future status of India
2. The defence of India
3. The protection of various interests in India
4. The drafting of the future constitution for India.

The first two points may be considered together. Admittedly, the British Government is better than any other foreign government, and India is unfit to defend herself single-handed. Therefore, she cannot afford to sever connection with Great Britain. It is as much in the interest of India to remain an integral unit in the British Commonwealth of Nations as it is now in the interest of the British Government to assign her a proper place in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

As regards the remaining two points, rights of the British Government, the Princes and the minorities deserve a special

consideration. No doubt, on account of historical facts and force of events, the British people and the Princes have certain rights which cannot be easily ignored and surely they cannot disassociate themselves from the framing of the future constitution of India.

The question of the minorities is fundamental and indeed lies at the root of the whole matter. It has taken a new turn. If a lasting conciliation between the different nationalities in India is to be achieved, we shall have to get at the realities.

Both the Hindu organizations, the Congress and Mahasabha, are loud and united in their cry for a single democratic state in India. The Hindu is clever enough to understand that democracy in India as a whole means Hindu *raj* in India. By creating confusion between the words democracy and freedom, the Hindu intelligentsia is out to play a great political trick at this most critical juncture of Indian history. Democracy of the western type in India as a whole shall give perpetual dominance to a religious majority.

The English statesmen cannot easily appreciate the deep gulf that exists between different nationalities in India. To a western mind, the idea of nationalities based upon religion sounds strange. But in India, where in spite of the fact that Hindus and Muslims have lived side by side for centuries, there are denominational colleges, Hindu hotels and Muslim hotels, Hindu water and Muslim water. The members of one nationality cannot enter into matrimonial alliances with the members of the other nationalities. This idea of nationalities based upon religion cannot be ignored. To shut our eyes to these formidable obstacles in the way of our theory of one nation in India will not make the problem easy; rather it will make the matters worse. Hindus and Muslims have never been and can never be one nation. At the most they can be good neighbours.

The argument that the acceptance of the separate national state theory would [be] tantamount to admission of the failure of the labours, for the long past, of many Indian and English statesmen does not carry much weight. It is always the frank admission of mistakes that leads to real success. The sooner we leave the wrong course the better it would be. Three years practical experience of the working of democracy in various autonomous provinces ought to be a sufficient lesson for all concerned. Democracy in India as a whole shall simply increase and perpetuate the present tensions between different nations.

The only way out of this perpetual calamity [*sic*] would be to divide India into separate national zones, leaving no conflicting interest between the different nationalities, eliminating thereby

every chance of conflict among them. People come into conflict only where their interests clash. This alone can lead India to permanent peace and happiness.

If there be any fears about the British interests in India or the defence of India, the case is just the reverse [*sic*]. As already mentioned above, neither Hindu India nor Muslim India can afford to sever connections with Great Britain. Separate, prosperous, autonomous states, united by their common allegiance to the British Commonwealth of Nations, shall be in a better position to defend themselves than a single weak Indian state torn up by its internal differences.

The Congress demand of a constituent assembly is another clever move of the Hindus. Through majority in the constituent assembly, they wish to frame a constitution of their liking. The best thing would be to call a small and representative body for solving these intricate and delicate constitutional problems. Let each nation elect one representative on the basis of adult suffrage, the present provincial electorates, the intelligentsia of each nation or any other proper basis of electorates. These three or four elected representatives of different nationalities along with a representative of the States should sit with the Viceroy, as a representative of the British interests in India, to decide the fate of India on principles of justice, equity and good conscience.

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K. C. Behl to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/313

OLD CLOTH MARKET,
AMRITSAR,
5 May 1940

Dear Sir,

Herewith, you will please receive a copy of my article entitled *Give the Pakistan Scheme A Trial.*[1]

In view of the country-wide condemnation and downright denunciation of the Pakistan scheme, you will no doubt, I venture to think, feel pleasure to learn that there are people who will welcome a trial being given to it on an equitable and conscionable basis.

It does not require any seership or clairvoyance to visualize the

results of Pakistan [*sic*]. Taking the present achievements, capacities and tendencies of the different communities as the premise, I have very briefly touched upon as to what the respective communities are likely to achieve under its operation.

The real blessings of superb health are best appreciated when afflicted with disease, the victories of peace reflected in economic advance and progress are best rated when the ravages of war have wrought havoc and devastation, satisfaction derived from dainty delicacies is esteemed aright only by those who have known the pangs of hunger gnawing the tissues. Similarly, the intrinsic worth of the blessings and benefits received by different communities as a result of close association with each other—though belittled and even denied in utter thoughtlessness or bigotry—will be properly understood, rightly valued and cherished as recollections of past glorious times when secession under the Pakistan scheme will deprive one or the other community of these advantages and blessings.

The results will then amply prove the strength and get-along-ability of each community in accordance with the position it will attain and hold in the van of civilization.

I shall be happy to hear your views on the subject and rely upon you to use your influence with the Government to give it a fair trial, on the lines suggested by me, in the local bodies, and if possible at Amritsar.

Yours truly,
K. C. BEHL

[1]Not traceable.

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Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/71-2

PESHAWAR,
6 May 1940

Dear Sir,

I herewith enclose for [your] kind perusal and approval the article which I mean to publish again in booklet form in English, Urdu, [and] Pushto. I also propose to publish your photo with permission with a few words of dedication to you on the front page. I shall be most

grateful for permission.

May I respectfully congratulate you on your new additions [to] and substitutions in the Working Committee.

Mamdot and Qazi Isa are excellent. Messrs Akrum Sahib and Sharif Sahib are old silent workers. I do not know much about Lateef-ur-Rehman but I presume he must be equally excellent.

There are various items:

i. Shaheed Ganj [mosque] appeal and its dismissal
ii. If Italy goes to war against Turkey
iii. Khaksar complications
iv. Azad Muslim Conference of Delhi which is neither *Azad* nor a Conference, though a collection of Muslim turncoats. I am writing another article on these finds of the Congress.
v. Any other emergent matter. Will not a special session be called for these items. Let us wait and see.

Thank God, Muslim League is getting ahead though Khaksars are becoming a temporary set-back.

With sincerest regards,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

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Mian Mahmud Ali Arif to M. A. Jinnah

F. 825/45

LUDHIANA,
8 May 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

It is true that the Khaksar organisation is entirely independent of the Muslim League but it is not correct to say that it has no connection with it. Khaksar organisation is mainly a Muslim organisation [and] it is incumbent upon us now, as it was on the eve of the All India Muslim League session at Lahore, to see that inhuman treatment was not meted out to its members. Even at this time we have to deal with the situation purely from this point of view and on this basis and it will not be out of place to find out that the Punjab Government, the Premier of which is a member of the All India Muslim League Working Committee and was once

proclaimed as the pillar of the Muslim League, deals with them fairly and justly and in a manner which may not bring a bad name to the sole representative organisation of the Musalmans of India.

We are loud to claim [that] the Punjab Government, if not full, is a semi-Muslim League Ministry and we expect a treatment from it which is quite in consonance with the spirit and dignity of the League, and more so when it is dealing with a mainly Muslim organisation. The recent economic blockade [*sic*] of the Khaksars in the mosques at Lahore was inhuman as well as un-Islamic and all Congress excesses seem to fade before this attitude of the Punjab Government towards Khaksars. Interested organisations may exploit the present policy of the Punjab Govt. against the interests of the League.

Khaksar organisation is entirely independent of the Muslim League but I must point out that Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, the Punjab Premier, is not independent of the League and hence your intervention in the matter is sought for [*sic*].

Sincerely yours,
MAHMUD ALI ARIF
B.A.,LL.B.
Pleader,
General Secretary, Ludhiana Muslim League

N.B. Copy of the letter has been sent to the press.

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Mirza Abdul Qader Beg to M. K. Gandhi
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 237/5-11

AJMER,
8 May 1940

Dear Mahatmaji,

It is after great hesitation that I have decided to write this letter to you. I am President of the Ajmer-Merwara Provincial Muslim League, Ajmer, and a staunch supporter and follower of Mr. Jinnah. Still I have a soft corner in my heart for your person, though not for your politics. You may not be able to recall me after a lapse of twenty years, but I am an old Khilafatist and in 1920 was deputed by Moulana

Shaukat Ali to explain the Khilafat question to you at Bombay and at your instance translated Maulana Abul Kalam's book, *Khilafat and Jaziratul Arab,* into English. I also compiled and published the famous Karachi trial in Urdu. The late Masihul Mulk Hakim Ajmal Khan, a great friend of yours, was my uncle, being my father's cousin, and I have still some good friends among the Congress Muslims like Dr. Syed Mahmud, Mr. Asaf Ali, Mr. M. Y. Nurie, and Ghazi Mohiud Din.

[*Next para omitted*]

I find from newspaper reports and your articles in the *Harijan,* which I occasionally happen to read, that you are troubled over the affairs of Ajmer and the growing tension between the Hindus and the Muslims of this place. Ordinarily I should have nothing to do with you or your investigation but my personal regard for you compels me to inform you of the facts underlying this tension, as one-sided version given to you by some Congressmen alone is not likely to enable [you] to give a right lead to your followers in Ajmer.

[*Next para omitted*]

Hindu-Muslim relations were not so bad in Ajmer before April 1939, as they did become after that date. The Congress decided to contest the municipal elections. There was nothing objectionable in that. We have a system of joint electorate with reservation of seats for all communities. Hindus are allotted seats in the wards in which the majority of voters are Hindus and Muslims in wards in which the majority of voters are Muslims. The Muslim League also decided to contest the election and set up candidates in Muslim wards on the League ticket. The Congress had no Muslim candidate to seek election on Congress ticket. And yet they decided to oppose Muslim League candidates by persuading the Hindu voters not to vote for the League candidates. Consequently, the Muslim League decided to oppose Hindu candidates seeking election on Congress ticket by advising Muslim voters in Hindu wards not to vote for the Congress candidates. Both sides did propaganda. But if you read the handbills and newspapers published on either side, you will find that while the Muslim League confined itself to principles in this propaganda, the Congress appealed to the communal sentiments of the Hindus in advising rejection of the rival candidates on the ground that unlike the Congress candidates, the candidate supported by the Muslims will not be partial to the Hindus. Some handbills and newspapers are enclosed for ready reference.[1] The Congress officials may deny the authorship of these handbills but they cannot deny their publication, and the fact that none of such handbills or the

grounds of appeal for the Congress candidates mentioned therein were repudiated officially by the Congress or its candidates. The fact is that these handbills were published by the Congress itself under fictitious or unknown names.

This propaganda created the natural impression that Congress candidates were inspired by anti-Muslim feelings and that an organisation which condemned Hindus as heretics, on account of Muslim support, could hardly be expected to be fair to the Muslims themselves. This impression was justified by the conduct of the Congress Party in the Municipal Committee. I may say that all Congress members of the Municipal Committee are not impure. They are driven to objectionable conduct by Mr. Krishan Gopal Garg and Mr. Chandar Gupt Varshney who lead them, as they are the only members who have been associated with the Congress for a long time. Others only joined the Congress to become members of the Municipal Committee.

The attitude of the Congress party has been one of open hostility towards the Muslims. You have been characterising the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League (through misconception, of course) as too exclusive. But if you were to call for a report of the conduct of the Congress Party in the Municipal Committee, you will be convinced that they have been too aggressively exclusive and have taken pride in the attempts to deprive Muslims of their just and legitimate rights and giving unjust and illegitimate benefits to those in the Congress fold, not minding the bitterness engendered thereby. Time and again I have spoken to Mr. Garg not to create unnecessary bitterness and wrangles in the Committee which were also affecting Hindu-Muslim relations in the city. But he has always treated my advice with arrogance which has only deprived him of the confidence I wished to place in him. Mr. Garg has admitted his anti-Muslim tendency and the harm he has been doing to the Muslims [and] to some friends of his in the Congress but he has also told them that he has been doing things so tactfully that he could not be caught. I could describe his ways and means of doing mischief and enlarging the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims of Ajmer but I would like you to discover them through your own investigation.

[*Next two paras omitted*]

The circumstances which immediately preceded the incident were that prior to the holding of the *Khadi* exhibition, a number of speeches were delivered in the city by Chaudhri Ram Narain and others in

order to prepare the people for civil disobedience. The atmosphere naturally became electric and people became eager to see the *tamasha*. The *Khadi* Exhibition Committee, most probably with a view to create an occasion for civil disobedience, hoisted the Congress flag on the old Moghal Fort in possession of the City *Kotwali*. They had hoisted the flag at the last exhibition as well and nobody had objected to it because it did not indicate mischievous motive. This year too nobody would have objected if the flag had been hoisted in the exhibition ground or the large open space in front. But they chose the rampart of the Fort with the result that it caused excitement among the Muslims, a number of whom came to me with indignant looks, objecting to the encroachment made by the Congress on a Muslim Fort in possession of Government. There were three courses open to me at the time. I could have either ignored their feelings and allowed a riot to take place which to my mind was inevitable, or approached the organizers of the exhibition with a request to remove the cause of the grievance, or reported the matter to the proper authority. I would have adopted the second course if I would have confidence in Mr. Garg. But I am sorry to say that I had no reason to expect any courtesy from Mr. Garg and no useful purpose would have been served by referring the matter to him. As for the first course, I would not and did not think of a Hindu-Muslim riot, the horrors of which I had seen with my own eyes in 1933. I, therefore, reported the matter to the Commissioner, who took the action, which, though regrettable, was unavoidable in the circumstances prevailing at the time.

I have no doubt you will come to know all the facts relating to this incident. I am not so much concerned with it as you desire to allay communal excitement in Ajmer. Without pretending to edify you, I would make bold to say that Hindu-Muslim relations in Ajmer could still improve if the undesirable element of the Congress was made quiet and inactive and Messrs Garg and C. G. Varshney were replaced in the Municipal Committee by men of broader outlook and better aims.

As for the attitude of the Muslim League Party, I may assure you that with all our political differences, on fundamental issues, we have never refrained from discharging our duty to the city irrespective of caste or creed. I dare say if an inquiry was held, we could prove to the hilt by a number of specific instances that the Congress Party has consistency [*sic*] exhibited communal bias against Muslims and their colleagues, and that not one instance could be pointed out to support the same allegation if made against us. You may satisfy

yourself that, though President of the Muslim League, my house is open to all Hindus and Muslims alike, who seek advice and help in municipal matters. No Congressman in Ajmer, with a boast of nationalism on his lips, could claim to enjoy confidence of the Muslims shown by visits for advice and help as I humbly claim to do of the Hindus, who know my temperament and never hesitate to call on me even at odd hours of the day and night whenever advice and help in municipal matters is needed by them.

I would, therefore, request you to widen the scope of your inquiry, take into confidence some Congressmen other than Mr. Garg and Mr. Varshney, discover the real causes of the Hindu-Muslim tension in Ajmer, and ultimately find a solution which may be sure and lasting.

To convey to you a correct impression of the attitude of Muslims towards individual Congressmen, I may tell you that Muslims have never refrained from coming to their rescue whenever they were involved in trouble. Ram Narain Chaudhry does not enjoy good reputation in Hindu society. He was also probably ordered by you to remain aloof from political affairs for reasons best known to yourself. Nevertheless he is associated with the Congress and the ban on his participation in political activities also seems to have been lifted, as he has lately been taking active part in Congress work. He edits a Hindi paper. Government demanded Rs. 3,000 as security from him. He went to his community but nobody came to his help. You may ask him if it was not a Muslim (K.S. Seth Abdul Latif A.H. Allarakha) who gave him all the money. Even Mr. Krishan Gopal, who is anti-Muslim to the core and is so furious against the Muslim League (because I have had to give evidence and say before the court what I had related to the Commissioner in order to persuade him to take action to stop the impending riot), is being defended by the leader of the Muslim League Party in the Municipal Committee, who happens to be the foremost criminal lawyer in Ajmer. This should convince you that in spite of our grievances against Mr. Garg, we bear no ill-will towards him and are not at all anxious to send him to jail by not making the best legal help available to him for his defence.

Local Congressmen too know Mr. Garg very well. But they have not the courage to take action against him as he is a local man whose support is sometimes indispensable for keeping outsiders to their

positions in the Congress Committee.

MIRZA ABDUL QADER BEG

PS. I am afraid I have written this letter without previously obtaining Mr. Jinnah's permission. I am, therefore, sending a copy of it for information to Mr. Jinnah so that I may not be held guilty of negotiating with the enemy—the arch enemy of our creed laid down in the Lahore Resolution of the A.I.M.L. I hope [you] will not mind it.

MIRZA ABDUL QADER BEG

[1]Not traceable.

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Olaf Caroe to M. A. Jinnah

F. 490/1

IMPORTANT

SIMLA,
8 May 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

You will no doubt remember our conversation in the lobby of the Assembly on the 23rd February, when you told me you had been briefed in the Jamali appeal case[1] and asked if there was any suggestion of settlement under consideration, and I promised to enquire from the Agent to the Governor-General. I have now heard from Sir Aubrey Metcalfe who tells me that Sardars Rustam Khan and Mir Jaffar Khan came to see him at Usta [Muhammad] towards the end of February and expressed their desire for a settlement, but that he has not yet been formally approached in the matter.

2. Your suggestions for a settlement have been most carefully considered, but the Government of India feel that, in the circumstances of the case and especially in view of the fact that constitutional questions of considerable importance are involved, it is most desirable to obtain an authoritative ruling. They have therefore

decided to proceed with the appeal.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
O. K. CAROE
Secretary,
External Affairs Department,
[*Government of*] *India*

[1]Government had appropriated vast land belonging to Jamali tribe in Baluchistan. Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali and others had, therefore, had a case registered against the Government. The Court gave its verdict in favour of Mir Jaffar Khan Jamali and his tribe. Government then appealed against the verdict to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London. See Inam ul Haq Kausar, *Pakistan Movement and Balochistan,* Quetta, 1999, 92-3.

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A. H. Suleman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 856/29-30

HEERA BUILDING,
LOHAR CHAWL,
BOMBAY,
9 May 1940

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In a recent statement to the press you and the Press Fund Committee are reported to have said that about rupees one lakh and seventy five thousand are [*sic*] already collected from Kathiawar and Bombay.

I think I read in the paper some two years back or so your statement in which you said that friends in U.P. had placed in your hands a sum of rupees one lakh. In the same statement you appealed for funds to start a press and said that a sum of rupees five lakh was required for the purpose.

I do not remember whether you mentioned any purpose in your said statement for which money from U.P. was placed in your hands but I feel sure that if one has a glance over your statement, one is likely to think that the sum of rupees one lakh referred to above was for the purpose of the press.

I therefore request you to kindly let me know either through the medium of press or by a private letter about the matter.

I solemnly declare with God as witness that I have not the least doubt in my mind and the reason why I write this is that if there is

any misunderstanding on my part it should be removed and if the said sum has been set aside for some other purpose, I with some others may know it.

I know that you are a man of iron-will and such meaningless letters as this are not supposed to dishearten you in the least.

It is quite possible that for a moment or two you might resent the foolishness of a Muslim like me and take [*sic*] ill in view of the gravity of this letter but I place yourself on oath [*sic*] not to take ill in the least and excuse me this discourtesy and indiscipline.

I am a Leaguer and pray to God to send the warrant of my death while a Leaguer.

Wishing you all the success in your mission of the Muslim cause,

I have the honour to be,

Your most obedient servant,

A. H. SULEMAN

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A. M. K. Dehlavi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 256/89-91

SADAR HOUSE,
SURAT,
11 May 1940

My dear Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your two letters, dated the 3rd[1] and the 6th instant,[2] to which I owe you replies. I quite agree with you that you must have complete rest and peace of mind. Your health and energies are an asset to our cause, which we, your supporters, cannot afford to neglect. You are right; we may now anticipate further developments in our political problems, and you shall have to cope with them with determination. I am sure, by now, you must have collected a reliable 'inner council' round yourself, to which, if you remember, I had hinted some time back.

Entre nous, I must say I feel rather out of touch with the latest developments in our League politics. This Pakistan Resolution of the League, of dividing India, though in no way new, did come as a surprise to me. If you remember, you had not so much as referred to it, while we met at Delhi a week before the Lahore Session. Perhaps, then you were yourself not certain in your mind as to the feasibility

of its adoption. I entertain certain doubts, and venture to express them here. It is easier for me to believe that the Hindus might ultimately be persuaded to accept the proposal; but, would the British ever allow it? Would not this solid bloc of Muslim states, especially in the north, signify the revival of the old, but not forgotten, pan-Islamic creed? Could the British welcome such a possibility? Further, the proposal may lose much of its value to me, if it originated from, or at least came through the hands of Sikander. I would not like to be sceptical, but I have a suspicion that Sikander is out to dance to the tune of the Viceroy. If this presumption be correct, I would not wonder if his inspiration came from the Olympian heights. Even then, I would accept it, provided it points to a silver lining in the interests of the Muslims. If, however, it is going to be used as a means to an end by the Viceroy, namely to frighten the Hindus into making an alliance with the British, then, I think, my dear Jinnah, we have erred. Well, let us watch the developments, which we might well expect. I have been quite frank and I am sure you will appreciate it.

As to my tour, it was spoilt and made a mess of by that group of mediocrities who control the Provincial League, possibly because they knew that I would tour only with men of my choice: and now, you say that you do not want the idea of the "One Rupee Fund" to be advocated. That cuts at the very object of my tour. You seem to believe in tackling rich men. Here, we differ. My experience has been that rich men, if they volunteer any kind of support, do so with a purpose of self-glorification, and if they are pressed, they try to evade committing themselves. They are hopelessly and most disappointingly devoid of any national feeling. The poor man in the street, on the other hand, is a nobler being. The first man who responded to my speech, about a year and a half ago, was a *Fakir* who came forward and gave the first rupee. These are the good people, who make our audience by the thousands, and who do genuinely feel for the Muslim cause. They are our real supporters and our army.They are the ones to be aroused and appealed to. However, I am glad you have closed the chapter for the present, until you have done with the rich folk. As to my sending the small amount I have collected in Surat, with instructions to take a portion of it for tour purposes, I am afraid that is not possible, because each donor has given his contribution for the specific and the only purpose of starting a paper.

You ask[ed] me whether I would be able to go to Hubli. I would

like to, very much; and the public there know me and would give me a personal welcome. But, I am not quite certain whether I would be able to go. My son has come on short leave after two years, from Calcutta, and he and the rest of the family would not like me to leave them now, even for a short while. However, I shall try and see if I can get away.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. M.K. DEHLAVI

[1&2]Not traceable.

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Hassan Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

F. 457/1-4

237 SUSSEX GARDENS,
LONDON, W.2.,
12 May 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have been in correspondence with you regarding the importance of sending a deputation to London to educate British public opinion in favour of the demands of the Muslim League. From Fazlul Huq's letter to me, I find that neither he nor, perhaps, any other Ministers, would be able to leave their posts to come to England on deputation this summer. Your able lieutenant, Sir Abdoola Haroon, is of course always ready to make sacrifices, but I do not know how far his presence in India may be necessary.

Apart from these considerations, the pre-occupations, caused by the present acute phase of the war, and the necessity for concentrating everything towards winning the vital struggle, makes the present time inopportune for consultations with the authorities here. The only thing left seems to me to be to influence public opinion by means of writing articles in important journals and newspapers. If any of your men in London or elsewhere would seek my advice in this connection, I shall be very glad to help.

In my capacity as Muslim Member of the Secretary of State's Council of Advisers, I have placed before the authorities the points of view of the Muslim League. I have also made it clear that the League has

behind it (with a very few exceptions) the entire Muslim public opinion. I have always received a most friendly and, I may add, sympathetic hearing both from Lord Zetland[1] and from Sir Samuel Findlater Stewart.[2]

Although *The Times* leading article of the 18th April, and perhaps that of the *Daily Telegraph* of the same date, has caused a good deal of disappointment and, I am afraid, indignation in the minds of many Muslims, the Secretary of State's speech has given clear indications that the door has been left open for discussions and consultations.

Lord Zetland, in his speech, has stated "I cannot believe that any Government or Parliament in this country would attempt to impose by force upon, for example, the 80 million Muslim subjects of His Majesty in India, a form of constitution under which they would not live peacefully and contentedly."

Earlier in his speech, the Secretary of State had said "The Congress, the All India Muslim League and the Princes entertain objections to the federal provisions of the Act, and we have, therefore, said that we are desirous of consulting those interested with a view to ascertaining the lines on which they would wish to see these provisions altered.

I am personally aware of Lord Linlithgow's sympathy and I know that, in spite of his many other pre-occupations, he is ready to have consultations and discussions and Lord Linlithgow, in his personal capacity, is certainly the best person to be convinced of the justness of the Muslim League demands, of the irrefutable historical facts on which they are based, and of the best way in which these demands could be carried out by amendments in the Government of India Act. This would also have the merit of building the house from its very foundations and getting the Viceroy in his official capacity on your side before approaching the authorities here.

The Muslim League is as anxious as the Congress to remove the irritating sting of subordination by the grant of Dominion Status to India. The difference between the two organisations is that whereas the Congress, under the Statute of Westminster, want complete separation from the British; the Muslim League, on account of their wide international outlook, wish to remain as a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations and as an equal partner with the Hindus and the British.

The Muslims recognise the great assistance and advantages, both economic and political, which will be derived by India from such an alliance. The Muslim League do not wish to be subordinated to the Hindu oligarchy to which the majority rule would permanently

relegate them and do not want to exchange for the hollow satisfaction of obtaining Dominion Status the right to personal freedom and equality which forms such a fundamental part of their religious belief.

Canada and Australia want their people to be, geographically, Canadians and Australians, but to have an international existence as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Similarly, Indian Muslims want to be Indians geographically but yet remain a part of the British Commonwealth of Nations and an international unit in the world of Islam. *Akhuwat* (fraternity), *Musawat* (equality) and *Hurriyat* (liberty) are democratic principles which have been practised by Islam for over fourteen centuries, and these are the very principles for which great sacrifices are now being made by the Allies, and I am certain that our British friends realise the force of the arguments in favour of the Muslim League demands.

I am confident that a good understanding between the Muslims of India and the British Government and British people can be built up on the possibilities left open in Lord Zetland's speech of the 18th April. We should do all we possibly can to bring about such an understanding by a frank and friendly talk with Lord Linlithgow. I have informed the authorities that I have been given to understand that if the British persist in their theories of a united India and majority rule, the Muslim leaders, if they fail to get justice and fair play, can then only advise their co-religionists to come to the best terms they can with the Hindus and bring about Gandhi's dream of a united front. There is no need of a third party in this painful operation. I do, however, sincerely trust and earnestly hope that, by bringing the facts which I have indicated before the authorities, it will be possible for an understanding to be satisfactorily arrived at.

I believe the historical facts on which the Muslim League demands are based are as follows:

a. The Iberian Peninsula, though ruled as a single unit by the Muslims for over 500 years, was afterwards divided into two, with the Spaniards predominating in one part and the Portuguese in the other.
b. The Balkans, similarly after 500 years of Muslim rule as a single unit, had been divided up into different kingdoms of Bulgaria, Romania, Montenegro, Serbia and Greece.
c. After the breaking up of the Austrian Empire, Czechs, Slovaks Hungarians, Slavs of the South-East (Yugoslavia), etc., go self-determination.
d. Nearer home, there is the example of the division of Northern

Ireland from the rest of Eire.

It has to be noted that the religion of these different people is the same, namely Christianity and even, in some instances, the same sect, Roman Catholicism or the Orthodox Church. The habits, social customs and food and dress of the European people are also very much the same. The language and culture are also very similar.

In India, on the other hand, the Muslims have very little in common with the Hindus, in religion, in social customs and culture and in food and dress. In their rule of the eight autonomous provinces, under the Government of India Act, the Hindu Congress majority have clearly shown to the Muslims that they will not give them the right to live their own lives or allow them personal and religious toleration.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN SUHRAWARDY
Knight

[1]Secretary of State for India, in Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's coalition cabinet, 1937-40.
[2]Permanent Under-Secretary of State for India, 1930-40 and for Burma 1937-40.

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Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 199/9-10

IMPORTANT/PRIVATE

FAIRY COTTAGE,
BHOWALI,
DISTRICT NAINI TAL,
12 May 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am grateful to you for your reply[1] to my letter[2] which I received before leaving Aligarh for this place. I quite understand your wise advice that we must have patience with regard to the situation in the University. Your assurance that you are fully alive to the situation has heartened us very greatly. We will continue to work for the League and its ideals with enhanced courage and if we suffer, as we have been during the last three years, we do not complain. The popularity and progress of the League is our best reward. This year, I wish to inform you in confidence [that] we, namely Prof. Kheiri,

Dr. Abid Ahmad Ali, our President, and myself, worked quietly and seriously to get genuine Muslim League men returned to the Court of the University on behalf of the registered graduates' constituency. Twelve seats fell vacant this year. We have every hope that we will capture all the seats. I hope you will appreciate that this is one of the sure and safe ways of bringing the University in line with the policy and programme of the Muslim League and counteracting the anti-Islamic forces. Of course, all this is being done unofficially. But when the time comes that the League takes it up officially, we and our candidates will be found to be the strongest supporters of any measures that the League may adopt for the reform of the University.

Another matter about which I take the liberty to write to you is about the publicity and propaganda of our Lahore Resolution. The public mind is not sufficiently educated on the point. We, at Aligarh, are bringing out a small pamphlet about it; it will be sent to you soon. But what I think is that a full and exhaustive commentary of the Lahore Resolution should be written both in English and Urdu and broadcast both in and outside India. I am prepared to write out the booklet according to a plan which I would submit for your approval beforehand, provided the central office of the League undertook its publication and circulation. We would have done it on our own but our resources are so [*sic* for too] poor to permit it now.

Awaiting your advice,

Yours most sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD
Member, AIML Council

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 194.

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Mohammed Afzal Husain Qadri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 410/10-11

DEPARTMENT OF ZOOLOGY,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
14 May 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

With reference to my telegram dated May 14, 1940,[1] I have the honour to state that the Muslims of Budaun are in dire need of your assistance in this hour of their greatest and most unjustifiable persecution known since many generations. Their case has already been brought before you as one of the numerous tyrannies of the Congress Government of U.P. The case is known as Magla Sharqi Case. The incident took place in 1938, over the *Moharrum* procession. A communal riot was feared on the occasion but nothing took place. The Congress Govt. and their deputed officials seized the opportunity for tyrannizing the Muslims of Budaun who have been all along outstanding supporters of the Muslim League and fought tooth and nail against the Congress ideology. They were, therefore, fined Rs. 32,000 for their resistance to Congress in the form of punitive police tax, which was inflicted upon them without any justification and impartial enquiry. The Muslims duly represented their case to all the authorities including the Governor. Nobody would hear them. They also represented their case to the Muslim League and to the Hon'ble Premier of Bengal. Their case was claimed as an act of injustice by the Congress Govt. of U.P. and an enquiry was demanded. The Congress Government secured the sanction of the Governor who refused to hear the Muslim view. Now when the Congress has left the office the Govt. officials are looking after their legacy. They are ruthlessly realizing money from the Muslims. The district officials are giving no sympathetic hearing even to the individual cases. The Muslims being extremely poor are to be deprived of their houses and properties. There is a great panic and harassment among them.

I entreat you to move the Viceroy immediately to stop the realization of the tax and to order an impartial enquiry.[2] The truth of Muslim grievances against the Congress has already been unequivocally proved by the Nagpur High Court (*vide the Statesman*, Delhi edition,

dated 13th May, p.2, Darel-Salam). The persecution of the innocent Muslims must immediately cease, otherwise it will have a great depressing effect on them.

I trust you will kindly regard this a very serious situation and do whatever you can to move the Viceroy to interfere emergently. We have our case fully prepared for any judicial and legal scrutiny.

With respectful regards,

Yours devotedly,
MOHAMMED AFZAL HUSAIN QADRI

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Jinnah replied that he had drawn the Viceroy's attention to the matter. See F. 410/1, *QAP*. Not printed.

227

Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M.A. Jinnah

F. 329/74-1

PESHAWAR,
18 May 1940

Dear Sir,

The European situation is getting graver and graver and the Congress high command is getting nervous. They will, one morning, decide upon returning to ministries with the double idea of getting back the ministries and in case of the Allies' collapse (God forbid), they may be in office in case of emergency. I hope you are alive to the situation and you [would] also very kindly make H.E. the Viceroy alive to it.

This is only by way of suggestion because our last impressions were that the Viceroy will not allow undiluted and unadulterated Congress ministries back in office in view of the atrocities they had committed during their 2½ years' regime.

Your statement[1] on Khaksar situation was most opportune and unanswerable. Mian Ahmed Shah is wrong when he says that he is the final *Amir* of the movement. Even in his own province his authority is doubted and it is Bashir Ahmed Sidiqui who is put up as their final *Amir*.

It is much better that we have disowned them. They are in fact separate from us. No use having a hanky-panky about it. On the Deliverance Day, they refused to join us on 19th April [*sic*].

They never joined us and, therefore, it was the Khaksars who gave the lead that they were separate from the Muslim League. They are collapsing in [the] Punjab. Anyhow, it is a domestic worry and they will be all right one way or the other. Our greatest charge against them is that if they could wait against the 28th February ban up to 19th March, without any violence to any principle, they could have done so up to 25th March (till the end of our League Session), but they deliberately took out a procession on 19th March to spoil the League show. Anyhow, your statement has been published and it clinches the matter.

Now, as to the European situation, some prompt action is called for and I hope you will kindly see to it.

With prayerful regards,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN
B.A., LL.B. (ALIG.)
MLA

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 13-4.

228

M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow

F. 498/20

MATHERAN,
18 May 1940

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 19th April 1940[1] and I thank you for it. I hope you will excuse me for the delay in replying to it before now as I was uncertain as to what course I should adopt in the matter, especially as the appointment of the personnel of the Working Committee was pending. But I now beg to inform you that I propose to place the matter before the Working Committee, constituted for the ensuing year, for their consideration, and will communicate their views to Your Excellency as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Lord Linlithgow,
Viceregal Lodge,
Simla

[1]No. 190.

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S. Zainulabadin to Liaquat Ali Khan

SHC (12'36)

QADIAN,
PUNJAB,
19 May 1940

Dear Sir,

At the instance of Pir Akbar Ali, MLA, who interviewed you on this subject at Lahore during the annual session of the Muslim League in March last, I am directed to recapitulate the correspondence which has taken place with regard to [the] question whether members of the Ahmadiyya community should be allowed to become members of the Muslim League or of the Congress.

This question arose because at first the Punjab Provincial Muslim League declared, some years ago, that since members of the Ahmadiyya community were not Muslims, they were not eligible for that reason for the membership of the Muslim League. This was followed by an announcement by the Parliament[ary] Board of the Punjab Muslim League, set up in connection with the last elections to the Punjab Assembly, that every candidate put up for the aforesaid Assembly must affirm on oath his resolve, in the event of his succeeding at the polls, to ensure that the Mirzais would be declared as a separate community apart from other Musalmans. Please see extract from the daily *Ihsan* of Lahore, dated 27.8.1936, Appx. A.[1]

Early in 1938, we brought these facts to the notice of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League, and pointed [out] to him that unless these views were authoritatively discarded, the members of the Ahmadiyya community could not be expected to enrol themselves as members of the Muslim League, *vide* our letter No. 415/M/50, dated 10.2.1938, Appx. B.[2]

We also addressed your goodself at Ballimaran Street, Delhi, in letter No. 463/M/50, dated 20.3.1938.

Mr. Jinnah sent us a copy of the new constitution of the All India Muslim League and a copy of the policy and programme of the League adding that "it is for you to adopt such course as you may consider proper."

We wrote back to Mr. Jinnah in our letter No. 76/M/50, dated 7.6.1938, and received in reply his letter of 13.6.1938. For copies of these please see Appendices C. & D.[3] A careful perusal of our letter is earnestly requested.

At about this juncture, the new President of the Punjab League,

Nawab Sir Muhammad Shah Nawaz Khan, wrote to our Pir Akbar Ali to urge that the Ahmadiyya community should associate itself with the Muslim League and should be restrained from joining hands with the Indian National Congress. In this letter, he pointed out that it would be a great misfortune for the Musalmans if an organised community like ours should go over to swell the Congress ranks.

In this letter the Nawab Sahib undertook, in due course of time, to have the obnoxious manifesto of the Parliamentary Board annulled, provided that the Ahmadiyya community gave him an assurance that if this was done, the community would join the Muslim League *en bloc.*

Since this was a private and personal letter, I enclose such extracts from it as will not infringe the private character of this communication vide appendix E.[4]

[*Next para illegible*]

We have not since then heard as to whether the Punjab Muslim League has taken or proposes to take any steps to disentangle the knot tied for them by their predecessors, and we shall be obliged if you will please help to procure us a definite answer.

The main point, as stated in this correspondence, is that before we can think of joining the Muslim League, we must be assured that we shall be eligible, as members of the League, for all the political privileges which are open to the Muslim community, including nomination as candidates for various legislatures on the Muslim League ticket, as well as such assistance as the League will provide for its candidates.

May I take this opportunity to point out that we have also written to Mr. Jinnah to urge that in negotiating any understanding with the Congress, assurances must be obtained to the effect that should the Congress come into power, they would [*sic* for will] not only permit the free practice, profession and propagation of faith to [*sic* for by] all and sundry but will also refrain from imposing any restrictions, direct or implied, on conversion from one faith to another. This is a very important matter from our point of view, and I shall be glad to hear that the Muslim League sees eye to eye with us on this subject. For a copy of my letter on this subject, please see Appx. F.[5]

Yours faithfully,
S. ZAINULABADIN
[*Nazir, Amoor-i-Kharjia, Ahmadiyya Movement*]

[1-5]Not traceable.

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Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/76-7

PESHAWAR,
20 May 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your kind letter[1] of encouragement and appreciation. I am most grateful.

Far from it, certainly I will be the last person to get you, as Mr. Jinnah as well as the President of the All India Muslim League, pinned to any foreword which will mean your and League's commitment to a definite course of action where we shall want the things to be most flexible for you.

Probably your Secretary, in the great rush of correspondence, has not been able to give you the gist of my letter—what I respectfully begged of you was to the effect that as I am going to publish it in English, Urdu and Pushto, I may be given the permission to get it "dedicated to you".

As you are an unbending constitutionalist, and I know that if I have to use even your name only in respect of a mere dedication, I thought it advisable to get your previous permission. I could have easily presumed your permission to this dedication, which is my action and in no way yours, but you are at once an elder, a boss, as well as a 'holy terror' and, therefore, I thought to [*sic*] get your mere word of 'yes' to [the] dedication for my satisfaction and not for public use.

Dear Sir, your one word of affectionate appreciation means much to those who look upon you as their political guide and I am doubly delighted and grateful for what you have said about these honest bits of mine.

With affectionate regards and prayers for your health,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

[1]Not traceable.

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M. M. A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 568/88-9

HUBLI, BOMBAY,
20 May 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Before I leave this place, I think it necessary to give you a concise report of the work done. In spite of the personal bickering amongst certain individuals here, the two-day sessions came to a successful conclusion last night past midnight. There was only one resolution before the subject committee which was placed for consideration before the open session and after enthusiastic speeches in support of it from all sides, it was unanimously passed amidst resounding cheers.

The resolution runs as follows:

> This 3rd annual session of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League held at Hubli declares its firm and emphatic resolve to take all necessary steps to bring into effect the resolution passed at the 27th session [22-24 March, 1940] of the All India Muslim League at Lahore in regard to the creation of sovereign and autonomous Muslim states in India. It assures Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah that the Musalmans will not shirk, or refrain from, any sacrifice that may be demanded of them to achieve this ideal.

You will not be pleased to hear that not a single member of the Working Committee barring two, Mr. Aziz Lalji and Mr. Habibul Huq Khan, whom I had sent a month back for propaganda work on remuneration, attended the Conference in spite of the fact that I had written to each member individually backing the same with a reminder that they should be present at the Conference as the Committee of the Provincial League became the subject committee at the Provincial League's sessions. Winding up the sessions, the President openly passed strong strictures on the attitude of the members of the Committee and remarked that a session was an important enough function for members to lay aside lame excuses and be present. If they cannot do so then they should make room for those who can give some little time. Although I, as the Secretary, felt the remark to my very core, I must say that the castigation was well

merited. I am writing to each individual member to convey these remarks.

ACCOUNTS

I am not at all satisfied with the manner this part of the business was conducted and the expenses, to say the least, were wasteful, value for value. After all, while not stultifying the work of the sessions, there should not be any waste as the Provincial League's main source of support is from this income. I will later submit to you a thought-out method whereby such things may not occur.

Lastly, you must have had very good reasons not to attend the sessions. I am creditably [*sic*] informed that after the procession, when the public did not find you in it, a very large number [of people] who had come to see you and pay their respects returned home. The workers of the Conference put down the shortage [*sic* for shortfall] in income on that account to 2,000/3,000 rupees.

Trusting you are well and with respects,

Yours sincerely,
M.M.A. ISPAHANI

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M. Akbar Kazmi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/322-4

CHACK MUSSA,
P.O. RANBIR SINGH PURA,
DISTRICT JAMMU,
20 May 1940

Dear Sir,

I have dared to write this letter to you because I regard you and you alone as the sole guide of my young brain and high ideals in all matters, and hence I think it my duty to turn to you whenever some point for guidance has arisen.

Sir, I was a staunch Congressite in the years 1937-38 when I was preparing for my B.A. Examination. But one year's life at Aligarh has completely changed my ideas and now I am proud to say that I am a true disciple of my worthy Quaid-i-Azam (may God prolong his life).

Now I have come to my home—the Kashmir State—on account of the vacation at Aligarh. To my surprise, here I find so many people

who show their sympathies with the Congress. They discuss many points with me and on most of them I am able to satisfy them. But there is one vital point which has turned more important after the Lahore session of the Muslim League—the point is that of Pakistan.

On this subject my knowledge is greatly limited and hence I cannot explain the point fully. The people who make attacks on the [Muslim] League through this corner are not satisfied with my arguments.

What is the idea behind the scheme? What does it mean? Is it practicable? What provinces are to be made Muslim India? etc. etc. These are some of the questions asked by the opponents and on which I am unable to throw light.

I humbly request you to be kind enough to spare a few precious minutes of your most valuable time for making an ignorant student and disciple of yours acquainted with the subject, or if there is some literature, which explains the subject fully well, kindly send it to me.

I hope to be responded [to] soon and [to] get the favours of my worthy leader, and I further hope that I will not be ignored by our Quaid-i-Azam, because I have more rights on him than other people, being an Aligarh student, although I know how precious his time is and how wide [*sic*] his engagements are.

Always praying for your long life,

I beg to remain, Sir,
Your most obedient disciple,
M. AKBAR KAZMI
B. A.

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Mohammad Shafi Daudi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/325-6

MOZAFFARPORE,
BIHAR,
20 May 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have no doubt you fully realise the gravity of the crisis which has overtaken the world and which also threatens our own country. India, as a whole, is anxiously looking forward at this juncture to

you for giving a correct lead to the country so that we may be in a position to defend ourselves against any foreign invasion in the event of an extension of war in the East. This is my apology for breaking my self-imposed silence after a long time and addressing this open letter.

The dissensions and political strife at present raging in the country are a great temptation for outside powers to pounce upon us at any moment. It is needless to emphasize that the existing defence arrangements of India fall far short of the required standard. It is also evident that Britain, with her hands too full in Europe, may not be able to spare the necessary forces for the defence of India, should any first-class power choose to cross our frontiers.

In the face of such an imminent danger facing the country, I most earnestly appeal to you to suspend, for the time being, all controversies regarding India's future constitution and exert all your influence in devising ways and means for the defence of the country on an all-parties [*sic* for party] basis. May I venture to say that if we prove ourselves capable enough to successfully organise the defence of our country, the status of India will rise to a level where higgling for constitution will become past history.

Pessimists may feel that it is too late to organise the defence of the country against *blitzkrieg* methods of modern warfare, but I am not prepared to agree with them. With the resources in men and material at our disposal and with the co-operation of British skill and experience, it is yet within the range of practical politics to meet the demands of this critical situation. I am sure I am voicing the feeling which must be disturbing you more than anybody else.

With greatest respect,

I am,

Yours most sincerely,

MOHAMMAD SHAFI DAUDI

Advocate

234

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 199/11-2

FAIRY COTTAGE,
BHOWALI, DISTT. NAINI TAL,
22 May 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am very thankful for your extremely kind and encouraging letter.[1]

The pamphlet you have asked for was written by me and published from Aligarh. I am sorry I do not happen to have any copy of it on me here. I have however asked a friend of mine at Aligarh to send you a copy of it.

As regards the article on the Lahore Resolution, I have completed it. There are no facilities for typewriting, so it will take some time to get it typed. I will send you a typed copy in advance as soon as I get it. I have not gone into many details. I have confined myself to giving a brief historical background of the Resolution, explaining some of its implications and answering the critics. I am collecting some material with a view to enlarging the article into the form of a booklet. The one point I wish to deal with in greater detail is the financial and economic aspect. I need some facts and figures to show that the proposed states would be self-supporting. I believe someone connected with the Punjab and Bengal Governments or their Provincial Leagues would be able to supply the information. Could you refer me to any such persons?

There is one thing more which I wanted to bring to your notice. Our League workers at Aligarh have suggested that it would be a good idea to have a meeting of the League Council or at least of the Working Committee at Aligarh along with a political conference under the auspices of our University League. I conveyed the suggestion to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan and he tells me that he would consult you. I hope you will appreciate that the holding of such a meeting at Aligarh would have a very healthy influence on our Muslim youth besides giving a much-needed fillip to our activities. The meeting may be held any time during this year.

With best regards,

Yours very sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]Not traceable.

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Farmuzul Huq to M. A. Jinnah

F. 566/16-7

WACHEL MOLLA MANSIONS,
8 DHARAMTOLLA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
22 May 1940

Sir,

I have the honour most respectfully to draw your attention to the judgment passed by the Nagpur High Court in the Biswa murder case. From part of the text which appeared in the press it has been amply demonstrated that the Shukla Ministry[1] connived at the barbarous oppression on Muslims in the province. Your demand for an enquiry into the conduct of the Congress Ministries by a royal commission has also been thoroughly justified by the appointment of a committee by government for enquiry into the severe charges made by the High Court against the Congress Ministries and the police officers.

Although at the time your demand was laughed away by Congress people as well as by prominent British politicians in England, it has now been established beyond a shadow of doubt by the judgement of the Nagpur High Court that the demand was legitimate.

In my opinion it is a fit occasion for the President of the All India Muslim League to issue a public statement showing how just was the Muslim demand for a royal commission to enquire into the various charges of oppression on the Muslims under the Congress Ministries.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
FARMUZUL HUQ,
Assistant Secretary,
The Bengal Provincial Muslim League

[1]The Congress Ministry (1937-39) in the Central Provinces was headed by Ravi Shankar Shukla.

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S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

F. 304/12-3

ISMAIL MANZIL,
PATNA CITY,
22 May 1940

My dear Jinnah,

I must express my grateful obligation to you for your very kind and sympathetic and, I may add, encouraging letter[1] which has relieved my anxiety and I thank you very much for your good and kind thought of me. I assure you of my renewed loyalty and in whatever capacity and position I may be I shall serve the Muslim League. I further assure you that I shall stand and fall with you. I had made no complaint, rather I made a personal enquiry because some foolish friends and envious cliques had been putting different interpretations as it suited their purpose. However, as I assured you, I never grudged any person nor have I any ill-will towards any individual. I shall work and follow faithfully your programme. I fully endorse your recent statement—it is so beautiful and befitting your reputation and dignity. Might I suggest to you to make it convenient some time after the rains to make a tour of Bihar Province. People are anxious to see you once more.

[S.M.] ISMAIL

PS. Herewith enclosed[2] a cutting from the *Indian Nation*. Perhaps Shafi Daudi has written to you, so the letter.

[1&2]Not traceable.

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M.A. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 310/6

51 EZRA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
23 May 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have been told by certain friends of ours that Allama Yusuf

Ali, who is [a] retired ICS [officer] and a well-known Muslim figure in India, will be an ideal person if he would accept the editorship of the *Star of India*. He, I am told, was some time back the Principal of the Islamia College at Lahore. If you know his whereabouts and if you would recommend, we would like to get in touch with him to run this paper.

I have been in close touch with Sir Nazimuddin with regard to the reorganisation of the staff and I trust you will also give this paper your blessings.

My family is in Darjeeling, but Calcutta at the moment is not warm owing to rains.

We are all waiting for your next trip to Bengal.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours sincerely,
MIRZA AHMAD [ISPAHANI]

238

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Khaliq

F. 363/1

MATHERAN,
23 May 1940

Dear Abdul Khaliq,

Many thanks for your letter of the 16th May 1940.[1]

With regard to the case of Mohamedshah, I am afraid it is not possible for me to take it up as an individual case, but if it involves a principle, as you are inclined to think, the proper course would be that the Aligarh University should move in the matter, as he is now a graduate in science of the Aligarh University, or else Mangrol State should move in the matter and have the principle decided once for all.

I hope you will appreciate my difficulty in taking up individual cases. If I were once to depart from a definite principle and I undertake to look into the merit of one case and move the heads of department in the matter, I shall find it difficult to say to others that I should not help them, and believe me I get any number of such applications. If I take up one case then there is no justification why I should not take up others, in which case I shall not be able to attend

to most of my work which I am doing now.

I am glad that efforts are being made for the collection of balance of Rs. 750, which was promised by Mangrol, and I hope that the money will be raised as soon as possible.

I hope you are well. With kindest regards and best of wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M.A. JINNAH

His Highness Prince Abdul Khaliq,
Mangrol

[1]Not traceable.

239

M. A. Hashmi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/329-30

23 May 1940

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

An occasion has arisen which gives me the pleasure of addressing you this letter. You are not aware I am one of your greatest admirers. It is an uncontrollable feeling of admiration for your redoubted [*sic* for redoubtable] personality which prompted me to take this step. Before I approach you with the following few lines, I take this opportunity to declare that I pray [to] Almighty in my daily prayers that [the] remaining years of my life be given to our most benevolent Quaid-i-Azam. If I die matters much [*sic*], but we need your precious life shall [*sic* for to] be extended. Undoubtedly you are doing excellent service to Islam and [the] country. I should say, you have inspired a new life and spirit among the Indian Muslims and brought [*sic*] speedily marvellous success and reputation of the Muslim League. Of course there are traitors in our circle [*sic*]. But I am sure your untiring efforts will achieve the fruitful results. And one day they will realise their follies and gather under the banner of the Muslim League. We must admit that the success is all due to your sincerity, great tact, statesmanlike wisdom and particularly to your indefatigable zeal, devotion and farsightedness. It is impossible to over-estimate your unbound[ed] genius, resourcefulness and statesmanship, especially in dealings with the Congress leaders. We admire greatly your clean heart, attitude and sincerity. It is a real service to Islam in the sight of the All-Highest. It is impossible to

purchase you at any price and this quality has overcome the diplomacy of the Congress leaders, above all Mr. Gandhi himself. [It] leaves you not only supreme over the brains which are opposing you but definitely places you in the rank of such great men as our Caliphs, Bismarck and Buddha.

It is difficult for a man in the street to realize to any appreciable degree the significance of these problems and political sagacity of your exceptionally wonderful brain, if one first of all would not take into consideration the greatness of those whom you left hopelessly vanquished. Please take only the example of Mr. Gandhi, whose genius and diplomatic abilities have been worshipped universally, not excluding even Britain, the most diplomatic nation in the world. Briefly speaking you have proved yourself [an] able, true and wise leader of the community and country, I should say a renowned politician of world fame. Your language, culture, faith, and the way you deal [with] various problems are indeed remarkable and defies [*sic* for defy] any expression. Words are but a poor vehicle to give expression to my feelings and I fail to find adequate expressions to convey my sentiments.

I am always at your disposal and ready to give even my life, what to speak of money and property, for the betterment and good cause of the Muslim community.

I hope this will find you in the best of health, spirits and happiness. Through the grace of Almighty you may live long to serve the community.

With respectful regards, believe me,

Yours aye,
M. A. HASHMI

PS. Your Pakistan scheme is unique and the only solution of [for] communal harmony. The opposite camp has raised much alarm against this but they do not realise with a cool brain [*sic*] that the division will solve the problem of future unhappiness. We must emphasize on this problem and go on by the time we live in [*sic*]. I would specify in my next letter how I can serve the community and country more actively and do yearn to meet you before long as soon as the time and engagements will permit me.

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Sikander Hyat Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 353/20

24 May 1940

International and internal situation extremely grave. Earnestly beseech clear lead to community and country by declaring whole-hearted Muslim collaboration for successful prosecution of war, defence and safety of country. Authoritative pronouncement from you forthwith essential in the interest of community here and abroad. Delay would be suicidal. Anxiously awaiting reply.[1]

SIKANDER HYAT

[1]See No. 245.

241

S. M. Sharif to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/331-2

NURUL HUDA ROAD,
P.O. MAHENDRU,
DISTRICT PATNA,
24 May 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I herewith enclose a copy of a letter[1] which I have received from the Editor of the *Indian Nation*, a local (Mahasabha) daily, which is very anti-Muslim.

May I request you to be good enough to take the trouble of advising me in this connection. I am but a raw and inexperienced member of your Working Committee.

I am personally of the opinion, if I may say so, that coalition ministries should be formed at present at the Centre and [in] the provinces [and] that such ministries, if constituted from the Congress, the Muslim League and the other main non-Congress Hindu party of the particular province, e.g. Depressed Class[es], non-Brahmins and native Christians, would and could work smoothly, provided a new portfolio was created to be put in the charge of the Muslim League Minister. The joint responsibility of the Ministry could still be conserved if the Ministers worked in the right spirit.

These coalition ministries should only be in the nature of an emergency measure and to function only till the whole scheme of constitution is again worked out on the lines of the Muslim League Resolutions on the war and at Lahore.

Kindly suggest to me the lines of my reply. In the absence of such advice I propose to write and say that I am unable to offer my opinion on the points referred to, until the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League comes to some decision on the subjects for the guidance of the Muslim nation in India.

Your[s] sincerely,
S. M. SHARIF

[1]Not traceable.

242

Mubarek Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 518/68

NEW YORK,
USA,
24 May 1940

As a representative of 80 million Muslims in India it is your duty to urge all Indian Muslims to support Great Britain in these critical times when religion, democracy and humanity is urgent [*sic*]. Await reply.

MUBAREK ALI KHAN
President, India Welfare League

243

Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 364/9-10

LUCKNOW,
25 May 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

From to-day's statement of Mahatma Gandhi, it appears that he is genuinely anxious to end the present deadlock. It is obvious that in

the present international situation, which is very grave indeed, we cannot pool our strength together except on the lines indicated in your last statement[1] in which you stated that you were willing to co-operate with other groups on the lines suggested by the Viceroy to the Congress leaders and yourself. The recent statement of the Secretary of State also points to the same direction. Personally I feel that some sort of a provincial settlement is bound to come in view of the common danger that faces us all. I am, however, anxious that if such a settlement is to come about it would be more welcome before Italy joins the war and Turkey is also dragged into it. It is premature to appreciate the repercussions that Mahatma Gandhi's statement will have on the Congressmen generally and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in particular, but the possibilities are that in face of great crisis it will not be difficult for Mahatma Gandhi to carry the Congress with him. I do not know whether you will consider it opportune to issue a short statement reiterating the position that you have all along been taking up as that might hasten the speed of events to come.

I hope you are in the best of health and happy.

Yours sincerely,
KHALIQUZZAMAN

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 19.

244

Arthur Moore[1] to M. A. Jinnah

F. 917/36-40

THE *STATESMAN* LTD.,
CALCUTTA,
26 May 1940

My dear Jinnah,

India's most urgent need is an air force of her own. In present circumstances, if danger threatened her, she cannot rely on air reinforcements from Britain. The most effective way of helping Britain is, by making the utmost effort, to relieve her of this necessity as soon as possible.

Expansion and modernization are needed in other directions, but

all other improvements will go for nought unless we can secure protection in and from the air, i.e. by an adequate air force and adequate mobile anti-aircraft units.

The Government of India is hampered by lack of funds and lack of knowledge of what effort the people of this country are unitedly prepared to make. It encounters political opposition whenever it proposes to raise or spend money on a large scale. Hence precious time is being wasted.

Will you help me to show what Indians, and the British in India at one with them, can do to help themselves? A number of technicians and businessmen have, since war broke out, unofficially examined the question of aircraft production in India with encouraging results. I personally am satisfied that it is possible—

i. to do what the Chinese are doing. They have, just over the Burmese border, an assembling factory employing 2500 people. It has a staff of over 100 first-class American expert supervisors and trainers, test pilots, engineers, etc. Leading American producers of the fastest military planes, e.g. Curtiss and Martin, provide the parts. This factory was organized in war-time and has been three times moved in its entirety till now it is right up to Burma.

ii. to manufacture planes fully in India, including engines, as Australia is doing. Our steel industry is much bigger and more developed than Australia's. From those connected with the Australian war enterprise, we have received strong encouragement.

There is also the possibility of getting help from the Dutch, who have great experience and whose air headquarters is now in the [Dutch] East Indies, [i.e. islands of the Malay Archipelago colonized by the Netherlands].

In Britain, we may be quite sure that Lord Catto, the Director of Supply and Equipment, who knows India well and has long been an advocate of Indianisation will, whatever the urgency of the war, not forget our needs.

What I propose is that we should immediately create a volunteer air force for the purpose of:

a. providing aircraft

b. training squadrons

These volunteer squadrons would of course, when ready, be available as part of the defence system of the country but they would rank as militia or territorials, and if there were general disarmament

of the country after the present war, the fund would continue to manufacture aircraft and train airmen as a national civil aviation enterprise. It would be a permanent non-profit-making trust, which could in time of peace hope to become self-supporting.

There would be no communal units of any kind. Britons in India who volunteered would serve alongside Indians and receive the same pay.

I am asking the following if they or their nominees will be the trustees and governing body of the fund along with myself:

REPRESENTING THE INDIAN STATES

H.H. the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes
H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad (representing the non-Chamber States)

REPRESENTING BRITISH INDIA

Mahatma Gandhi
M. A. Jinnah
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Sikander Hyat Khan

If you agree, I think that we would at once appeal to India for "the first crore", and say that we want it all in by the end of July. It is possible to get a technical committee quickly but without money we shall not be able to place orders.

Banks can be asked to receive subscriptions locally, and all newspapers to acknowledge these locally.

In view of the extreme urgency of the matter, I hope it may be possible for you to send me an early reply.[2]

Yours sincerely,
ARTHUR MOORE

[1]Editor of the *Statesman*, published simultaneously from Calcutta and Delhi.
[2]See No. 268.

245

M. A. Jinnah to Sikander Hyat Khan

F. 353/25

MATHERAN,
27 May 1940

Dear Sir Sikander Hyat,

I have received your telegram of the 24th[1] and I propose to call a meeting of the Working Committee in June. In the meantime, I must say that I regret very much that you should have issued individual statement without even reference to me, and in spite of your promise that you will not do it.

I have also issued a statement[2] but it does not anticipate any final decision of the Working Committee such as yours.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]See No. 240.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 249.

246

Saifullah Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/336-9

BASTI BABA KHAIL,
DISTRICT JULLUNDUR,
PUNJAB,
27 May 1940

My most revered leader,

Greetings and prayers for your long life from a humble believer. I presume I have a little bit of justification for this letter and that is the importance that a man of my meagre intelligence attaches to what the Congress is doing at present. My sincerity is my only true excuse for this letter.

I am sure you must have come to know of the workers' camps being opened by the orders of Mr. Gandhi. Well, one was opened only on Friday last by Mr. Nehru in Moghalpura here in the Punjab.

While I do not presume to be sure of any underhand object in this move of the Congress, I cannot even trust them in what they give out to be the purpose of these camps, i.e. non-violent *satyagraha*.

What I venture to say is that probably Mr. Gandhi has planned some subtle move or preparation for a move that we may not understand as yet. My weak head [*sic*] suggests that perhaps Mr. Gandhi has been alarmed at [*sic* for by] the activities of Khaksars and like Muslim organizations. And in order to be prepared for any eventuality, keeping in view the present international situation, he has started training workers.

These workers are alleged to be trained in non-violence but, as is quite obvious, non-violence is not in human nature as violence is, and it does not take more than half a minute to change from non-violence to violence. So what is aimed [at], I fear, by the Congress is disciplining of workers who can be turned into a military corps any moment, the only thing needed being a little bit of training in handling arms and ammunition.

Presuming that I am right in my fears, I would venture to suggest a similar drive for disciplined training centres for Muslim League workers. I have confidence that there will be many selfless enthusiasts [who] would offer themselves. The training need neither be in violence nor non-violence, but just the training in discipline like those [*sic* for that] of Boy Scouts, and I believe the Govt. of India won't object to it. Even if they do, due to war, you can point out the Congress workers' camps as equally objectionable.

Furthermore, I would also request you to consider some scheme for training workers for Muslim League propaganda work and start steady, though maybe not severe, work in this direction. The poor Punjab needs it very badly.

I hope I will be forgiven for this presumptive [*sic* for presumptuous] letter. Once more praying for your long life and best of health, I remain one of your silent admirers.

SAIFULLAH KHAN

247

J. G. Laithwaite to M. A. Jinnah

SHC, Misc. I/87-8

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA,
28 May 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your letter of 17th May[1] about the representations you have received from the Muslims of Budaun. I did not answer it before as His Excellency was anxious to obtain a report on it from His Excellency the Governor of the United Provinces and to discuss the matter with him during his present visit to Simla.

2. His Excellency has now had the advantage of full discussion with Sir Maurice Hallett. He finds that His Excellency the Governor decided some time ago that the imposition of additional police in Budaun City was justified but that the period for which the additional police were appointed should be reduced from 12 months to 6 months, thereby reducing by half the amount payable by the Muslims. Further, His Excellency understands from Sir Maurice Hallett that he saw Khan Bahadur Shaikh Sayed Mohammad of Sheikhupur on 22nd May who only raised the point that the purchase of a lorry for this force was unjustifiable. H.E. the Governor is examining this point but is at present of opinion that this claim is reasonable.

Yours sincerely,
J. G. LAITHWAITE

[1]Not traceable.

248

H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 274/110

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
28 May 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith a demand draft for £ 500 favouring yourself.

As I have already stated, the Iraq Consul here informed me that the draft should be sent in the name of Foreign Minister. Please consult the Iraq Consul on your side and endorse the draft as you consider fit.[1]

I shall feel obliged if you will kindly send me receipt of the said draft so that I may keep it on record for future reference.

I hope you are doing well and thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
H. A. HAROON

[1]Jinnah informed Abdoola Haroon that he would ensure that the amount in question reached the proper quarters. See F. 274/111, *QAP*. Not printed.

249

M. A. Jinnah to Khwaja Nazimuddin

F. 392/12-3

MATHERAN,
28 May 1940

Dear Sir Nazimuddin,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 24th May[1] and in the first instance I am very pleased to hear that you people are now in right earnest in reorganizing the *Star of India*. You know that my services are at your disposal to help you in the matter.

As regards our position, viz. the British Govt. and the Congress, so carefully put by you in your letter, has received my very close attention and I have already issued a statement, a copy of which I am enclosing herewith. You have, I hope, read the account of the interview[2] I gave to the *Times of India*. Besides that I am, as suggested by you, calling a meeting of the Working Committee on or before the 15th of June and we shall then carefully consider the situation. I hope that Bengal members of the Working Committee will all attend without fail.

I may also mention here that I have received a letter from the Viceroy dated the 19th April[3] in reply to our request in February[4] for further clarification, which I shall place before the Working Committee for their consideration.

In the meantime, I must say that I regret to note the individual statements being issued, specially from the Premiers of the Punjab

and Bengal. They, I am afraid, do no good to the British Government, but on the contrary they are harmful and injurious to the interest of Muslim India and the All India Muslim League as it undermines the discipline and the solidarity of our organization. I mean, of course, any statement or statements which are contrary to the fundamental principles and policy of the Muslim League or which are calculated to weaken the decision already taken or which anticipate the decision of the Working Committee.

However, I am glad that you were kind enough to write to me and place the whole matter before me as it should be done, for which I am extremely thankful to you.

With kindest regards and best of wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 15-20.
[3]See No. 190.
[4]See No. 116.

Enclosure to No. 249

F. 1022/261

Statement of M. A. Jinnah

27 May 1940

I fully realise that both the internal and external situation is very grave. The question is what is the Muslim League expected to do immediately. Up to the present moment we have not created any difficulty nor have we embarrassed the British Government in the prosecution of the war. The provinces where the Muslim League has a dominant voice have been left free to co-operate with the British Government, pending consideration with regard to the assurances we have asked [for] and in particular that the British Govt. should make no commitment regarding the future constitutional problems of India and the vital issues that have been raised in that connection without our approval and consent.

Nevertheless, without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues later on, we were even willing as far back as November last to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field which would have been followed up with our representatives being appointed to the Executive Council of the Central Government to the extent permissible

within the framework of the present constitution and existing law. But this proposal was summarily rejected by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress. Similar attempt was again made by His Excellency in early February which met the same fate.

Since then it seems that the Viceroy has been waiting for the Congress to pass its word.

There are many people who have access to the press who find it convenient to say plague on both your houses and are either ignorant of the actual facts and the position or are afraid to speak out frankly and find it easy to beat the Muslim League and the Congress with the same stick.

So far we have not declared non-cooperation, nor have we decided to resort to direct action, nor are we preparing to launch Civil Disobedience at any moment although we are fully alive to the objective of the Congress which is to force the British hand to throw Muslim India once more to the tender mercies of the Congress. This is what Mr. Satyamurti, the Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Legislature, says:

> That popular governments must come both in the provinces and [at] the Centre. The earlier the better. The acid test of Mr. Amery's[1] ability and earnestness will be his saying to the Muslim Leaguers—no Pakistan, no coalition ministries, no impossible safeguards. You must settle with the majorities. Once he says that the rest will be easy.

I think the British Govt. must realise that it is the resistance of the Muslim League to the machinations of the Congress that has compelled the Congress leaders at this moment to make a virtue of necessity when they say that they did not want to embarrass the British Govt. and launch the Civil Disobedience immediately but keep the sword of Damocles hanging over Muslim India.

With regard to Mr. Amery's statement and the broadcast appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy, may I say that it is up to the British Govt. to show trust in the Muslim leadership and there are many ways of doing so and as confidant friends seek our wholehearted co-operation and we shall not fail.

I propose to call a meeting of the Working Committee at Bombay before the middle of June or earlier, if possible, when the whole situation will be reviewed and considered in the light of the grave situation that we are facing.

[M. A. JINNAH]

[1]L.S. Amery was Secretary of State for India in the war coalition formed by Prime Minister Winston Churchill, 1940-45.

250

M. A. Jinnah to Qazi Mohammad Isa

F. 302/29

MATHERAN,
28 May 1940

Dear Mr. Isa,

I thank you for your letter of the 27th May,[1] and I am very glad to learn that you have decided to hold the annual session of the Provincial Muslim League on the 26th, 27th and 28th July, and I appreciate very much the honour done to me by the people in requesting me to preside over the sessions. I wish I could come to Baluchistan, as I would certainly myself welcome such an opportunity, but it is so difficult for me to make a definite commitment just at present.

With regard to the Jamali's case I have already sent you a wire[2] informing you that it is not possible for me to leave India even for a day and therefore the only thing to do is to try and get it postponed, or else you must get some other counsel who can attend to it.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1&2]Not traceable.

251

M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow

F. 498/21

MATHERAN,
29 May 1940

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am sorry to worry you at this moment but I felt that I must send to you the enclosed copy of the letter which I have received from the Mufti of Palestine,[1] who is now in Baghdad, for your consideration.

I need hardly add anything more in this letter because you are

fully alive to the situation in Palestine.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]See No. 75.

252

M. A. Jinnah to Philip Henry Kerr Lothian[1]

F. 498/46

MATHERAN,
29 May 1940

Dear Lord Lothian,

I gather from various sources that enormous propaganda is going on in America on behalf of the Congress. Of course, I need not discuss in this letter the conditions and realities that are prevalent in our country for you are no doubt aware of them, and are following the various developments, but I feel that the case of Muslim India is [going] by default so far as the American public and press are concerned, and we are misrepresented and nullified by one-sided and insidious propaganda that is being carried on by the Congress against us.

I am, therefore, very anxious if you can suggest the name of some Muslim who would be competent enough to set up a capable agency on behalf of the Muslim [League]. We would be prepared to bear any reasonable expenses provided we get the right sort of person or person[s] to do the work.

I wonder whether you can help in this matter. I have always counted on your personal friendship and so I have ventured to write to you this letter.

With very kind regards and best of wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]British Ambassador in the United States.

253

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 335/72-5

CHARLEVILLE HOTEL,
MUSSOORIE,
29 May 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

On seeing your statement[1] in the papers this morning, I sent you a telegram[2] saying that I was up in Mussoorie as I was not quite sure if you were aware of my whereabouts. But before my telegram could have reached you, I received yours[3] calling a meeting of the Working Committee on the 15th of June in Bombay. I have today issued the enclosed circular letter to all the members of the Working Committee, as I had indicated to you in my telegram in reply to yours.

Your statement regarding the present grave situation, if I may say so, is a very good one. You have made the position quite clear as far as the Muslim League is concerned. Everyone has been trying to put blame on both the Congress and the Muslim League for the present deadlock in the political situation in the country, when in reality it is the Congress alone which is responsible for this unsatisfactory state of affairs. You have hit the nail on the head by issuing your statement.

The situation in Europe is very grave indeed. I wonder if the leaders of the Congress that really matter, I mean Gandhi and Jawaharlal, realize how serious the situation is, as Jawahar is still talking in the air.

We came up here a few days ago. Delhi was getting rather hot and the temperature has risen since we left. It is very pleasant here. I hope you and Miss Jinnah have been keeping very fit. When are you returning [from Matheran] to Bombay?

With our kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]See Enclosure to No. 249.
[2]See F. 335/76, *QAP*. Not printed.
[3]Not traceable.

Enclosure to No. 253
Liaquat Ali Khan to Members of the All India Muslim League Working Committee
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 335/71

CHARLEVILLE HOTEL,
MUSSOORIE,
29 May 1940

Dear Sir,

A meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League will be held at the residence of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay, on Saturday, the 15th of June, at 11 a.m.

I am to request you to kindly attend the meeting without fail.

AGENDA

1. To consider the grave situation created by the war in Europe—internal and external.
2. To consider the question of organization of the Muslim National Guards. (A copy of the report[1] of the National Guards' sub-committee has already been supplied to members.)
3. To pass the budget for the year 1940.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN
Hon. Secretary

[1]Not traceable.

254

Said Mohamed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/599-605

HAMIDIA BAGH,
KHURJA (U.P.),
29 May 1940

Dear Mr.Jinnah,

I have seen your statement[1] which appeared in the *Statesman*'s issue of yesterday's date.

I hope you have received my brochure— *A word to the Muslim League,*[2] which was addressed to you along with a personal appeal and am led to presume that your statement which has appeared under the very attractive headline of *Muslims ready to help,* is closely linked up with and related to that very eager appeal.

Taking that to be a faithful reading of the situation, I feel that a more detailed picture of the prevailing conditions is due to you and therefore proceed to offer it.

In your statement you say—"The question is, what is the Muslim League expected to do immediately". I am, therefore, answering that vital question at once.

Italy, at the moment, seems to be storming [*sic*] for a fight. Italy also happens to be a power that has been Islam's deadliest enemy for nearly a generation. Italy also figures as a power that has allied itself with Germany. If this power takes the threatened plunge into the war at this critical hour, it would not only prove a very decisive factor or the proverbial last straw on the western front but also burst as a very direct menace to Muslim countries including Turkey which still stands enshrined as the nerve-centre of the entire Islamic world.

What, therefore, is needed is a clear unmistakable warning that in the event of the Italian Government taking up arms against the Allied Powers, the Indian Musalmans would rise as one solid mass and come down heavily upon it.

This warning which is bound to have an immediate effect on the Italian bellicosity would not only be most helpful to the British Government in keeping the Mediterranean and south-east of France free from danger, but also completely harmonise with the dearest wishes of the Indian Musalmans, and what is of still greater value, go a long way to[wards] strengthen[ing] the Muslim League's own hold on Muslim imagination.

In your statement, you propose to hold the meeting of the Working Committee to review the present grave situation in the middle of June. As time is a matter of vital importance, I beg you to do so without a day's further delay.

Yours sincerely,
SAID MOHAMED KHAN
Major

[1]See Enclosure to No. 249.
[2]Not traceable.

255

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Ispahani

F. 310/73

MATHERAN,
29 May 1940

Dear Mr. Ahmad,

I received your letter of the 23rd May[1] and with regard to Yusuf Ali I am very doubtful whether he is the right sort of man for the editorship of the *Star of India*. You want a man who has got considerable experience of journalism and as you say you have been in close touch with Sir Nazimuddin. I have already suggested a name and Sir Nazimuddin informs me that the matter is under consideration.

I am glad that you people are making serious and earnest efforts to reorganize the *Star of India*.

As to your request to my giving blessings to the paper, I need hardly say that I will do all I can do to help it.

Yes, I wish I could come to Bengal but at present I see no likelihood.

With very kind regards to all of you from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

PS. What is Hassan doing? I have not heard from him for a long time.

[1]See No. 237.

256

Currimbhoy Ebrahim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 607/11

UNITED INDIA BUILDING,
SIR PHEROZESHAH MEHTA ROAD,
FORT, BOMBAY,
29 May 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope this finds you in the best of health. Only two days back, I have returned from Mahableshwar.

The Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad had come to visit me and we had

a long discussion regarding the forming of the National Guards which is most essential in these days since the time we have passed a Resolution at Lahore to give every young Muslim a proper disciplined training for the purpose of keeping every young Muslim in proper and fit condition for the purpose of the League. I am of the same opinion and am quite prepared to take up this work to form this at the earliest and the Raja Sahib also has been very anxious about this course. It means a lot to organize and it would enlighten every youth to realize his own responsibility and to be prepared for every sacrifice if the time may call upon to do so.

I am sorry I have taken much of your time. I know you are of the same opinion regarding this but I only wish that if this work is started earlier, it will benefit us a lot.

With my very best regards,

Yours sincerely,
CURRIMBHOY EBRAHIM

257

M. A. Jinnah to Hassan Suhrawardy

F. 457/5

MATHERAN,
29 May 1940

Dear Sir Suhrawardy,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 28th April, altered to the 12th May,[1] and thank you for it.

I am glad that you are supporting the Lahore Resolution to the utmost of your power.

I have recently explained in my message to the Hubli Conference, a copy of which is attached herewith,[2] that it is the only practical solution. In my last letter with regard to your suggestion that we should have some competent and suitable man as our agency in London to put forward our viewpoint which more or less goes by default, I have already asked you to let me know some concrete scheme and name of person or persons competent enough and who would be willing to work without or with remuneration.

I was very pleased to read the various points you have brought out in support of the Lahore Resolution in your letter. I am also glad

to hear that Whitehall has an open mind.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]See No. 224.
[2]Not traceable. However, see Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 21-5.

258

M. A. Jinnah to Tajuddin

F. 873/347

MATHERAN,
29 May 1940

Dear Mr. Tajuddin,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 24th May 1940.[1]

You know that I do not recommend people to the official world, nor can I help various individuals who want jobs and appointments. If I do it in the case of one, the question at once arises why not in the case of others, and once I depart from my principle I shall be flooded with these requests. Not that I do not get such applications every now [and then]; my uniform reply is that I regret I cannot undertake the work as I have got enough pressure already to bear with regard to the larger issues that are facing us.

I am sorry to disappoint you.

With kind regards and best of wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.

259

M. K. Gandhi to Ziauddin Chaudhri

SHC, Sind I/73

SEWAGRAM,
WARDHA,
30 May 1940

Dear friend,

The only real way is the vote of the adult Muslim population.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[1]Refers to Ziauddin's letter of 27 April, see No. 203.

260

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Akbar

F. 957/23-4

30 May 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 21st instant.[1]

I am glad that you are holding a conference in June. The earlier you hold the conference, the better it is. It is no use waiting for my promise to attend the conference. You must go ahead with your work. As to the time, whether June, September or October, you are the best judge of fixing the dates.

I entirely agree with you that it is very essential for me to come in contact with the Muslim youth of the country, and I am glad to learn that they are holding a very big all-India Muslim students' conference at Lyallpur. But whether I come or not you must go ahead. I cannot as one man be everywhere. It is for your local prominent leaders to rise to the occasion, and you must put life in the people. Small beginnings lead to big achievements and you must not be disheartened. Believe me, it is not that I do not realise the importance, or it is due to the lack of my desire to do all I can towards the Punjab Muslim organisations. I know Punjab is one of the most important Muslim provinces.

However, I think that I may be able to attend your conference if it is held in October, but I cannot promise you. I say this because most

probably I shall have to be in Delhi about that time. You must not, however, announce that I have promised to come because that will mislead the people in the event of my not being able to attend the conference. But I need no persuasion, and if your conference is fixed some time in October and if I can manage to come I shall do so without any invitation or your asking me.

I, therefore, do wish that you would go ahead and fix the conference at the latest, as you suggest on the 6th and 8th of October, 1940, in *Dusehra* holidays.

Wishing you every success in your efforts,

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Mohammad Akbar, Esq.,
Muslim High School,
Lyallpur

[1]Not traceable.

261

S. A. Latif to M. A. Jinnah

F. 370/50

YUSUF MANZIL,
ADIKMET,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
30 May 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose herewith a copy of the amendment I have made to my original scheme of a constitution for India already under the consideration of Sir Abdoola Haroon's Committee. I have tried to implement therein the Lahore Resolution and yet preserve the unity of India during the transitional stage leading to a commonwealth of culturally homogenous sovereign Muslim and Hindu States. My idea is that it may form a tentative basis for a rapprochement between the League and the Congress, and I pray that you will give it your earnest consideration.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. A. LATIF

Enclosure to No. 261

F. 370/52-7

HYDERABAD, DECCAN,
5 May 1940

A BROAD OUTLINE OF INDIAN CONFEDERATION

The following is a broad outline of Indian confederation suggested by Dr. Syed Abdul Latif to implement the Lahore Resolution of the All India Muslim League:

Whatever status India might achieve in the near future, whether dominion status or full or complete independence, it will be in its best interest that it should resolve itself into a confederation with a federal form of constitution in harmony with Indian conditions.

The confederation should be composed of free and sovereign Muslim and Hindu States as under:

MUSLIM CONFEDERATED STATES OR MEMBERS

1. A Muslim State composed of the Punjab, Sindh, British Baluchistan, NWFP and Frontier Tribal Area. This will form a single unit of administration and should be entrusted with the task of defence on the north-west. The Tribal Area is included in this bloc because when the tribes grow conscious of the fact that they form part of the same Muslim State, they will realize their obligations to the neighbouring districts and cease to be a source of trouble to them.

2. A Muslim State composed of Eastern Bengal and Assam, forming a single administrative unit.

3. A Muslim State to be carved out of the present U.P. covering the western part of U.P. and the present Delhi Province. It should be formed in a manner calculated to secure for the Muslims a majority in population.

4. The already sovereign Muslim State of Hyderabad with a free outlet to an independent seaport of her own, and with perfect freedom to augment its Muslim population by means of some suitable scheme of Muslim colonization, spread over a period of ten years.

5. All the other Indian States governed by Muslim rulers—Bhopal, Rampur, Bahawalpur, Khairpur, Junagadh and the Baluchi states should also constitute Muslim confederated states enjoying sovereign rights and the right of augmenting the strength of their Muslim population by some suitable means of Muslim immigration

from adjoining non-Muslim areas. The larger Muslim Indian states will join the confederation in their individual rights, whereas the smaller ones will group themselves together for purposes of representation at the Centre, though individually enjoying autonomous existence in internal matters.

HINDU CONFEDERATED STATES

The rest of the country will be composed of Hindu confederated sovereign states formed on linguistic or any other basis as the Hindus may decide between themselves. The Indian States governed by Hindu rulers will be regarded as Hindu States. The larger Hindu Indian states will join the confederation in their individual rights, whereas the smaller ones will coalesce with a contiguous larger Hindu confederated states for purposes of representation on the central legislature, or in convenient groups of their own while retaining their internal autonomy.

RELATIONS BETWEEN CONFEDERATED UNITS AND THE FEDERAL CENTRE

1. The confederated units will be fully autonomous. All the residuary powers will vest in them.

2. The central list of subjects will be limited to the barest minimum, such as [a] foreign political relations, (b) foreign commerce and (c) defence, etc., subject to the following provisos in respect of defence:

DEFENCE

a. Each confederated state will maintain an army at its own expense, the strength of which will be dependent on the importance of its strategic position. In normal times, the military force in each state will be controlled by its own military department and supervised by the Centre. But in times of common danger to the whole country, the Centre will direct military operations. In so far as the north-west bloc or state is concerned, it will have the right to enlist forces according to its needs from its own population, the Sikh and Hindu quota not to exceed their proportion in the total population of the state.

b. The Navy will be entirely under the control of the Centre subject to such concessions as the Coastal States might need. The confederated states will contribute to the maintenance of the Navy.

c. The federal finance will consist of the resources available to

the Centre in respect of the subjects assigned to it plus specific contributions from confederated states.

RELATIONS BETWEEN CONTIGUOUS CONFEDERATED UNITS REGIONAL BOARDS

There may be subjects of cultural and economic importance common to contiguous confederated units enjoying common cultural affinities; and it will be found useful to have for them regional or zonal collaborative boards to evolve common politics, leaving the individual units to legislate in the light of the common policies so evolved.

These boards may be formed after careful investigation into cultural and economic interests common to contiguous units.

SAFEGUARDS FOR MINORITIES, MUSLIMS OR HINDUS OR ANY OTHER

The undermentioned safeguards for [the] minorities shall be incorporated in the constitution. These safeguards shall be in operation till the confederated states become culturally homogenous, through voluntary and even compulsory inter-migration, wherever necessary.

A. Legislation

All subjects touching [on] the religion, personal law and culture of the Hindu or Muslim minorities in any confederated state shall be the exclusive concern of the Muslim or Hindu members of the legislature concerned, constituted into a special committee for the purpose. The decisions of such a committee should be accepted by the whole legislature. If such decisions, should they seem to affect the interests of others, might, on reference made by the head of the administration, be reviewed by the legislature as a whole, but no amendments shall be permissible which should affect the basis of the proposed legislative enactment.

If, for any special object, the Muslims or Hindus or any others are willing to tax themselves, the necessary legislation shall be passed.

B. Representation on Legislatures

1. The Hindus and [the] Muslims wherever they are in minority, as well as other minorities, shall be allowed the option of being returned to the legislatures of confederated states through their own electorates.

2. In every confederated state where the Muslims or the Hindus are numerically less than 25 per cent of the population, they shall have an adequate weightage in representation on the legislature.

3. In the Central Legislature, the Muslims, in view of their major share in the defence of India which is the main function of the Centre, shall have half the seats reserved for them. The Muslim members shall be elected by the Muslim members of the legislatures of the confederated states.

C. Executive

1. The Executive in each confederated state should be composite in character, the head of the Cabinet having, in the interests of efficient administration, the power to select some of his colleagues even from outside the legislature who may be regarded by him as specially qualified by their experience and knowledge for particular portfolios. Such members of the Executive shall be ex-officio members of the legislature. Representatives of the Muslim and Hindu minorities shall be selected by the head of the Cabinet from a panel suggested by the leader of the Muslim or Hindu minority in the legislature. The panel may include names of persons outside the legislature.

2. In the Central Executive, the Muslims must have half the seats because it is they who will be mainly responsible for the defence of India on the north-west and the north-east, and because defence will be the chief function of the Centre.

3. In case of the portfolios affecting law and order and education which have to deal with problems over which cultural differences arise, provision should be made in every confederated state to have a minister and an assistant minister and to appoint a Muslim or Hindu who might be in the minority to either of the two posts, in order that Government might have the benefit of his steadying influence.

D. Public Services

It should be provided in the constitution that in all the confederated states where the Muslims or the Hindus are in minority, at least one of the members of the Public Service Commission should be from the minority, part of whose duty shall be to see that the ratio fixed for his people in public services is properly adhered to in practice by the Government concerned.

E. Board of Education and Economic Uplift

It should be provided in the constitution that in each unit an educational board should be established to control and supervise the cultural side of the education of Muslims and Hindus, whoever might form the minority in the state, and also their technical and

industrial training, and to devise measures for their economic and social uplift. For this purpose, a proper budgetary provision shall be made. Similar provision shall also be made for other minorities, e.g. Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians and the Depressed Classes.

VOLUNTARY INTER-MIGRATION

One of the objects of the constitution shall be to facilitate and prepare the ground for inter-migration of the Muslims and the Hindus into their several states so as to develop them into culturally homogenous states. At first, migration should be on voluntary basis. For this, necessary legislation shall be passed in each state in collaboration with the adjoining states, and a machinery set up to organize and regulate this voluntary inter-migration and assign compensation for the migrants. (*vide* Dr. Latif's reply to Dr. Rajendra Prasad on the subject of compensation, item No. 5 attached herewith).[1]

The result of the voluntary migration may be reviewed from time to time and if it should [*sic*] be found that it has eliminated the cultural clashes between the Muslims and the Hindus to an appreciable extent and given them a sense of security wherever they needed it, or has brought about a change of heart in either camp, the question of compulsory migration may be put off indefinitely and the voluntary method adhered to.

[1]Annexure.

Annexure to Enclosure to No. 261

F. 370/58-9

Extracts from the Correspondence between Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Dr. Latif

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD'S QUERY

5. Another question which has not been, as far as I am able to see, discussed is the question of cost of transfer of population. In framing the scheme, you must have taken all this into consideration and I should like to be enlightened on the estimated cost of transfer. Other questions, which arise in this connection are:

a. Is the emigrant to be paid anything beyond the cost of transport? It is assumed that he will carry with him all his moveables and will be provided with land in the bloc to which he is transferred. Will he be compensated for the immovables, which he will leave behind?
b. Who will pay the cost? The bloc to which he is transferred or

the bloc from which he goes or both and if the last in what proportion?

DR. S. A. LATIF'S ANSWER

Item 5—Cost of Transfer of Population

This is again a matter of detail which will have to be worked out by the commission or the committee to be [*sic*]. I may recommend to you the Report of *Commission Mixte Pour L 'Exchange Des Populations Crecques Et Turques* 1923, for general guidance. It will give you an idea as to the nature and extent of compensation which will have to be given to migrants for property in all forms left behind by them. It is not necessary that the migrant should carry with him all his moveables. Heavy moveables such as furniture and cattle may easily be disposed of by him before making a move. This compensation will be permissible only in respect of the immoveables such as land and houses, or any legal rights thereto in any form. In respect of such property, committees jointly approved by the governments involved will have to be appointed for each village and town and registers prepared of the different properties with their valuation assessed. The registers of such properties in the blocs concerned will be made accessible to all those affected by the exchange. An agriculturist, for instance, leaving a particular bloc will know what plots of the value of his own left behind are available on the other side. Before migrating, he will be given a chance to make his own selection and register his name for the land preferred in a certain order. And for making his choice in person, a period of one year will be given to him to visit the place he would like to settle and to register his name for any particular plot of ground he would choose for himself. The bare expenses of his journey to and fro will be met from a common fund pooled on the strength of a special taxation by the governments of the two areas concerned. The evacuation will proceed piecemeal, village by village; so much so that the process for any single bloc might even be spread over ten years or even a longer period. While leaving, each migrant would get from his former government a statement to the effect that he was leaving behind property worth so much and in such and such form. The statement or certificate will entitle him on the other side from his new government, either the amount in cash or equivalent property as might be decided upon by the migrant.

This in a rough way will be the arrangement to be followed in effecting inter-migration and apportionment of compensation.

262

Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 242/17-9

OAKOVER,
NAINI TAL,
30 May 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your last statement[1] in which you have asked the British Government to trust the leadership of the Muslim League and they would not fail them, I am sure, will have a very good effect. I have not been able to find out its reaction on the British mind as it appeared in the papers only yesterday, but I feel that you have given them a very good opportunity and a very clear lead for winning over unanimous Muslim support for the War.

Last evening, I had a talk with the Governor of U.P.[2] who is thinking of starting a War Board in the Province for doing war work as everybody feels that enough is not being done for the successful prosecution of war in this Province. I told him that I would ask your opinion before I join the War Board, and through this letter I would like you to let me know whether you have any objection to my joining the Provincial War Board now. My personal feelings are that the psychological moment has come when [the] Muslims may be able to win over Britishers to their side if we co-operate with them now.

I wonder whether you have seen the statement of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru from Lahore. One portion of that statement is full of great significance, and I quote it from the paper as I think it can be used with advantage. I am issuing a statement today pointedly referring to this statement of Jawaharlal Nehru and supporting your statement. The portion of Pandit Nehru's statement is as follows:

> Proposals have been made that the Congress should help the British authorities in maintaining peace under these circumstances. While the Congress has always desired a peaceful transition and wants to avoid internal disturbances, it cannot possibly become a handmaiden of the British Government, helping it to preserve its domination. In its own way it will, no doubt, in co-operation with other Indian groups, try to prevent internal disturbances.
>
> The main sanction behind the Congress, added Pandit Nehru, is the moral sanction and the sympathy of millions who look up to it and

follow its lead. That sanction would disappear if we weakened in our opposition to imperialism and became the agents of that imperialism, even for the maintenance of peace and order.

This statement has made it quite clear that, if Congress leadership is going to co-operate with the Britishers, they will lose their hold on the following which they possess now and, therefore, in no case they can be a source of help to the British Government. If this point is rubbed into the British people it will have a healthy effect on their mentality.

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD SAID

[1]See Enclosure to No. 249.
[2]Sir Maurice Hallett.

263

P. Balasubramanya Mudaliar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1084/15-6

MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS,
30 May 1940

Esteemed leader,

Many many thanks for your kind message[1] of good wishes sent to the *Sunday Observer*. The *Sunday Observer* will always be ready to serve the cause in which you are interested. Its services are at your disposal and you can make use of the *Sunday Observer* in any manner you think proper. I would have published your speech on Pakistan Scheme, which is an excellent one, this week, but for the fact that there is pressure on space. I shall, however, publish it next week. Whenever there is a special article or speech from you on Pakistan Scheme or on any other important topic, you may kindly remember the *Sunday Observer*.

I do not know how you feel about Lord Linlithgow accepting the bust of Mr. Gandhi. As far as we are concerned, we feel that the action of Lord Linlithgow is one of the greatest blunders, particularly at this juncture. Lord Linlithgow may be an excellent peacetime Viceroy who might develop the agricultural resources of India in an admirable manner. He may also be a very useful Viceroy in stud-bull breeding in India, but I do not think he fits in the Viceregal

Lodge in war-time. This view of mine is shared by many in this Province. Would it be possible for you to draw the attention of Lord Linlithgow to his unwise act so that he may not repeat such blunders.

With best regards,

Obediently yours,
BALASUBRAMANYA MUDALIAR
Editor, Sunday Observer

[1]Not traceable.

264

M. A. Jinnah to Secretary, Nagapatam Conference

F. 873/349

MATHERAN,
30 May 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th instant[1] and thank you for it.

You are perfectly right when you say that I should have visited Southern India, and that I have devoted most of my time to the North. Let me assure you that it is not because of their proximity but it is due to our essential requirements which compelled at present to concentrate more on the North. I have often tried to visit the South but it means at least two to three weeks if I come there, and it is very difficult for me to do so at present owing to my previous commitments and uncertainty of the present situation.

I hope that Hon'ble Fazlul Huq will be able to spare some time to preside over your proposed conference in the last week of June but I am sorry to say and to disappoint you in saying so that it is difficult for me to come to the South at any rate in the immediate near future.

I wish you every success in your efforts,

Yours truly,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.

265

M. A. Jinnah to Jamilud Din Ahmad

F. 199/13

MATHERAN,
30 May 1940

Dear Mr. Jamilud Din,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 22nd May.[1]

As regards the economic side of our Lahore Resolution proposals, I think you might get in touch with Sir Nazimuddin so far as Bengal is concerned and with Malik Barkat Ali and Nawab of Mamdot regarding Punjab. I cannot think of anybody else at present.

As regards your suggestion of holding a meeting of the Working Committee at Aligarh, I shall bear that in mind and see what can be done.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 234.

266

M. A. Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad

F. 395/1

MATHERAN,
30 May 1940

Your Exalted Highness,

I have received your letter of the 20th May 1940,[1] and I thank you for it.

I beg to reassure you that we shall stand whole-heartedly by Hyderabad and your dynasty. I have already expressed my views before Your Exalted Highness when I had the honour and privilege of an interview with you. I need hardly say that I am very glad indeed that Your Exalted Highness proposes to keep me informed of all the happenings in Hyderabad from time to time.

I also received a confidential note[2] sent to me by Your Exalted

Highness and let me say that you will not find the Muslim League wanting and will come to the rescue of Hyderabad if any harm is likely to be done to Your Exalted Highness or to your dynasty and the Musalmans. We shall not fail as we fully appreciate the position.

I thank you very much in conclusion for the confidence and trust that you have been good enough to place in us and, God willing, we shall prove ourselves worthy of it.

With my very best regards and all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

H.E.H. The Nizam of Hyderabad

[1-2]Not traceable.

267

M. A. Jinnah to Sayed Mohammad

F. 873/352

MATHERAN,
31 May 1940

Dear Sir,

I am sending herewith a copy of my letter addressed to Mr. M. I. Hasan, MLA, in reply to him,[1] and having regard to the representation made to me when I was on my tour in Rohilkhand. I am also enclosing a copy of the letter[2] that I received from the Private Secretary of the Viceroy in response to my having moved him in the matter.

I gather that the only point objected to was the purchase of a lorry for this force. I should be able to know who this Khan Bahadur Sheikh Sayed Mohammad of Sheikhupur is,[3] and whether he had any authority to represent the Musalmans of Budaun.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The President,
District Muslim League,
Budaun

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 247.
[3]No. 292.

Enclosure to No. 267

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Iqtedaruddin Hasan

F. 276/3

MATHERAN,
31 May 1940

Dear Mr. Hasan,

I received your letter of the 12th April,[1] and also during my Rohilkhand tour various representations have been made to me with regard to the position of the Budaun punitive tax. Since then I have received further information from various reliable sources. I represented the matter to the Viceroy as a result of which I have received a letter from his Private Secretary, a copy of which is enclosed herewith.[2]

It seems to me that one Khan Bahadur Sheikh Sayed Mohammad of Sheikhupur on the 22nd May only raised the point that the purchase of a lorry for this force is unjustifiable. I wonder if this is correct. Who is this Khan Bahadur? Please let me know.[3]

Yours truly,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 247.
[3]See No. 337.

268

M. A. Jinnah to Arthur Moore

F. 499/5

MATHERAN,
31 May 1940

Dear Mr. Moore,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 26th May,[1] and I agree with a great deal what you say in your letter. It is difficult for me to understand how your scheme can meet with success without the active co-operation of the Government of India. My complaint is that the Govt. of India have no policy and are unable to make up their mind to formulate a policy and, to use your own words, "hence precious time is being wasted".

However, I will place the matter before the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, which is going to meet on or before the 15th of June, and will ascertain their views in the matter, and see if anything can be done to promote your scheme.

I am sending this letter to your Simla address as requested by you in your wire[2] I received this morning.

Yours truly,
M. A. JINNAH

Arthur Moore, Esq.,
[Editor, The *Statesman*]

[1]No. 244.
[2]See F. 499/6, *QAP*. Not printed.

269

M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 335/78

MATHERAN,
31 May 1940

My dear Liaquat,

I received your wire[1] in reply to mine[2] informing me that you have notified the meeting of the Working Committee which has been fixed for the 15th June at Bombay. Of course you will stay with me.

I have nothing fresh to communicate to you [other] than what has been appearing in the press, and I hope your attention must have already been drawn to the interview[3] that I gave to the representative of the *Times of India*, Bombay, my message[4] to the Bombay Presidency Muslim League Conference at Hubli, and my last statement[5] regarding the Viceroy's appeal[6] and Mr. Amery's statement,[7] and that is where we stand.

Hoping you are well [and] with kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]F. 335/77, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 15-20.
[4]Ibid., 21-5.
[5]Enclosure to No. 249.
[6&7]Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 28.

270

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan

F. 383/38

MATHERAN,
31 May 1940

My dear Amir,

I was really sorry that you were called away to Lucknow so soon. I do hope that your mother is well by now, and that you will be returning to Bombay soon.

I am writing to Sir Currimbhoy and really cannot see any reason why you should not start enrolling volunteers in the U.P. In fact it is absolutely necessary to do so. Similarly, if Sir Currimbhoy will undertake the doing [*sic*] here in Bombay, I see no objection to it.

I am going to write to him.

Hoping you are well, [and] with my love,

Yours affectionately,
M. A. JINNAH

271

Sikander Hyat Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 21/1-3

THE BOUNDARY,
SIMLA E.,
31 May 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thanks for your letter of 27th May.[1] You can of course in your position as leader of a political party afford to bide your time regarding the international situation and its repercussions; but you will no doubt appreciate that it is impossible for me in my present position to avoid making pronouncements from time to time in regard to the war situation. As I said in my statement,[2] it is difficult to appreciate the situation from newspaper reports or news on the radio; but even these are sufficient to indicate the gravity of the situation. The

internal situation is also causing a great deal of anxiety to those who are entrusted with the difficult and onerous task of maintaining peace and tranquillity in the country. Apart from other existing, as well as potential, elements of disorder, the serious menace of "Fifth Column" activities and "Quislings" will have to be contended with. But, of course, these things do not appear in the papers and consequently I do not blame you and other leaders for not worrying about them. The statement which I issued consisted of two parts—one relating to the war regarding which there can be no objection from your point of view, and the second about a possible agency for settling the internal political differences. In this latter part, I did no more than repeat what you had already said in your statements and suggested a meeting between Mr. Gandhi and yourself followed by a bigger meeting. My statement does not in any way anticipate any final decision of the Working Committee. In fact, it contains no more than a suggestion which the Working Committee will be at liberty to consider if they so desire. I enclose a copy of my statement in case you have seen only the mutilated version sent by the Associated Press.

I wish your statement had given a clear lead at this juncture. The rapid and serious developments in the European situation might soon make it unnecessary for you or anybody else to make any declaration at all; and, in any case, a declaration later on would not have the same value as today. However, it is no use arguing over the matter because you are in a better position to judge what is the right course for you to adopt as President of the Muslim League. I merely ventured to make a suggestion in the hope that it might give you an indication of the real situation and thus enable you to avail [yourself] of the opportunity to give a lead to India as a whole.

Yours sincerely,
S. HYAT KHAN

[1]No. 245.
[2]See F. 21/4, *QAP*. Not printed.

272

M. A. Jinnah to Said Mohammad Khan

F. 834/111

1 June 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 29th May,[1] and thank you for it. We are fully alive to the situation.

I am afraid your answer to the question—what is the Muslim League expected to do immediately—has not taken into consideration the attitude of the British Government towards the Muslim League. I want you to read my statement more carefully and examine the position of Muslim India vis-a-vis both the British Government and the Hindu Congress and ourselves [*sic*], to say nothing of the Indian Princes.

I should ask you to let me know what is your concrete proposal instead of saying, "I feel that a more detailed picture is due to you and, therefore, proceed to offer it". Offer what, and to whom?

Have you not realised that the British Government has been marking time and has been waiting for Mr. Gandhi to pass his word. However, I shall be glad if you can suggest anything. It will receive my close attention.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Major Said Mohammad Khan,
Hamidia Bagh,
Khurja

[1]No. 254.

273

M. A. Jinnah to Currimbhoy Ebrahim

F. 259/1

MATHERAN,
1 June 1940

Dear Sir Currimbhoy,

Thanks for your letter of the 25th May 1940.[1] I quite agree with you and the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad. There is nothing to prevent

you from forming the National Guards. In fact, that has been more than once emphasized and many times committees had been appointed to chalk out the programmes, but the thing is yet to be materialized. But there is nothing to prevent you from forming the National Guards in our Presidency, if you undertake the job.

From this corps we may be able to obtain suitable men for the realization of the other scheme, to which it might be a stepping stone.

Hoping you are well, [and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.

274

Mohamed Din Malak to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/364

HAVELI KUMEDAN,
LAHORE,
3 June 1940

Dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

About your press statement of the 28th [27th] May,[1] allow me kindly to express my sincerest gratitude for the prompt action taken on my open letter of the 24th May.[2] Mahatma Gandhi had to follow your lead almost immediately in his statement of the 1st instant. By this very opportune and statesmanlike move you have not only rushed the hands of the Mahatma but have also added enormously to the prestige of the League.

The Muslim public must feel very much relieved now that it can confidently look forward to a fuller measure of co-operation between the Muslim ministries and the League. I can affirm from personal knowledge that the Punjab Muslims gratefully appreciate your action.

May God spare you long to take care of Muslim interests, is the heartfelt prayer of

Yours most sincerely,
MOHAMED DIN MALAK
Bar-at-Law

[1]See Enclosure to No. 249.
[2]Not traceable.

275

Roger Lumley to M. A. Jinnah

F. 21/5

PRIVATE AND PERSONAL

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
BOMBAY,
3 June 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hear that you are in Matheran and I wonder if I can persuade you to come down to Bombay and see me on Wednesday any time to suit your convenience—twelve noon would suit me as well as any other time.

I want to tell you my plans for intensifying the war effort in this Province. I shall do my best to persuade you to encourage your people to play a part in them and I shall ask for your advice on a number of matters.

Having had to interrupt my own holiday, I am all the time reluctant to interrupt anyone else's and I hope that it will not be a great inconvenience for you to come down.

Yours sincerely,
ROGER LUMLEY
Governor of Bombay

276

M. A. Jinnah to Roger Lumley

F. 498/51

PRIVATE/PERSONAL

MATHERAN,
3 June 1940

My dear Sir Roger,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 3rd June 1940.[1]

My own view is that a policy of co-operation between the Government and the Muslim League can only be formulated in a manner satisfactory to both on an all-India basis and not province-wise. But, nevertheless, I would have willingly come down to Bombay to discuss the matter mentioned in your letter on Wednesday next as

desired by you in your letter, but for the fact that I have undertaken certain work of public nature which I [shall] rather not have interrupted and finish before I leave Matheran.

I am coming to Bombay on Monday the 10th and I hope that a few days' delay would not make any difference.

On my arrival, I will ring up your Private Secretary and fix up the time suitable to you.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Roger Lumley,
Governor, Bombay

[1]No. 275.

277

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 199/14-15

FAIRY COTTAGE,
NAINI TAL,
4 June 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your very kind letter.[1] I am writing to Sir Nazimuddin and the Nawab of Mamdot for the information required in regard to the economic aspect of the Lahore Resolution. I hope soon to receive typed copies of the article I have written on the Resolution and shall send you a copy.

I am glad to be able to inform you that our candidates have captured all the twelve seats in the recent elections to the Muslim University Court on behalf of the registered graduates constituency. Our success has been cent per cent. All the candidates elected are active Muslim Leaguers or have strong Muslim League sympathies. The Congressite candidates, including the traitor Hafiz Ibrahim, ex-Minister [of UP], have been completely routed. We propose to continue our efforts to bring the right sort of men into the Court and purge it of anti-Islamic elements.

A meeting of your Working Committee, I understand, comes off on the 15th. Of course, you will discuss many important matters. May I respectfully make one or two suggestions? We have really

reached a very critical stage and very heavy responsibilities are now going to devolve on the Muslim League. The League will be the only body to ensure internal security to [the] Muslims in the event of any disturbances which are not quite outside the range of purview [*sic*]. Moreover, the District and Primary Muslim Leagues must have a few clear-cut and useful items of programme to keep them busy. Two or three definite items will do. I, therefore, suggest that after careful consideration of the report of the National Guards Committee, definite and detailed instructions should be issued to all the Provincial, District and Primary Leagues to make special efforts to raise defence corps and to be prepared for any and every eventuality. Secondly, local Leagues should concentrate on spreading literacy among both adults and children, creating greater political consciousness among the masses by opening reading rooms and arranging for the broadcast of correct news and Muslim League's views, and promoting physical culture by opening *akharas* and *binnaut* clubs. Thirdly, every effort should be made to improve the economic condition of Muslim masses and to strengthen the finances of the local Muslim Leagues as far as local circumstances permit. The Provincial Leagues should be directed to bestir themselves and keep a constant watch on the activities of the subordinate Leagues, and any League which is guilty of inaction should be severely dealt with. At least ten per cent of the population of every province should be enrolled to the membership of the League. This is most important. A definite instruction to this effect be issued to every Provincial League to complete the enrolment within the next six months.

There is no time to be lost. It is a question of now or never. The organization and preparations of local Leagues should be completely consolidated as speedily as possible. I beg to suggest that members of the All India Working Committee and Provincial Working Committees be asked to undertake tours in their respective areas to educate Muslim opinion and arouse the Muslims to action.

Apologising for the length of this letter and hoping that you will get the Working Committee to consider these few points.[2]

With best regards,

Yours very sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]No. 265.

[2]Jinnah thanked him for his suggestions and congratulated him on the League landslide victory in the elections to the Muslim University Court. See F.199/16, *QAP*. Not printed.

278

M. A. Jinnah to P. Balasubramanya Mudaliar

F. 183/36

MATHERAN,
4 June 1940

Dear Mr. Mudaliar,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th May.[1] I thank you for your courtesy and kindness to place your paper at the disposal of the Muslim League, and offering to publish all important matters concerning the League. I shall see that we avail ourselves of the hospitality of the columns of your paper, the *Sunday Observer*.

Please let me have the full proceedings of your conference on 2nd June, and the new map which is going to be opened by Mr. Ramaswami Naykar.[2]

As regards other matters in your letter I am thankful to you for drawing my attention to the various points and they will, I am sure, receive my attention.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 263.
[2]*Periyar* (Sage) E. V. Ramaswami Naicker, 1880-1974, leader of South India's (non-Brahmin) Justice Party, which demanded "Dravidistan".

279

M. A. Jinnah to Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari

F. 242/31

MATHERAN,
4 June 1940

Dear Nawab Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter of the 30th May,[1] and I am glad that you approve of my last statement.

With regard to your further enquiries, in my judgement the understanding can only be arrived at between the Muslim League and the British Government on an all-India basis and not province-wise.

However, the [Muslim League] Working Committee is meeting on the 15th June, when the position will be considered thoroughly.
I hope till then none of the leaders will make any commitments.
With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 262.

280

M. A. Jinnah to Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman

F. 364/11

MATHERAN,
4 June 1940

My dear Khaliq,
Many thanks for your letter of the 25th May 1940.[1]
I have issued the statement which you must have read by now. I cannot add anything more at present to that statement, nor have I any further information except that it is possible that the Governors may try some efforts province-wise, but we must guard against this. The Muslim League, in my judgment, can only come to an understanding on an all-India basis. However, we shall examine the whole situation on the 15th, when the Working Committee meets in Bombay.
Yes, I am benefitted by my rest and change.
Hoping you are well; [and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 243.

281

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Saeed Hayat

F. 873/365-6

4 June 1940

Dear Sir,
I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th May 1940.[1]
In the first instance I hope you will understand that, as the

President of the All India Muslim League, I have no power to deal with the dispute referred to in your letter that has arisen, and normally the matter can only be dealt with by the executive of the Provincial Muslim League, and thereafter an appeal to the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League can be made. But I happened to see Mr. Siddique Ali Khan after I read your letter, and I can only offer my advice to you all that at this juncture every Muslim Leaguer should try to minimise the differences and create harmony and unity amongst ourselves. You must observe the spirit of forgive and forget and I am sure that if you will put yourselves together in that spirit, you will observe and maintain unity, resolve to lessen the differences and work together, forgiving and forgetting the past. I, therefore, request you, as I have requested Mr. Siddique Ali Khan, that you should meet as friends and close your differences rather than pursue the course which is of course open to you to take the matter before the executive of the Provincial Muslim League, and failing to get satisfaction, you have a right to appeal to the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

I was very pleased to read your and your co-signatories' assurance that you will remain true Muslim Leaguers and shall not hesitate to give your life if it is required for the achievement of the Muslim League's aims and objects.

I hope in that spirit you will be able successfully to restore harmony and co-operation amongst all of you.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.

282

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 305/44

CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
5 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for thinking of me. I am alive and very busy with Corporation affairs. I have been elected leader of the Muslim League party in the Corporation,[1] and this job means much hard

work. So far, the League-Bose Pact is working satisfactorily. I have gained much and lost nothing. Let us see how long we shall be able to continue our good work together.

I am leaving for Darjeeling tonight. I require a week's rest.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN ISPAHANI

[1]Jinnah congratulated him on his election as leader of the Muslim League party in the Calcutta Municipal Corporation. See F. 305/45, *QAP*. Not printed.

283

Said Mohammad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/368-72

HAMIDIA BAGH,
KHURJA, (U.P.),
5 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have received your letter of the 1st June[1] for which I am deeply grateful.

I am afraid that you have not had an opportunity to read my brochure—*A Word to the Muslim League*—and that my earlier inference that your press statement of the 28th [27th] May[2] was very closely linked up with the eager appeal, which accompanied that pamphlet, does not represent a faithful reading of the situation.

This view is supported not only by the absence of a reference in your letter to that pamphlet but also further confirmed by the fact that the main point which I had endeavoured to emphasise in that appeal has remained wholly untackled.

I, therefore, repeat what I have already said and which is as follows:

> The Muslim League, however, is not expected to take a detached view of things and think of the Musalmans of India alone but to think and act in a manner that would leave no doubt that the Musalmans of the entire world, whatever the country that they may hail from, form a solid compact body and are capable, whenever occasion demands, of standing shoulder to shoulder.

As your letter gives prominence only to that phase of the Muslim League obligations which is circumscribed to this sub-continent alone, and overlooks such ultra [*sic* for trans] territorial golden chains as to

keep the Indian Muslims attached inseparably to their brothers in faith far away. I feel that I should present my brochure to you once again and am doing so with this letter.

If a perusal of that pamphlet leaves any point that you would still wish me to elucidate I shall not only do so most readily but also consider it a privilege.

Yours sincerely,
SAID MOHAMMAD KHAN
Major

[1]No. 272.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 249.

284

Abdulkader Moosa Lakhani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/373-5

BHAVNAGAR,
5 June 1940

Dear Sir,

You are already in the know of things at Bhavnagar. The riot case appeal is still going on.

At the time of *Parishad* last year (May 1939), Bhavnagar State was going to declare some changes in the State constitution, but unfortunately the riot broke out and the State postponed them. At present, I have heard from reliable sources that the State has prepared a draft of what changes it proposes to introduce in the State constitution. Mr. Nanabhai Bhatt, who is a disciple of Mr. Gandhi and who took part in the negotiations between the Rajkot State and the Congress last year, has gone to Wardha on 31.5.40 to show the draft to Mr. Gandhi and get it approved. I think, at this stage, Mr. Gandhi will accept anything. So after Gandhi's approval, the State will publish it in the official gazette.

From what I have been able to gather from various leading men of the place and from the discussions I had last year (before the riot) with Mr. Patni, the *Dewan* of Bhavnagar, I imagine the reforms to be on the lines of Baroda reforms. They will, in case [*sic*], fall far short of even Baroda reforms. But one thing is certain. There will not be anything like separate electorates or separate reserved seats etc.

for the Musalmans. Under the circumstances, I am writing this letter for your advice on the point. Supposing our apprehensions come true and the Muslims as a community are neglected totally in the coming reforms, what should we do? Should we declare non-cooperation like Baroda Muslims? Please let me know your advice on the point at your earliest convenience. I know you are at present too busy to mind such matters, and a detailed letter would annoy you. So I have tried to be as brief as possible. I hope you will kindly consider the matter and advise the Musalmans of Bhavnagar State and give us the line of attitude [*sic*] to be adopted.

Hoping to be excused for the trouble,

I beg to remain,
dear Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
A. M. LAKHANI
Pleader

285

Begum Aizaz Rasul to M. A. Jinnah

F. 428/1-2

HOTEL METROPOLE,
NAINI TAL,
5 June 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

A war-helping committee is going to be formed in the U.P., and I have received a letter from His Excellency the Governor, offering me a seat on it. As I am a member of the Muslim League, I wish to have your advice[1] on the question. Personally I am strongly of the opinion that we should work on the committee. When we are helping the British Government in those provinces where we are in a majority, when War Boards are working with Muslim League members in the Punjab and other provinces, I see no reason why that principle should be reversed in the case of those living in the U. P. where, if anything, we are more in need of help from the British than people in the Punjab and Bengal. I know that all non-Congress Hindus and Hindu Mahasabhaites are going to join.

As I have to give an early reply to H. E. the Governor, I shall be

grateful if you will let me have your reply by wire on the above address.

With best wishes from my husband and myself to you and Miss Jinnah,

Yours sincerely,
BEGUM AIZAZ RASUL

[1]No. 317.

286

Sayyed Ali Muhummed Rashdi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 427/1-2

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
5 June 1940

Sir,

You are aware that in the Lahore session [of the Muslim League] it was decided that for the new year the personnel of the Foreign Committee should be selected by the Working Committee. Since then there has been no meeting of the Working Committee, and as we did not know that we would be selected a second time and as we did not like to embarrass our successors by embarking upon any new policies meanwhile, there has been considerable dislocation of foreign propaganda work, although I have sent a considerable volume of literature in the shape of pamphlets, newspaper articles, etc., to England and America against the so-called Delhi Azad Conference. But you can imagine my difficulties without knowing as to who are going to succeed us. At present, the personnel are:

Sir Abdoola Haroon (Chairman)
Nawab Sahib Mamdot
Aurangzeb Khan
Raja [of] Mahmudabad

In exercise of the power of co-option, the Committee co-opted the following gentlemen:

Ali Muhummed Rashdi (Secretary and member)
Moulana Ghulam Rasul Mehar, Editor, *Inqilab,* [Lahore]
Chaudhury Akhtar Hussain, MLC of Lucknow
Professor Abdul Sattar Kheiri of Aligarh

Dr. Sayed Abdul Lateef

Out of these members, Raja of Mahmudabad has never attended a meeting of the Committee. The others have not missed even a single meeting.

I am now told that there is going to be a meeting of the Working Committee soon. If that is so, I shall be grateful if you kindly determine the personnel of the new Committee so that we are free from suspense.

I am at present busy with the [Masjid Manzilgah] Sukkur affair. The movement on this side is progressing satisfactorily in the face of serious difficulties.

With respects,

Very respectfully yours,
SAYYED ALI MUHUMMED H. RASHDI

287

Resolutions Passed by the Budaun City Muslim League

F. 825/58-9

BUDAUN,
5 June 1940

RESOLUTIONS

1. That the Musalmans of Budaun City had at no time agreed to the retention of the present punitive tax on the Musalmans of Budaun City; and that we the representatives and the Muslim citizens of Budaun City have been consistently protesting against any punitive tax or any portion thereof and have been endeavouring hard for its entire remission. Our latest resolution of 4th April 1940, passed at the public meeting held under the auspices of the City Muslim League, copies of which were sent to and acknowledged by the District Magistrate of Budaun and the Chief Secretary to Government, U.P., is a clear indication of our protest against the present punitive tax and of our endeavour for its entire remission.

2. That we had never communicated through any source our willingness to the remission of any particular item or portion of the tax and for the retention of the rest.

3. That, however, does not mean that we are ungrateful to the present government and the present district authorities for whatever justice [that] has been or may be done to us in future in the matter of

the punitive tax. When the present government was pleased to reduce the tax, we promptly sent our thanks to the government by means of our resolution dated 8.1.40. In that resolution also we asked for the remission of the remaining tax which we still characterise as unjust.

4. That though we gratefully appreciate the efforts made by several people, both of the City Muslim League and others, for pressing our demand for the remission of the entire tax, we hereby authorise Mr. Mohammad Iqtedaruddin Hasan, our President of the City Muslim League and our representative in the Provincial Legislature, to represent our case to the government and to the local authorities in the manner which he considers best with a view to pressing our demand for the remission of the entire tax. Mr. Hasan had also previously represented our case to the government as a result of which the government was pleased to reduce the tax. We make Mr. Hasan our sole representative for the aforesaid purpose.

MUSAWAR ALI KHAN AND OTHERS

288

M. A. Jinnah to H. M. Qasim

F. 412/1

MATHERAN,
6 June 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st inst[ant][1] and thank you for it. Your suggestion will receive my consideration and, if I may [say] so, I am fully alive to many points mentioned in your letter. However, it is up to the people and men like you to take in hand seriously and earnestly the organisation of the League. I should like to know what concrete part you have been playing in your province and what contribution you have made to organis[ing] the League in Peshawar and the North West Frontier Province.

Of course, we want many things and there are many weaknesses and defects and the League organisation is far from being fully mobilised or harnessed. In your province, the Musalmans are not even able to take the fullest advantage of the present constitution

and set[up] a Muslim League government although you are in a majority of 95%. Do you not think you should build up your own province and not at present be carried away by great actions of all-India character?

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Dr. Qasim had proposed the launch of an all-India Muslim newspaper to acquaint the world with the Indian Muslim viewpoint since there was a relative lack of pro-League propaganda. See F. 873/358-61, *QAP*. Not printed.

289

M. A. Jinnah to M. Akbar Kazmi

F. 1009/75

MATHERAN,
6 June 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th May.[1] If you want to keep in touch with the Muslim League policy and programme you [had] better subscribe to one or two papers such as the *Eastern Times*, Lahore, the *Star of India*, Calcutta, and *Manshoor*, which is an Urdu publication under the supervision of the Central Office of the All India Muslim League, Delhi. Then you will be able to answer all the questions raised by you in your letter.

However, I am sending you a copy of my speech at the session of the All India Muslim League at Lahore[2] and the resolutions passed there, which might give you an idea.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 232.
[2]See No. 154.

290

Begum Aizaz Rasul to M. A. Jinnah

F. 428/3-4

HOTEL METROPOLE,
NAINI TAL, U.P.,
6 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wrote a letter to you yesterday[1] asking your advice about accepting membership of the War Committee offered to me by H.E. the Governor. I addressed the letter to Bombay. I now hear from Nawab Sahib [Ahmad Said Khan] Chhatari that you are in Matheran. I hope my letter will be forwarded to you. I have only one word more to add. You will of course realize that the offer made [to] me to serve on the Committee is in the capacity of representative of the women of this Province and not as belonging to this party or that. I hope you will kindly keep this point in view. Please excuse [me for] the trouble I am giving you.

Yours sincerely,
BEGUM AIZAZ RASUL

[1]No. 285.

291

L. W. Jardine to M. A. Jinnah

F. 497/1-2

REVENUE COMMISSIONER'S HOUSE,
PESHAWAR,
6 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have been talking with Sardar [Mohammad] Aurangzeb Khan[1] of Peshawar, who thinks I should write to you. In days like this, perhaps no apology is needed by me for writing to you although we have never met.

I have a wife and three children besides my mother and other relatives in England, so the present situation in Europe is of real

Jinnah with members of All India Muslim Students Federation at Calcutta, 1937

Jinnah at the venue of All India Muslim League annual session at Patna, 1938

Muslim League leaders at the residence of Mian Bashir Ahmad, Lahore, 1940

Jinnah with students of Muslim University, Aligarh, 1941

Jinnah at London airport with Liaquat and Nehru, 1946

Jinnah with Amin-el-Hussaini and other Palestinian and Egyptian leaders at Cairo, 1946

Jinnah with students at Mamdot Villa, Lahore, 1946

Jinnah with Baluch Sardars at Karachi, 1947

Jinnah and Fatima with some ladies

Jinnah and Fatima

importance to me. I have been thinking over things. I see that the cause of the trouble in Europe is godlessness. Each nation has been thinking of itself. Nations, which suffered in the last war, have spent the past twenty years in preparing to get back what they lost and more. Nations, which did not suffer, have not cared about the sufferings of others. What God wants is that individually and nationally, we should think not of ourselves but of others. We believe this in Europe, especially in England, but as a rule do not practise it. The result is chaos.

I am anxious that this story should not be repeated in India. At the root of it all in Europe, there has been selfishness, distrust and perhaps hate. I see these forces at work in India. What is the remedy?

The answer, I believe, is to put loyalty to God above all national or communal or other loyalties. Loyalty to God means giving, not getting. It means that we must trust others because we trust God. It means that the kingdom of God matters more than any material kingdom. Jesus said, "Seek ye the kingdom of God and all else shall be added unto you."

I cannot say how all this applies to your problems, but I am sure that things are going wrong and getting worse both in Europe and India because individuals and groups of people are not applying to their problems the standards which God has given us by the mouth of His Prophets. I believe there is at this moment a tremendous opportunity for the leaders who are willing to cast aside fear and self-interest and to declare openly their intention to seek to be guided by God in all things. I believe [that] the world is learning that human wisdom is not enough. We have yet to see what could be done by God through one man wholly surrendered to Him.

Yours sincerely,
L. W. JARDINE

[1]Member, All India Muslim League Working Committee.

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Sayed Mohammad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 20/7-9

BUDAUN,
6 June 1940

Dear Sir,

Received your letter dated 31st May 1940,[1] along with other papers. I beg to submit that it is I about whom you have referred to [*sic*] in your letter. I am the President of the District Muslim League, Budaun, for the last one and a half year. The District Muslim League under my presidentship passed various resolutions in protest of [*sic* for against] punitive police tax. Various representations and memorials were submitted to His Excellency the Governor, U.P., and the then Congress Government. The Musalmans were at one time informed by the Government that it was not prepared to reconsider their case. After the resignation of the Congress Government, the matter was again moved and the present Government being convinced of the innocence of the Musalmans withdrew the additional Police force from Budaun before the expiry of the whole term.

His Excellency Sir Maurice Hallet visited Budaun on 5th March, 1940. During his visit, I had an interview with him and discussed the whole question of punitive tax and also submitted a written statement, duly signed by the members of the Working Committee of the District Muslim League, Budaun, showing the grievances of Budaun Muslims with a request to enquire into the matter and remit the whole tax. A copy of this statement was submitted to you by the Secretary of the District Muslim League when you paid a visit to Bareilly in March last. I had requested His Excellency for a reply to this representation which he had very gladly promised. But when no such reply was received, I sought another interview with him because the District authorities were about to start the realization of the tax. I was granted an interview with His Excellency on the 22nd May, 1940. During our talks, I requested His Excellency the Governor to remit the whole tax as it was unjust and unjustifiable, to which His Excellency replied that he had got the file with him and the matter was under consideration. I also explained to him how unreasonable it was to include the cost of a lorry in the amount of tax although no use of the lorry was occasioned. His Excellency also

asked me to see Mr. Sloan, his Advisor, and this interview was arranged by His Excellency himself. I saw Mr. Sloan immediately afterwards and he heard the whole case patiently but said that he had not received the file as yet. I had made a mention of the lorry simply to show the unreasonableness of the whole matter. This was not the only objection I had raised. I had already submitted a long list of Muslim grievances when I had seen His Excellency last time in March. The interview of the 22nd May was in continuation of the representation submitted to His Excellency the Governor on 5th March, 1940. I never meant to give His Excellency to understand that the Muslims of Budaun were satisfied with the previous decision of the Government.

I hope that you will be satisfied with the above explanation, and in the end I would request you to kindly continue your efforts with the Government of India to redress the grievances of the Musalmans of Budaun.

Faithfully yours,
SAYED MOHAMMAD
K. B.
President,
District Muslim League

[1]No. 267.

293

Ashrafuddin & Azizuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/380-3

SYLHET,
7 June 1940

Dear Sir,

We, the following two members of the Assam Legislative Assembly, sought our election and were returned to the Assembly on independent ticket[s]. We subsequently joined the [Muslim] League party that was formed in the Assembly. We were under the impression that the League ministers at least would work out the League programme to ameliorate the condition of the masses. So, in the formation of the new Saadulla Ministry after the resignation of the Congress Ministry, we all Muslim members lended [*sic*] our support, as it was sought in

the name of your nobleself and in the name of the League; further, it was assured that the names of the selected ministers would be placed before you. We, of course, have no idea whether your goodself was communicated the history of the League ministers and how in the past, some of them, though returned in the name of the League for the office of the ministry, joined the Congress group. However, after the formation of the ministry, when the Assembly was called, to the surprise of all, Sir Mohammad Saadulla as the leader of the House, though President of the Provincial Muslim League, disclaimed to have any connection with the League. He would neither call the ministry as a League nor a League-coalition ministry. To crown all, neither he nor his ministry would ever care to respect the resolutions of the League, passed either in the Provincial or the District League meeting. This the ways of the ministry [*sic*]. Outside the Assembly, the ministry would try to secure the support and help of the Muslims in the name of the League, but in actual work, the ministry is rather centered on self-interest at the cost of public cause.

Now, as to the working of the Muslim League, we may be permitted to point out that in Assam the Muslim League has become a creator of the ministers and its influence is utilized only to safeguard the interest of the ministers at the [cost of] exploitation of the masses. This year, the Provincial Muslim League [meeting] was held in a remote village in Dhubri far from the centre. But no district Muslim League organization was consulted either about the venue or the dates. Office-bearers were chosen from among those ministers who for the sake of ministry trampled with [*sic*] the League principles. It is an irony of fate that without any disciplinary action being taken against them, they are rather honoured with offices of the League.

The organization of the Muslim League of the Province exists only on paper. No substantial work is done by it. An enquiry into the matter would prove these charges.

The All India Muslim League passed a resolution for the removal of the Line System at the instance of Mr. Matin at the last Lucknow conference though it had been in existence for the last many years. Mr. Matin, as the sole representative of the Muslims of Assam, including the immigrants, never raised any voice of protest against the system either in the Assembly or outside. He took up the cause when he entered the Provincial Legislature only to capture [*sic*] the immigrant members to realize his object of being a member in the cabinet. But alas, Mr. Matin once a champion of the revival

of the obnoxious Line System is now silent over the grave issue. Consequently, his immigrant members (followers) tendered their resignation[s] from the ministerial party.

We now leave the matter to you.[1] We shall have no other alternative but to cease connection with the so-called Provincial League if no step is taken.

[1]See No. 305.

Yours sincerely,
ASHRAFUDDIN
MLA
AZIZUDDIN AHMAD
MLA

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/52

NOTE

8 June 1940

In Bihar, in Patna, in Gaya, in Arrah, in Purnea, in short everywhere, we found signs of discord and differences created by the Khaksars in the League ranks. We realized that unless we took courage and struck at the root of the Khaksar menace, the League would sustain a great blow at their hands.

In Calcutta, the Khilafat clique of a few self-seekers has been the greatest obstacle in the path of a thorough [*sic*] organization of the League and the National Guards.

I do hope you will please realize the difficulties of the field workers of the League and dissolve [*sic* for resolve] this problem.

RAGHIB AHSAN

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Sadrul Islam Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 915/10-11

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER'S HOUSE,
GONDA, OUDH,
8 June 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have thoroughly gone through your statements and am fully satisfied with them that they are the true voice of the Muslims of India. And now I am waiting for the final order of action. The League, I believe, is the sole representative body of Musalmans of India, and you are the leader—Quaid-i-Azam.

I am a man of opinion 'to follow blindly, but to be careful in choosing the leader.' We were careful and are confident in the choice of our Quaid-i-Azam. Thus we will work according to your orders and commands till our last breath.

As I came to know that the Working Committee [of the League] is about to think over the present grave situation of India as well as of the world, I earnestly appeal to you for unity among the various sections of the Muslims, such as Shias and Sunnis, and also between the Khaksars and the League. This can be done only by you as I hope from your leadership [*sic*].

If there will be [*sic*] unity among the Khaksars and the League, the Khaksar organization will serve as the militia for Muslim India, as more young Musalmans who are waiting for your orders will join it.

Wish you good luck in solving [*sic*] just and right solution for this position of gravity [*sic*]. Hoping for an early reply.[1] Thanks.

Obediently yours,
SADRUL ISLAM KHAN

[1]Jinnah replied that he would keep his suggestions in mind and do whatever he could in the matter. See F. 873/388, *QAP*. Not printed.

296

Kazi Abdul Quddus to M. A. Jinnah

F. 825/50-1

DIAMOND HARBOUR ROAD,
P. O. ALIPUR,
CALCUTTA,
8 June 1940

Sir,

I have the honour to state that I have been authorized by the members of the All-Bengal Muslim Youngmen's Association to request you to be kind enough to write me your opinion about the undermentioned vital point from the point of view of the principles of the Muslim League at your earliest convenience.

The military authorities have sanctioned an Artillery for Bengal but the Muslim youngmen of this Province are not joining it because neither the Muslim League has passed any resolution about this nor your honour has issued any order for them to follow any definite line regarding this. On the other hand, the local League authorities and the *Azad*, the only local daily Muslim organ, are also practically silent about the Muslim youths' joining this Regiment. Besides these, except [for] Sir A. H. Ghuznavi, no League-minded Muslim member is [*sic* for has been] taken on the Recruitment Committee. As a result of these defects, the Regiment is going to be thoroughly captured by the non-Muslims, and the Muslim youths are practically unable to join it without the order of the League or your honour. May I, therefore, request your honour to be kind enough to write me[1] [your] order and direction about this by return mail, if possible?

Thanking you in anticipation,

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
MOULVI KAZI ABDUL QUDDUS
Secretary,
All-Bengal Muslim Youngmen's Association

[1]Jinnah advised him to consult Raghib Ahsan, Secretary, Calcutta District Muslim League, and, if necessary, Khwaja Nazimuddin and H. S. Suhrawardy. See F. 873/390, *QAP*. Not printed.

297

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/53-6

NAGMATIA HOUSE,
GAYA,
8 June 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am writing this letter from Gaya. I led a deputation of Calcutta Muslim League, consisting of (1) Syed Badruddoja, MLA, (2) Syed Mohammad Osman, M.A., B.L., (3) Haji Mohammad Yousuf, Councillor, Calcutta Corporation, and others to the Bihar Sharif Muslim League Conference, which was held on the 1st and 2nd June, 1940. Maulana Azad Sobhani presided, and in his address supported the Lahore Resolution on partition. In fact, I was instrumental in getting the Maulana for the Conference, which was a grand success. The Congressites tried their level best to mislead the Momins but, thank God, they failed. Mr. Latifur Rahman, MLA, delivered a fine speech and proved that the League stood for every Muslim section. It was attended by all Bihar leaders.

But the greatest success of the Muslim League Conference lied [*sic* for lay] in the fact that due to my persistent propaganda work and political manoeuvring and personal pressure and influence, Khan Bahadur Maulana Mubarak Karim, Superintendent of Islamic Studies (retired), Bihar, the most influential leader of the Momins in Bihar, not only joined the Muslim League but attended the Conference and delivered the most successful and popular speech of the entire session. He supported the League and the partition plan. It has unnerved our opponents and heartened our friends.

From the all-India point of view, the most important resolution passed at the Bihar League Conference was on the supreme need of defining the League policy regarding the Khaksars and other non-League volunteer or semi-volunteer organizations. The following resolution was passed:

> This session of the Bihar Muslim League Conference requests the Executive of the All India Muslim League to clearly and definitely define its policy regarding the Khaksar Movement and all other non-League volunteer or semi-volunteer organizations. In the opinion of this Conference, the time has arrived when the All India Muslim League should lay down the clear and definite rule that no member of the Muslim League should be allowed to be a member of any

> volunteer organization, save and except the volunteer organization of the Muslim League. All those who have joined other volunteer organizations, like the Khaksars and the Khilafatists, should be ordered to resign from these non-League bodies, in default of which their names should be removed from the register of the League.

This was passed unanimously on the motion of Khan Sahib Mazhar Imam, Chief of the Bihar Provincial National Guards.

I also met Editors of the *Ittehad*, Patna, *Asre-Jadid*, Calcutta, and other papers. They all pressed me hard to request you to kindly give a timely lead on the point before it is too late. The National Guards movement cannot prosper and advance as long as all rival bodies are not crushed with a strong hand in the higher interest of Muslim solidarity. Divided loyalty is no loyalty at all and a political organization without a strong, well-disciplined and loyal volunteer force is no organization at all.

From Bihar [Sharif] we came down to Gaya where meetings were held under the presidency of Hon'ble Mr. Syed Hossain Imam. Maulana Azad Sobhani and myself delivered lectures on the meaning of the Lahore Resolution.

I hope to return to Calcutta in a day or two. Please send your reply at my Calcutta address: 8 Zakariah Street, Calcutta. Mr. Latifur Rahman attended the League meeting at Bombay.

Yours-in-Islam,
RAGHIB AHSAN
General Secretary,
Calcutta District Muslim League

298

S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 304/14

PATNA,
10 June 1940

Request definite directions regarding League approach towards Viceroy's appeal War Committee. Governor asked opinion.

ISMAIL

299

H. Ahmad Nabi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 578/37

CAWNPORE,
10 June 1940

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

As desired by the Working Committee of the City Muslim League, Cawnpore, I am writing to request you to give an opportunity[1] to our President, Moulana Hasrat Mohani, to represent [*sic* for present] before the forthcoming meeting of your [Muslim League] Working Committee, the viewpoint of Cawnpore Muslims as indicated in the resolution of the City Muslim League on the war situation, a copy of which is enclosed herewith for your kind perusal.

We all are anxiously awaiting the decision of this momentous meeting of the Working Committee and pray [to] God that its decision may be conducive to the best interest of Muslim India.

Yours sincerely,
H. AHMAD NABI
Secretary,
Cawnpore City Muslim League

[1]Jinnah informed him that he had no power to arrange attendance of Moulana Hasrat Mohani at the Working Committee meeting, However, he could see him, if desired. See F. 518/73, *QAP*. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 299
Resolution Passed by Cawnpore City Muslim League

F. 578/36

CAWNPORE,
10 June 1940

RESOLUTION

This meeting of the City Muslim League, Cawnpore [held on 2 June] resolves that so long as the All India Muslim League does not alter its decision regarding the present war situation members of the City Muslim League committee be forbidden to accept any responsibility, allocated by the authorities, or to take part in

any activity relating to war which may be considered to be favourable or detrimental to Britain.

H. AHMAD NABI
Secretary,
Cawnpore City Muslim League

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/57-60

NAGMATIA HOUSE,
GAYA,
10 June 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I have already sent to you brief reports of the Muslim League meetings at Bihar [Sharif] and Gaya. I enclose herewith cuttings from two papers. While the *Statesman*, in its characteristic way, fully elaborates the Congress case with the zeal of a new convert, it not only fails to do justice with [*sic* for to] the case of the Muslim League but grossly misrepresents the Muslim demand for political and territorial partition of India as the creation of specifically Muslim States inside an Indian Federation.

This is the integrity of a semi-official paper of the British in India.

The *Hindustan Standard*, [Calcutta], is the organ of the Bose Brothers[1] of Bengal. The patronizing attitude of the Paper is a puerile affront and deserves contempt. But this is the view of a group which favours compromise with the Muslim League. This proves the fact, if after your lifelong experience any proof was needed, that the Hindu is devoid of real political sense and entirely incapable of compromise with any people on equal footing of citizenship. That is diametrically opposed to the law [*sic*] of his being Hindu. That is one lesson of the whole Indian history.

I received your letter of the 4th June[2] in Gaya. Most respectfully, I beg to submit to you that the resolution of the League Council, dated 4th December 1938, is out of date and will not serve our object of meeting the Khaksar and Khilafat menace to Muslim League. Moreover, they may assert that their general policy is not opposed to the League although it is clear as the midday sun that the very existence of the Khaksar organization is a challenge and a rival and

parallel body to the League. The Khilafatists are cutting our roots in a secretive way. The *Khilafat* of Bombay is preaching against the idea of creating sovereign Muslim States outside an all-India Federation. It says the Muslim States should not be sovereign and outside the purview and sovereign domain of the Indian Central [*sic*] Federation. The Calcutta Khilafat Committee as a branch of the Central Khilafat Committee is bound to support the view of the parent body. The Central Khilafat Committee is controlled by a Board of Trustees, which include the *ghaddar* Yasin Noorie, the Congressite Minister of Bombay, and nationalist Muslims like Mr. Shuaib Quraishi of Bhopal, Mr. Zahid Ali and Ghazi Muhiuddin of Ajmer, who are all opposed to the League.

But my request to you and the League Executive is based on practical difficulties of workers who are facing great difficulties and opposition from the Khilafat and Khaksar quarters. My point is very simple. The League as the only authoritative political organization of Indian Muslims must be a strong organization. But it cannot be strong unless it demands undivided political loyalty from its members and forms a very strong and disciplined all-India army of national guards. It is evident that as long as the Leaguers are allowed to be volunteers of the Khaksar or the Khilafat corps, the N[ational] Guards cannot be strong and powerful.

The Executive of the All India Muslim League should lay down the rule that no member of the Muslim League can be a volunteer of any organization save and except of the Muslim League itself and it is the duty of every member and supporter of the Muslim League to make [*sic*] the organization and strength of the Muslim League volunteers corps with disciplined forces for national service and security.

After my tours in Bihar and Bengal, I once again appeal to you to kindly pass a resolution to that effect in the meeting of the League Working Committee. It is urgently needed.

Hoping for your kind consideration and thanking you for reply,

Yours-in-Islam,
RAGHIB AHSAN,
General Secretary,
Calcutta District Muslim League

[1]Sarat Chandra Bose and Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress leaders.
[2]Not traceable.

301

Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 321/22

MOUNT ROAD P.O.,
MADRAS,
11 June 1940

My dear leader,

Since writing to you yesterday,[1] I read your statement[2] in the Madras dailies last evening regarding our co-operation with the War Committees. After reading your statement[3] issued from Matheran, I thought that we were allowed by you to join such Committees as members. I have always been anxious to know your views on such matters before acting. In this case also, I would have done similarly but for the impression I had gained as mentioned above. I do not think that the League will be opposed to joining the Committees. Having accepted the invitation of the Governor, I feel anxious. But let me assure you that I shall always act according to your advice. I shall, therefore, be glad to know what I should do under the circumstances. If you can give me an indication[4] even before the Working Committee meets, I shall be very much obliged.

With esteem and affection,

Yours very sincerely,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN
Leader, Madras Muslim League Assembly Party,
Member, AIML Council

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 30.
[3]See Enclosure to No. 249.
[4]See No. 310.

302

S. M. Latifur Rahman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 423/1-2

NAGMATIA HOUSE,
GAYA,
12 June 1940

My dear Sir,

I was to preside over the Arrah Muslim League Conference on 15th and 16th but owing to the Working Committee meeting I got it postponed and made arrangements to reach Bombay on 15th. But I am very doubtful if I can do so now.

Since the last 2 years, there was [a] persistent demand that I should preside over some meetings in the Palamau District of Chota Nagpur which is the most backward for the Muslim League activities. I fixed 9th and 10th and after attending Bihar Sharif (Patna) Muslim League Conference, I went and presided over two very huge meetings at different centres on 9th and 10th. I had to motor long distances through sand and jungle and the very hot western wind had its effect. While motoring back yesterday, I suddenly developed heat fever and got an attack of sunstroke and from my sickbed I am hastening [to write] these lines for your consideration. Though doctors take a grave view but if slightly better I must start even on 14th for Bombay.

I have thought over the present situation. To my humble mind it is clear that to our best we should help Britain to win this war in our as well as in Muslim countries' interest—and we should co-operate fully to maintain internal peace. But [the] British Govt. must assure us that it is not going to throw us (and other minorities) to the wolves any more as they did in 1937. Regarding internal unity, the League should declare its willingness to consider any proposal by the Congress and other political parties of India and to effect a truce for the time being. The Working Committee should finally authorise you to get the necessary assurance from the British Govt. and to settle with other political parties, if they come forward.

These terms and co-operation with British and other parties will only be a temporary measure in the present situation, and our

principal demands, as adopted in Lahore, will stand and will be forced at proper time.

Kindly excuse these lines,[1]

Yours sincerely,
S.M. LATIFUR RAHMAN

[1]Jinnah replied that the position of the Muslim League had been made clear in the Resolution passed by the Working Committee on 15 and 16 June. See F. 423/3, *QAP*. Not printed.

303

Fatma Begum to M. A. Jinnah

F. 957/25-6

MULTAN ROAD,
NAWANKOTE,
LAHORE,
12 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

It is with great pleasure that I inform you of the Intermediate results of my college. Twelve girls were sent up for the university examination and seven have come out successful. Our result is much better than some of the local colleges of Lahore. Even the university results are only 55 per cent. So bearing all these facts in mind our results are not so discouraging.

One girl was sent up for the degree examination. She has also got through. All the girls of the [college] convey their *salaam* to you and to your sister Miss Jinnah. They still remember the pleasant time when you came to the college. I too wish that [that] time could come back. *Salaam* to you and to your sister.[1]

Yours sincerely,
FATMA BEGUM
Principal,
Jinnah Islamia College for Girls

[1]Jinnah conveyed his pleasure over the high pass percentage of girls at the university examinations. See F. 873/409, *QAP*. Not printed.

304

F. K. Khan Durrani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 578/34-5

C/O HINDUSTAN PRODUCTS LTD.,
MORADABAD, U.P.,
12 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You will be surprised to hear from me after such [a] long silence. Circumstances have compelled me to retire from public life for a time and only the extraordinary developments in Europe have moved me to write this. The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League will meet in a few days and I pray that their deliberations in this grave hour will be conducted in a spirit of far-sighted statesmanship. We have problems of vital moment pending settlement with the British and the Congress. You know my views in this connection and I need not expatiate upon them. But I feel that at present the issues at stake are much larger. The future of the whole Muslim world is at stake. I believe the time has come when we should throw our whole weight in the scale against the Germans and offer whole-hearted co-operation to the Government until victory is won and the future of humanity has been assured. You know if the Allies fall, all our political struggle in India would be in vain. I also have a feeling that by offering co-operation to the Government at this hour, we shall be stealing a march upon the Congress. In any case, we as Muslims with world-wide interests should take [a] larger view of the situation than those whose range of vision cannot go beyond the borders of India. You know I have profound faith in your political sagacity and capacity as well as sincerity of leadership. But I have been feeling a very strong urge in me to write to you in this behalf, and I hope you would receive this letter in the spirit in which it is written. I mean we should not feel [ourselves] as a sort of property which our owners might use any time they like. We should rather act like free men and decide of our own accord as free men to enter the war against those who are enemies of Islam and look upon us only as their future property.

Yours sincerely,
F. K. KHAN DURRANI

305

M. A. Jinnah to Ashrafuddin & Azizuddin

F. 873/391

BOMBAY,
12 June 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 7th instant.[1]

The matters referred to in your letter are purely of your internal working of the Muslim League inside and outside of the legislatures of your Province. It is for the executive of the Provincial Muslim League to deal with the matter. If you have any specific grievances you should first agitate the matter according to the constitution and the rules of the All India Muslim League and draw the attention of the provincial executive to the matter, and then if you fail to get satisfaction the only course for you is to appeal to the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League for any decision or action.

If you study the constitution of the All India Muslim League you will find that the President has got no power to deal with such matters of provincial nature, nor am I in a position to form any judgment unless specific charges are framed and the decision of the Provincial Muslim League is taken on those matters in the first instance.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 293.

306

N. M. Akhtar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/392-4

DABBI BAZAR,
MOHALLAH KHARDIAN,
LAHORE,
12 June 1940

My dear Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah,

I believe that you are as much aware of the facts about the Khaksar

and Government clash as anybody else in Lahore. In this letter, I have to draw your attention to the latest developments in Lahore in this connection. The Government has taken the most serious step in this matter which instead of improving the situation has worsened it. When Khaksars were declared an unlawful body, the public opinion was not on their side but today the position is different and the common slogan is [that] one who is not a Khaksar is not a Muslim. This is all due to the mishandling of the situation by the Government.

Being a member of the Muslim League, I feel it my foremost duty to inform you of what is going on in Lahore. I am afraid that if you do not intervene in this matter at this time, it might take a very serious turn against Muslim League as well. The Government do not appear to come to any amicable settlement as it appears from today's statement of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan,[1] and if this is not stopped immediately, the Government taking even further step towards the destruction of the religious fundamental principles, the consequences are well known to you.

On the night between tenth and eleventh of June the police force attacked all the [mosques] in which Khaksars had taken shelter. The policemen went into them with their shoes on, threw gas and at some places fired in the mosques and arrested Khaksars as well as hundreds of other peaceful citizens who were attending [a] *maulood* ceremony. As far as the Government and Khaksars clash is concerned, I have nothing to say but you know that no Government dares take such [a] step against the sacredness of the mosques that the Muslim Government took in Lahore. This would serve as a reference to other Government[s] in India and all the mosques would be treated alike whenever thought necessary.

The consequences of this clash seem to me to be very dangerous as it is a direct interference which a Muslim can never tolerate.

Under the certain [*sic*] circumstances, I would request you to please help the community[2] at this critical hour.

Yours sincerely,
N. M. AKHTAR

[1]Not traceable.

[2]Jinnah received a number of letters on this issue. In a press statement, he asked Khaksars to invest him with due authority to serve them and said he could then find an honourable solution to the tussle. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 33.

307

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 991/29

126 ANARKALI,
LAHORE,
12 June 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I believe you might have come across the news in the *Daily News* that the police has carried a round-up of Khaksars from their sanctuaries in Lahore mosques on Tuesday morning. This news spread like fire causing immense panic among Muslims. At present I find it absolutely inappropriate to air my opinion about the aggressive policy of the Punjab Government towards Khaksars and also about the activities of the Khaksars who have been attributed [*sic*] as law breakers as well as mischief-mongers.

This is what they call party politics, and I do not want to indulge in it.

Dwelling upon the real point, I may add that this political issue has taken a religious turn due to the hasty and undesirable step taken by the police to arrest the Khaksars in the mosques. In this connection it may be mentioned that before the day of occurrence of this episode the Government demanded *fatwas* from leading theologians of the Punjab whether any law-breaker could get shelter in the mosques. The theologians concerned gave verdict that according to the Islamic laws mosques could be used as sanctuaries. They also told that during the period of caliphs' rule all the political and social works were done in the mosques. But to the utter disgrace and humiliation of the Muslim community, the Government set at naught the *fatwas* and injured the religious susceptibilities of Muslims by show of force and the risk of bloodshed in places of worships.

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League is meeting at Bombay on 15th June. Will this organisation, being the sole representative of 90 million Muslims of India, take up this matter in hand at this critical juncture when the religious prestige of the Muslims is hanging in balance? The Muslims of the Punjab are looking to you for help and guidance at this hour of time.

Yours sincerely,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

308

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 991/30-31

BIHAR SHARIF,
13 June 1940

Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

We were surprised to see the statement of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, after your statement[1] of 10th June. You two seem to stand at opposite poles, either you should be right or he. We know you and have full faith in you, but we have no faith in Sikander Hyat, rather we abhor him. Can we know, what steps are you going to take against Sir Sikander?

Are you going to allow this diversity to remain any longer in the Muslim League? This will bring nothing but ruination to our beloved and benevolent organisation. If you are not going to take a step against him, the natural result will be discontentment among the faithful Leaguers, and the toadies and the reactionaries will get opportunity to turn the League into an agent of British imperialism, which we have decided to fight.

Please clarify the position of such unwanted, unfaithful, selfish, and job-hunter Leaguers. If this will be [*sic*] the attitude of the members of the Working Committee towards your statement, what can be expected of ordinary members?

Sir, we have full faith in you, but not in Sir Sikander, Mr. Fazlul Huq, Sir Nazimuddin, Sir Abdoola Haroon, and Sir A. [M.] K. Dehlavi.

Hope you will issue a statement to this effect.

We have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your faithful followers,
[UNSIGNED]

PS. I am herewith enclosing a part of the statement of Sir Sikander issued on 11th June 1940.[2]

[1]See Khurshid Ahmad Khan Yusufi, ed., *Speeches, Statements, and Messages of the Quaid-i-Azam*, Vol. II, Lahore, 1996, 121-2.
[2]See F. 991/31, *QAP*. Not printed.

309

Mohammad Abu Tayab to M. A. Jinnah

F. 769/28

BISTURAM HALL,
P.O. JORHAT, ASSAM,
13 June 1940

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

On behalf of the Jorhat District Muslim Students' Federation, I have the honour to request you to be so kind enough [*sic*] as to attend the second annual session of the Federation to be held under the Presidentship of Maulavi Mafizuddin Ahmed Hazarika, the famous Assamese litterateur, on 22nd and 23rd June, 1940 at Jorhat, Assam.

In case of your inability, may I venture to hope that you will kindly send a good wishes message[1] which will be a source of great enthusiasm and inspiration to us.

Yours-in-Islam,
MOHAMMAD ABU TAYAB
Secretary, Reception Committee,
Jorhat District Muslim Students' Federation

[1]Jinnah replied that he was unable to attend the session but wished them all success. See F. 873/411, *QAP*. Not printed.

310

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Hameed Khan

F. 321/25

BOMBAY,
13 June 1940

My dear Abdul Hameed,

I have received your letters of the 10th[1] and 11th June,[2] and thank you for them.

I do not agree with you that my statement from Matheran in any way implied that the Muslims should co-operate and join the War

Committees; and my recent statement[3] clearly shows that unless the Working Committee has decided upon the issue, no Muslim Leaguer should commit himself.

However, I hope that you will not commit yourself before any instructions from the Working Committee to that effect.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Abdul Hameed Khan, Esq.,
Madras

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 301.
[3]See Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, II, 1211-2.

311

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan

F. 383/39

BOMBAY,
13 June 1940

My dear Amir,

I received your letter,[1] and I am extremely sorry that you cannot attend the meeting of the Working Committee on the 15th.

As regards other matters referred to in your letter please wait till you come to Bombay, as you propose to do very shortly, when we shall consider the matter carefully and see what can be done.

With love,

Yours affectionately,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.

312

M. A. Jagirdar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 825/53-4

KOKANIPURA,
NASIK,
13 June 1940

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League will be held on 15th instant. It will consider the international situation. On the proper decision of this question depends the future of the Musalmans and the League. In my opinion, it will not be in the interest of the Musalmans if the League decides to help the Government unless the Government has committed itself in un-equivocal terms to the Lahore Resolution of the League. To allow the provinces where the League has a dominant voice to co-operate with the Govt. without having the assurances will again be a mistake. I think Sir Sikander Hyat Khan has done great harm to the League cause. He has never cared to pay any heed to the League resolutions and policy. To quote the latest instance he entered into correspondence with Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, though there is a resolution to the contrary. I am sure the League decision on the international situation will not be influenced by him and I am confident that you will give proper lead in the matter to the Musalmans.

I understand that you have published in a pamphlet form all the statements issued by you, the correspondence that passed between you and the Viceroy and other Congress leaders, League resolutions, speeches delivered by you since the outbreak of war and an article on Indian nationalism published in the *Eastern Times* of Lahore. I will be grateful if you will send me a copy of it. Further, I would request you to publish the recent judgment of the Nagpur High Court on Chandor and Biswa murder case and distribute it.

I have as yet not received any reply to my letter of 31st May addressed at Matheran.[1] It is about Muslim grievances in the Postal Department. I beg you to advise me soon in the matter.

Yours truly,
M. A. JAGIRDAR

[1]F. 873/355, *QAP*. Not printed.

313

Ali Mohamed Rashdi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 576/4

A 1-3 BARRAGE QUARTER,
SUKKUR,
13 June 1940

Dear Sir,

In his capacity as President of Sind Provincial Muslim League, Sir Abdoola Haroon, Kt., M.L.A., has addressed a letter to Shaikh Abdul Majid, Mr. G.M. Sayed, and K.B. Khuhro, a copy of which I enclose herewith for your kind perusal.

Yours faithfully,
ALI MOHAMED RASHDI
General Secretary,
Sind Provincial Muslim League

Enclosure to No. 313
H. Abdoola Haroon to Shaikh Abdul Majid & Others
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 833/68-70

DAK BUNGALOW,
SUKKUR,
11 June 1940

Dear Sir,

You are aware that on 21st of April the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League passed a resolution in which Ministers were requested to do certain things with regard to the situation which has arisen out of the Sukkur riots. It was a 28-point plan supplemented by a few fundamental demands. The resolution referred to above has been duly communicated to you by the General Secretary through his letter dated 22nd of April.[1] None of these points has so far been conceded and enforced.

Subsequently, the Sukkur matters have taken a turn for the worse. There are about six hundred Musalmans in jail and they are not getting un-adulterated justice. Those in charge of prosecutions have been crushing Musalmans indiscriminately whether they may be

innocent or guilty. Complaints have been made that certain police officials and the police *mashirs* have plundered the Musalmans during the course of investigations. A demand was made that these officials be transferred and that an impartial enquiry be instituted against them. That request has been turned down. The Muslim League executive has, furthermore, been urging upon the Ministry to grant relief to those families whose all male members have been confined in jails for the last 6 or 7 months. There is starvation and misery in these families and the Government has not been able to do any justice in their case. A hope was entertained that the Ministry will be able to bring about an amicable settlement between the Hindus and the Musalmans on the main controversial matters including the question of Manzilgah Mosque at Sukkur. This ideal [*sic*] also seems now to be almost impossible [of] achievement.

Thus you will be pleased to observe that on all issues the Ministry has failed to come up to the expectations entertained by the Muslim League. The question is whether it is worthwhile for the Ministers associated with the Muslim League to continue in office and thereby permanently undermine the position of their organisation in the eyes of the community. I am personally of the view that the three Ministers associated with the Muslim League should resign forthwith so that they and their organisation are not held responsible for ruining Musalmans with their own hands. But if they are unable to concede such a request of their organisation, they may openly declare that they have ceased to be members of the Muslim League as such. The last course would indeed be highly deplorable in so far as it will place the three Muslim League Ministers on an equal footing with K.B. Allah Baksh who had betrayed the United Party under almost similar circumstances, but that is the only course which can be adopted in case the Ministers do not resign. I have also got the opinion of the President of the All India Muslim League that the Muslim League Ministers cannot remain under a non-League Muslim Premier nor can they be a party to the introduction of joint electorates in local bodies, in contravention of Resolution No. 10 of Lucknow session. These are additional grounds why the three Muslim League Ministers should now vacate office.[2]

In order however to decide these issues finally, I am calling a meeting of the Council of the Sind Provincial Muslim League on my return from Bombay. I hope you will not misunderstand me. Even if I do not take action now, we have reached a stage when the All India Muslim League will step into the matter and will take action in

exercise of the powers conferred upon the Working Committee in the last Lahore session.

Yours faithfully,
[ABDOOLA HAROON]
President,
Sind Provincial Muslim League

PS. Regarding the *jirga* also there appears a tendency to send only those cases for adjudication by *jirga* in which there is no evidence. This policy, however, is highly detrimental to the interests of justice and, for reasons which need not be discussed here, is highly objectionable.

H.A.H.

[1]Not traceable.
[2]All three League Ministers ignored the letter. In July 1940, at the Sind League Council meeting, Abdoola Haroon introduced a motion calling on the League Ministers to resign since they had betrayed the party. The motion was defeated. See Allen Keith Jones, *Politics in Sind 1907-40: Muslim Identity and the Demand for Pakistan*, Karachi, 2003, 153.

314

Hassan Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

F. 457/6-7

237 SUSSEX GARDENS,
LONDON, W.2.,
13 June 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your letter dated Bombay the 30th April,[1] and also your letter dated Matheran the 29th May.[2] I have also received the set of printed literature, and I have asked for a few [more] sets. With very great interest, I have read the copy of your message[3] to the Hubli Conference, and your offer of co-operation in the cutting from the *Evening News of India* dated 27th May. The practical lines of thought set forth are most encouraging.

Your unselfish leadership has borne ample fruit, and to-day the Muslim League occupies a position of unprecedented influence. The declaration of hostilities by the Italians against the Allies has brought the war nearer home, in fact to the recognised naval frontiers of India. Long before this, your keen eyes had recognised the

international advantages of India's co-operation in the war efforts of the British Commonwealth of Nations. All credit to those who do not make a virtue of necessity.

I am so glad you have noted that Whitehall has an open mind. In my letter of the 12th May,[4] I had suggested the advantages of getting the Viceroy on your side, and the fact that on account of the acute phase of the war it would be no use anyone coming here.

After reading the literature and the papers sent with your letters, there is a very important matter on which I would like to ask your advice. Do you think I should press on the Secretary of State the advantages of his visiting India at an early date? Mr. Amery, apart from his great personal charm and other qualities, is a scholar whose vision has been widened by travel and sports, and he brings with him a wealth of experience in administration as Secretary for Colonies and Dominions and of Parliamentary procedure. It is a remarkable achievement for one to hold a constituency for the best part of 30 years. I feel this is a great opportunity to establish personal contacts with him, and on hearing from you I shall write to you regarding my ideas about the outline of the discussions.

I shall approach the Secretary of State in my official capacity, but I need hardly mention the fact that I am writing to you in my personal capacity and as one who is very anxious to see the great work which you have envisaged put on a proper basis by taking the fullest advantage of a psychological moment.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN SUHRAWARDY

[PS.] I am trying to send out this letter in a diplomatic bag. The air mail is now suspended. Your offer of Muslim support to the war efforts is most excellent.

Kindly send a reply by wire—unless air mail is re-established.

[1]Not traceable.
[2]No. 257.
[3]Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, II, 1205-9.
[4]No. 224.

315

Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 215/33

LAHORE,
14 June 1940

Sir Sikander's participation in Delhi Conference presided over by Maulana Azad Congress President open to gravest objections unless with your previous permission. If otherwise strongly protest with request that matter be considered in Working Committee. Regret unavoidable absence due illness.

BARKAT ALI

316

P. Balasubramanya Mudaliar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1009/76-7

15 GENERAL PATTERS ROAD,
MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS,
14 June 1940

Esteemed leader,

Many thanks for your kind letter of 4th June[1]. The delay in acknowledging this letter is due to my absence from Madras.

Regarding the proceedings of the Dravidanad Conference held on 2nd June and the new map which was opened by *Periyar* Ramaswami [Naicker], I have requested my leader Naicker to send them on to you direct. I am sure he will be sending you.

I understand from a very reliable source that the Congress is very very anxious to come back to power in the guise of national government. They seem to hope that in the event national governments are formed in collaboration with Muslim League, they will be allowed to have a dominant voice in such national cabinets. I fear, in case the Congress is allowed to dominate in any such national cabinets, it would be a great calamity. Personally, I feel if the Congress is permitted to form national governments, it should be one of the parties and not the sole party which would dictate its

policy to other parties. I am, however, of the opinion that at this juncture there should not be any such national governments, because I feel that by associating ourselves with the Congress we would be, I am afraid, strengthening the Congress. As things stand at present in Madras Presidency, at any rate, Congress has lost its influence and strength, and if the stalemate continues for six months, at least, it will very considerably lose its ground. That is why Mr. C.R. is very anxious that Congress should come back to power in some shape or form. They want power now and will be willing to accept any conditions. Some of us feel whether we would be well-advised in walking into the Congress parlour of all-party or national government. If non-Congress parties refuse to have anything to do with any ministries that may be formed by the Congress then Congress' fate is sealed. This is the impression of one who has watched Congress affairs in this Presidency rather closely. But we all know you are a great tactician—a tactician greater than Mr. Gandhi—and feel sure that whatever decision you make, [or] the Muslim League take, must weaken the Congress. I have expressed myself freely and I await your instructions and am willing to carry them out loyally.[2]

With best regards,

Obediently yours,
P. BALASUBRAMANYA MUDALIAR

[1]No. 278.
[2]Jinnah replied that he was awaiting the proceedings of the Dravidanad Conference and that Mudaliar's suggestions would receive his close attention. See F. 183/35, *QAP*. Not printed.

317

M. A. Jinnah to Begum Aizaz Rasul

F. 428/5

BOMBAY,
14 June 1940

Dear Begum Aizaz Rasul,

I have received your letters of the 5th[1] and 6th June[2].

I did not send you a reply by wire as I had already issued a statement, which I believe has appeared in all the papers, requesting the members of the Muslim League not to commit themselves unless

they get any instructions from the Working Committee to that effect. I had also informed Nawab Sahib of Chhatari of this.[3]

The Working Committee is meeting on the 15th, and the points mentioned in your letters will be carefully considered.

I hope till then neither you nor any other member of the Muslim League will make any commitment.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Begum Aizaz Rasul Sahiba,
Naini Tal

[1]No. 285.
[2]No. 290.
[3]See No. 279.

318

M. A. Jinnah to J. G. Laithwaite

SHC, Misc. I/89

BOMBAY,
14 June 1940

Dear Mr. Laithwaite,

The gentleman referred to in your letter,[1] Khan Bahadur Sheikh Sayed Mohammad, on enquiry I found, is the President of the District Muslim League, Budaun, who had an interview with His Excellency the Governor, U.P. I enquired of him whether it was correct that he [had] demanded from H.E. the Governor the cost of the lorry only to be excused and nothing more, and I have received from him a letter which shows that His Excellency had misunderstood him.

I am enclosing the original letter[2] which speaks for itself.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

J. G. Laithwaite, Esq.,
Simla

[1]No. 247.
[2]See No. 292.

319

Abdul Majid to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1009/36

GUJRAT, PUNJAB,
14 June 1940

Respected Sir,

Many thanks for your letter of the 18th May.[1] I am sending herewith copies of all my articles for your kind perusal. I would have got them printed and published, but the time at my disposal is very short. Anyhow, I thank you for your kind suggestion and the pamphlet would appear in due course.

My latest article, *The Defence of India,* is also enclosed herewith.

Thanking you very much,

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL MAJID (CHAUDHRI)
Pleader

[1]Not traceable.

Enclosure to No. 319

F. 1009/37-9

GUJRAT,
14 June 1940

THE DEFENCE OF INDIA

Considering the present war situation in Europe, it is clear that the menace to the peace and tranquillity of India is becoming alarmingly grave. It is high time that a realistic view of the things should be taken. India should immediately prepare herself to meet the coming danger that threatens mankind.

The fate of India is undoubtedly bound up with that of Great Britain, and it is in the interest of India that she should whole-heartedly support Great Britain in winning the war.

The want of responsible governments in the provinces and at the centre is being felt today more than ever. The war in the West has shown that the most proper thing at such critical times would be to have national governments instead of party governments as

Great Britain has done. But under the existing constitutional system of India no such national government can be formed to meet the possible danger to the safety of the state; at the most, we can have coalition governments.

It is indeed very strange that even at this grave hour of the destiny of India, the so-called national leaders of the Congress prefer to lose than to share power with other useful members of their so much cherished nation.

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, in a speech recently delivered by him as President of the Tinnevelley District Political Conference, has said that in the present anxious international situation, the most proper thing to do is to establish a stable and responsible government at the centre as well as in the provinces. He has no objection to national governments being formed instead of party governments. But he says that those who plead for national governments do not seem to be aware of the real meaning of national government. According to him national government is not the same thing as composite government with scope for intrigue and obstruction. It is quite true, but the pity is that even his conception of national government is fundamentally erroneous.

The Congress governments and the Muslim League governments at present are certainly party governments. They do not command as much confidence of the people as the situation demands. There ought to be national governments which could command the confidence of the entire people. In the opinion of Mr. Rajagopalachari, even coalition governments cannot serve the purpose. What is needed is a real form of national government. It is indeed a problem which requires very serious consideration. I think Mr. Rajagopalachari will agree with me when I say that a real national government, which can never be defeated, can only be had by the people who are a nation. So, to solve this problem, we must first see if India is a nation. Just as individuals occupying a building are not necessarily a family, people are not a nation simply because they happen to live within certain geographical boundaries; people are a nation only if they agree in the fundamental principles of their religious, cultural, social, and political life and their economic interests are also common. If this conception of a nation be correct then there can never be framed in India real national [*words illegible*]. Only then can India have really national governments which can develop a burning spirit of national patriotism. It is, therefore, in the interest of all the parties concerned to achieve this object as soon as possible. Only

such type of national governments in India can defend themselves and be of real help to the British Commonwealth of Nations.

This is not the proper time to discuss these things at length. The urgent need of the day is to sink our differences and form a united front to help the Allies and save ourselves from the ruthless aggression which threatens mankind.

At this critical juncture, as much popular hope and confidence ought to be created as possible and to achieve this immediate goal, we, at present, cannot have better form of governments than coalition governments at the Centre as well as in the provinces. It is in the interest of all and the future welfare of India that coalition governments should be formed immediately.

320

Hussain Imam to M. A. Jinnah

F. 296/ 10-15

SHAMIM MANZIL,
SHEEDIPURA, DELHI,
14 June 1940

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo'Alaikum,

I am really grateful to you for your kind and encouraging letter of the 8th instant.[1] It is a matter of great pleasure to the *Idara* that you have appreciated the article, *Jahan-i-Nau*. We now regret very much as to why such articles published in the *Tulu'-e-Islam* [Dawn of Islam] during the last two years were not sent to you. Excuse me for taking the liberty of apprising you in some detail of the humble service rendered by the *Tulu'-e-Islam*.

2. This magazine was started according to the wishes of the late Hakimul Ummah Doctor Sir Mohammad Iqbal. Even its name was suggested by him. But as ill-luck would have it, the Hakimul Ummah left us after the first issue of the magazine was out and after that it has been continued in the memory of that great saint-philosopher of Islam.

3. The only aim of the magazine is to discuss the everyday problems of the Indian Muslims in the light of *Qur'an* and *Sunnah.* And as the policy of the Muslim League has been in consonance

with what Islam requires in these days, the *Tulu'-e-Islam* has supported the various proposals and actions of the League, based on the authority of *Qur'an* and *Sunnah*. It has thrown open challenges to one and all [of] the so-called nationalist *ulema* and you will be glad to hear that none of them has ever dared to refute a single argument of the *Tulu'-e-Islam* or contradicted the authority it has adduced in support of its claims. The scheme is that every month critical comments are made on the various writings and utterances of the opponents of the League—Hindus, Muslims and others—and one or two lucid articles dealing with the topic of the day are published. These articles are then published in the form of pamphlets which are circulated in thousands and thousands. During these two years, about 18 pamphlets have been published and circulated in thousands. A considerable number of the copies of the magazine itself is circulated free of cost in deserving circles, especially colleges, religious *madrassas*, national institutions, libraries, etc. And for all this no public subscription is raised (except of course the annual subscription from the subscribers of the magazine). All the expenses are borne by a limited circle of sincere "friends" who do not expect any remuneration for what they do and are responsible for meeting the deficit in the budget. All this has been mentioned simply to show that if there are a few sincere workers with the zeal of *eiman* in their hearts, they can do what big organizations otherwise fail to do.

4. I am sending you in a separate packet a few of the pamphlets mentioned above. The salient points dealt with in these pamphlets are as follows:

(i) *Swarajic* Islam: What is Islam according to the nationalist Muslims, in their own words, before and after they adopt the course of nationalism.

(ii) Fundamental demand of the League: This was written when the negotiations for "Communal Unity" between the Congress leaders and our Quaid-i-Azam were going on in 1938 to show why the League persists in its being recognised as the only representative body of the Muslims in India.

(iii) Address to *ulema*: In 1939 the nationalist *ulema* held their annual session in Delhi and in this address they were told that their present actions and theories were diametrically opposite [*sic* for opposed] to what they used to say before their conversion to nationalism.

(iv) Wardha Scheme and Muslims: A wonderful exposition of the underlying ideas of Hindus and their mouthpieces

(nationalists) annihilating Islamic culture in India through educational scheme framed at Wardha. About sixty thousand copies of the pamphlet have been circulated in Urdu alone, which has also been published in Pashto, Gujrati, and Tamil.

(v) Problem of Language: How injurious to the Muslims is the scheme of the nationalists to introduce Hindi in the garb of Hindi *Athwa* Hindustani.

(vi) Nationalism and Moulvi Hussain Ahmad [Madani]: An open challenge to Moulvi Hussain Ahmad to narrate from *Qur'an* and *Sunnah* his assertion that "nations are built on the lines of their homelands". A lucid and most convincing article to show that according to Islam, the idea of a Muslim nation is based on the tie of faith and not race, colour, language or geographical boundaries.

(vii) Congress Unveiled: Comments on Mr. Kripalani's statement that the national movement started by Mahatma Gandhi is not a political movement but a socio-religious movement to propagate the philosophy of Hindu civilization.

(viii) Rashtrapati Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: In his presidential address at Ramgarh, Maulana Azad asserted that he has never changed his ideas and views throughout his political career. To contradict this fallacious statement, thousands and thousands of pages of Maulana Azad's writings were gone through and it was proved to the hilt in Maulana's own words that every word of today's Maulana is self [*sic*] contradictory to what he said or wrote prior to his conversion to the creed of nationalism. A very interesting comparison of the old and new edition of Maulana Azad.

(ix) The December issue of the magazine containing an article to show how democratic form of government in India is not acceptable to the Muslims in accordance with the precepts of Islam.

5. In addition to the above, I am also sending in the same parcel ten copies of the pamphlet *Jahan-i-Nau* which you have already read. It is being widely circulated. Copies have already been sent to the prominent leaders of the League.

6. It will be a matter of great pleasure to us if any of the above pamphlets were [*sic* for are] translated in English or any other language and published by the League. All we have is the property of

the *millat* and hence at the disposal of the Quaid-i-Azam—may he live long. More when you come here.[2]

With sincere prayers,

Yours obediently,
Hussain Imam
Editor,
Tulu'-e-Islam

[1]See F. 296/9, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Acknowledging receipt of the pamphlets, Jinnah said he would have to go through them before the League had them translated and published. See F. 296/7, *QAP*. Not printed.

321

Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 242/21-2

14 June 1940

Reference my letter of eight[h].[1] Earnestly hope minority provinces' Muslims will also be permitted to work on War Boards so that Muslim Leaguers may have a consistent and uniform policy throughout India; otherwise they will be greatly handicapped and suffer as a community from lack of defence organizations in their respective provinces. If however different provinces are to be dealt with differently I trust full consideration will be given to cases of Muslim Army Commissioned Officers and save them from embarrassing position.

NAWAB CHHATARI

[1]Not traceable.

322

S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 304/16

PATNA,
15 June 1940

Please refer my telegram dated last Monday.[1] Respectfully solicit directions after decision by your Committee. Have not committed nor

joined district meeting today but governor's provincial meeting fixed for next Saturday. Awaiting your orders for reply. Pray oblige communicating decisions.

NAWAB ISMAIL

[1]No. 298.

323

Proceedings of the Meeting of the All India Muslim League Working Committee

F. 95/81-9

BOMBAY,
15-17 June 1940

The following members were present:

1. M.A.Jinnah, MLA (in chair)
2. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, MLA, U.P.
3. Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Premier, Punjab
4. Sir Currimbhoy Ibrahim, Bar-at-Law, Bombay
5. S.M. Shareef, Bihar
6. Sir Nazimuddin, Bengal
7. Sir A.M.K. Dehlavi, Bombay
8. Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait, MLA, [Madras]
9. Abdul Matin Choudhari, Assam
10. Khan Sadullah Khan, Peshawar
11. Syed Abdur Rauf Shah, C.P.
12. Choudhri Khaliquzzaman, MLA, U.P.
13. Maulana Mohammad Akrum Khan, Bengal
14. Sardar Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan, Peshawar
15. Qazi Mohammad Isa, Quetta

1. The Committee considered the present internal and external situation and passed the following:

RESOLUTION NO.1

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, while of the opinion that further clarification contained in the letter of His Excellency the Viceroy, dated the 19th of April 1940,[1] with regard to the assurances asked for by the All India Muslim League is not satisfactory, endorses the following from the statement issued by the President, Mr. M.A. Jinnah, to the press on the 27th of May 1940:

> Up to the present moment, we have not created any difficulty nor have we embarrassed the British Government in the prosecution of the war.
>
> The provinces where the Muslim League has a dominant voice have been left free to cooperate with the British Government, pending their consideration with regard to the assurances we have asked for, and in particular that the British Government should make no declaration regarding the future constitutional problems of India and the vital issues that have been raised in that connection without our approval and consent.
>
> Nevertheless, without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues later on, we were even willing as far back as November last to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field, which would have been followed up with our representatives being appointed to the Executive Council of the Central Government to the extent permissible within the framework of the present constitution and existing law.
>
> But this proposal was summarily rejected by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress.
>
> A similar attempt was again made by His Excellency early in February, which met the same fate. Since then, it seems that the Viceroy has been waiting for the Congress to pass its word.
>
> With regard to Mr. Amery's statement and the broadcast appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy, may I say that it is up to the British Government to show trust in Muslim leadership–there are many ways of doing so–and, as confident friends, seek our whole-hearted co-operation. And we shall not fail.

The Working Committee looks with alarm at the growing menace of Nazi aggression which has been most ruthlessly depriving one nation after another of its liberty and freedom and regards the unprovoked attack by the Italian Government against the Allies as most unwarranted and immoral at a time when France was engaged in a brave struggle against very heavy odds.

The grave world situation demands serious efforts on the part of every Indian for the defence of his country and the Working Committee calls upon the Government of India to prepare the country in an organised manner to meet every eventuality. The Committee is constrained to state that the proposals for the defence of India indicated in the statements of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief as well as the statements of some Provincial Governors are wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation. The Committee therefore authorises its President to enter into communication with His Excellency the Viceroy with a

view to exploring the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilise the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying war efforts and the defence of India. The Committee is of the view that unless a satisfactory basis for close co-operation is agreed upon on an all-India basis and not province-wise between the Government and the Muslim League and such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in the face of imminent danger, the real purpose and objective will not be served and achieved.

The Working Committee is of the opinion that in view of the immediate grave danger that is facing the country, real purpose will not be served by the Musalmans and others merely joining the proposed Provincial and District War Committees with their present scope and functions.[2]

2. The Committee considered the question of the Musalmans joining the War Committees announced by the Viceroy and some Governors and adopted the following resolution:

RESOLUTION NO. 2

> In view of the numerous enquiries that have been received from the various Provincial and District Leagues and individual members seeking guidance and instructions as to what course they should adopt towards the proposed War Committees announced by His Excellency the Viceroy and some Governors, the Working Committee is of opinion that at present Musalmans should not serve on these Committees and should await further instructions from the President pending the result of the communication with the Viceroy.

3. The Committee considered the matter of the so-called Muslim Premiers' Conference with the President of the Congress at Delhi on the 13th of June 1940 and adopted the following resolution:

RESOLUTION NO.3

> In view of the misunderstanding created by the reports in the press about the so-called Muslim Premiers' Conference with the President of the Congress at Delhi on the 13th of June 1940, the Working Committee after the statement of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan before the Committee to the effect that it was purely an individual meeting at the invitation of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad for an informal talk, resolves that in order to avoid any misunderstanding or misconstruction in future no member of the Working Committee should enter

into any negotiations or discussions with the Congress leaders regarding the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement or any other matter which requires adjustment between the Muslim League and the Congress without the permission of the President.

4. The Committee considered the question of organisation of Muslim National Guards and passed the following resolution:

RESOLUTION NO.4

In view of the grave world situation and its possible repercussions on India, when every community is organising its volunteer organisations for the protection of its life and property, the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League is of the opinion that time has come when the Provincial Muslim Leagues should exert every nerve to start, organise and strengthen the Muslim National Guard Corps and give them such training as will enable them to discharge their duty of maintaining peace, tranquility and order in the country worthy of the best traditions of Islam. The Committee earnestly appeals to the Muslims to join the National Guards in large numbers under the banner of the Muslim League and directs the Provincial Muslim Leagues to submit monthly report to the Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League regarding the progress made and the steps adopted for the training of the Muslim National Guards. It is also the considered opinion of the Committee that the members of the Provincial Muslim League Working Committees and the District Committees should offer themselves for training at least once a week, with a view to give impetus to enlistment.

It is proposed to consider further the details of the scheme, but in the meantime the Provincial Muslim League shall act in accordance with the following main principles:

AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE ORGANISATION

i. To train and discipline Muslims in coordinate activity for social, and physical uplift of the Muslims and to maintain peace, tranquility and order in the country.

ii. The organisation shall consist of officers and guardsmen who will be willing to undertake a definite liability and responsibility to fulfil the aims and objects of the organisation herein before defined.

iii. It shall be made up as follows:

a. Active corps members

b. Reservist corps members

c. Juvenile corps

iv. Active corps shall consist of men who are capable of taking part in all the activities of the organisation.

iv (b). Reservist corps shall consist of men who due to age, occupation or physical disability are not able to serve on the active corps.

v. Juvenile corps shall consist of boys under sixteen years of age.

vi. The Muslim National Guards shall be organised under the authority, control and supervision of the Working Committee of each Provincial Muslim League subject to the final authority of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

vii. The Working Committee of each province shall appoint properly qualified persons for the purpose of (a) organising the corps (b) giving them training and (c) officering them.

viii. A guardsman, on being declared eligible, shall sign the following pledge in duplicate on the prescribed form:

PLEDGE

I...... son of .... solemnly swear by *Allah* and the holy *Qur'an* that I hereby, of my own free will, surrender myself to the Muslim National Guards organisation. I shall unflinchingly obey my officers and shall remain faithful to the organisation and its aims and objects. So help me *Allah, Aameen*!

SIGNATURE

ix. The headquarters of every provincial organisation shall maintain a classified list of the vocation and profession of every guardsman under its command.

x. A guardsman shall not be a member of any other political organisation except the Muslim League, or of any volunteer corps.

xi. It shall be impressed on all guardsmen that courtesy to all ranks and classes of society shall be observed.

UNIFORM

xii. a. *khaki* coat or shirt, *khaki* trousers and *khaki* cap or turban or
b. grey coat or shirt, grey trousers and grey cap or turban.
Provided however that every province will have the option to select either of the two colours but shall keep and maintain the same colour and uniform throughout that province.

5. The Committee considered as to what steps should be taken to

promote and strengthen the League branches and passed the following:

RESOLUTION NO. 5

The members of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League from the various provinces be requested to take such steps as may be necessary to further the work of promoting and strengthening the Provincial, District and Primary Leagues in their respective provinces and report the progress at the next meeting of the Committee.

6. The Committee examined the accounts for the four months ending the 30th of April 1940 and the budget proposals from the 1st of May 1940 to the 31st of March 1941 and passed the following resolution:

RESOLUTION NO. 6

Resolved that the accounts for the four months ending the 30th of April 1940 be passed subject to their being audited by Sir Abdoola Haroon and Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait. It is further resolved that the budget as presented from the 1st of May 1940 to the 31st of March 1941 be sanctioned.

7. The Committee noted the contents of the letter of Mian Ramzan Ali, Hony. Secy. of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and passed the following resolution:

RESOLUTION NO. 7

> Resolved that the Punjab Provincial Muslim League be directed to hold fresh elections before the 31st of October 1940.

8. The Committee considered the question of publication, by the League, of the history of the All India Muslim League written by Mr. Noman and passed the following:

RESOLUTION NO. 8

> In view of the fact that on account of his multifarious duties, Mr. Siddiqi has not yet been able to send his opinion regarding the manuscript, it was resolved that a sub-committee consisting of Nawab Mohamed Ismail Khan, Sir A.M.K. Dehlavi and Mr. S.M. Shareef be appointed to examine the manuscript and send their views to the Honorary Secretary. On the receipt of the views of the sub-committee, if the President and the Honorary Secretary were of opinion that the history should be published, the Honorary Secretary could take steps for the publication of the book.

9. The Committee considered the correspondence that has passed between the Honorary Secretary and Mr. Jalil and Khan Bahadur Ahmad Bux regarding the Orissa Provincial Muslim League. It appears that there are two Provincial Leagues in Orissa and there is a dispute as to which one is legally constituted and affiliated to the All India Muslim League. It was decided that the Honorary Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League be requested to depute some member of the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League who would be good enough to go to Orissa [to] make enquiries and send his report to the Honorary Secretary of the All India Muslim League.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]No. 190.
[2]Also see Annex.

Annex to No. 323
M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow

F. 95/78

BOMBAY,
17 June 1940

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the resolution passed by the Working Committee on 16 June, at its sitting in Bombay, and if you desire to discuss it further[1] or require my presence I shall be glad to meet you.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]See No. 329.

324

Syed Mohamed Mehdi to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 406/8-9

PATNA,
18 June 1940

Please refer Resolution Working Committee regarding non-participation War Committee. My position as elected Chairman, Municipality embarrassing. Authorities insist participation of Chairman, Municipality. Meeting War Committee 22nd instant. Working Committee's final decision before that date unlikely. Solicit favour of your direction[1] whether I can participate War Committee and formation Civil Guards Committee in official capacity.

NAWABZADA SYED MOHAMED MEHDI

[1]Jinnah replied that the Working Committee's decision was final and that no Leaguer was to participate in War Committee meetings. See F. 406/ 10, *QAP*. Not printed.

325

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Rauf Abbasi

F. 873/ 408

BOMBAY,
18 June 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 8th June 1940,[1] and thank you for it.

I have seen the press cutting published [*sic*] in the Lucknow Urdu paper called *Hamdam* of the 8th/9th June, that you have been kind enough to send me, purporting to be a letter written by me.

I beg to inform you that I have written no such letter, and that it is purely imaginary and without foundation, and I am glad when you say that you are not prepared to believe for a moment that the letter in question can be mine.

I have no hesitation in giving you the fullest authority to

contradict this wanton misrepresentation officially for which I shall feel obliged.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Rauf Abbasi, Esq.,
The *Haque*, Lucknow

[1]Not traceable.

326

Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 215/ 34-5

19 TEMPLE ROAD,
LAHORE,
18 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your statement[1] contradicting that of Sir Sikander Hyat[2] has appeared in the morning papers in time. I enclose herewith two cuttings,[3] one from the *Civil & Military Gazette*, and the other from the *Tribune*, regarding the report of the War Board held here on the 18th. You will see that Nawab Sir Mohammad Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot took part not only as member but also as Vice-Chairman of two sub-committees. The *Tribune* and the *Civil & Military Gazette* both make a prominent mention of him as President of the Punjab Muslim League. I feel it a duty to place this information before you. I also enclose copy of a statement[4] that I issued to the press regarding the attempt of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad to create a fifth column amongst the Musalmans.

God help you and grant you long life to serve your community and your country so selflessly. If I may be permitted to [so] state, all this is the direct result of the affiliation of Sir Sikander's League. But I will obey you in all circumstances, even though my party has been virtually ousted from all participation in the deliberations of the provincial body of the All India Muslim League. The Sub Committee's report that was adopted by the Council of the All India Muslim League laid it down as a vital condition that there shall be a fresh election of office-bearers under the constitution proposed by it and that this election shall take place in June. The local Provincial League which is in fact a body of Sir Sikander's nominees do not propose to

[*sic*] care two pence for this most essential condition. The remedy is in your hands. The moment of applying this remedy is also in your judgment.

With all regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. BARKAT ALI
M. A., LL.B.
MLA

[1]Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 30.
[2]Ibid., 31.
[3-4]Not traceable.

327

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 199/ 17

C/O DR. ABDUS SAMAD,
16/10 CIVIL LINES,
CAWNPORE,
19 June 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your kind letter.[1] I am now sending the article on the Lahore Resolution. I could not send it earlier as I sustained a sad bereavement. My mother who had been under treatment at Bhowali died on the 5th June. We brought her body to Cawnpore and buried her on the 6th. The deceased was a devout and learned Muslim lady and was deeply interested in everything pertaining to the glory of Islam and the betterment of Muslims. She was a source of great inspiration to me in whatever little service I am doing for Islam and the Muslim League. I am sure I will be giving her soul all the more comfort and happiness by working with greater devotion in the cause of Islam and the Muslim League.

I was very glad to read of the resolutions of the Working Committee in the papers. The Resolution on the War is the most appropriate in the circumstances and you may be sure that Muslims in general will follow your instructions faithfully. I am sorry, however, that Sir Sikander Hyat goes about making irresponsible statements. The Working Committee has drawn attention to the formation of the National Guards not a day too soon. The Muslims are just in the right frame of mind to take enthusiastically to the

National Guards movement. Could I obtain a copy of the scheme of the reorganization of the National Guards? I am going to organize the National Guards in the Muslim University as soon as it reopens.

I shall be very much obliged if you will kindly let me know as to what steps you are taking to get the article published and distributed by the All India Muslim League office.

With respects,

Yours very sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]Jinnah had written that he would bear his suggestions in mind, and felicitated him on thumping success of ML supporters in the elections to the Muslim University Court. See F. 199/16, *QAP*. Not printed.

328

S. Jan Mohamad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/ 414

JAN MANZIL,
5 PHAYRE ROAD,
POONA,
19 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am writing to you because I am sure you will understand the circumstances this war has placed me in.

As you probably know, my business is Army contracting, which was the business of my father and will probably be the business of my children [as well]. It is therefore necessary as an Army contractor to be always in touch with the officers and be in their good books, since the livelihood of my family and [my]self depends, more or less, upon them.

Since I have explained as briefly and clearly as possible my position, I request you to privilege [*sic*] me to help the British Government in their time of need, in the capacity of Army contractor only, as many other contractors are doing, and also as the Premiers of the Punjab and Bengal are doing in their capacity as Ministers.

I can assure you that I am at heart with the Muslim League and community and always will be, and therefore hope that you will be so kind and considerate as to allow me to help the British Government in their time of need, with no other thought or idea than my capacity as an Army contractor.

Hoping that you will grant my request.[1]
My kindest regards and sincere wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
S. JAN MOHAMAD
Khan Bahadur

[1]No. 331.

329

Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah

F. 95/ 91

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA,
20 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Many thanks for your letter of 17th June[1] and for the Resolution enclosed, passed by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League on 16th June. I shall be very glad to have a talk with you and I suggest, if that is convenient for you, we might do so on the morning of Thursday, 27th June. Perhaps you would be kind enough to let me know[2] whether the date suits you, when I will suggest a time.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

[1]No. 323.
[2]Jinnah confirmed that the date suggested by the Viceroy would suit him. See F. 95/92, *QAP*. Not printed.

330

Mohammad Yusuf to M. A. Jinnah

F. 469/16-8

57 NEWBERRY ROAD,
LUCKNOW,
20 June 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I regret very much that long before your warning in the press, I

had already communicated my assent to act on the War Board, not as member of the League, but as the President of the Agra Province Zamindars' Association, which is really mainly a Hindu body.

I am President because I am the creator of that body, which protects the interests of the zamindars. This body has two seats on the U.P. [*sic*] and exercises tremendous influence during the elections to the Provincial Legislatures and also to the Central Assembly and the Council of State. However, if you think that I should resign from the Board, I shall carry out your orders at once.

I trust that communication between you and the Viceroy will be satisfactory and it will be possible for you not to allow Congress people to make capital out of the situation and we may continue to follow our sincere and sound policy and triumph both in the interests of Muslim community and minorities and classes [*sic*], not to mention the whole country.

With best respects,

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMMAD YUSUF

331

M. A. Jinnah to S. Jan Mohamad

F. 873/415

BOMBAY,
21 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jan Mohamad,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 19th June.[1] I have no power or authority to make any exception or give permission to anyone to act otherwise than [in] terms of the Resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

I do not think that it is any part of your business as an Army contractor to necessarily associate with the War Committees. There is no ban against carrying on your business as an Army contractor, and I hope that you will be loyal to the Resolution of the Muslim League, and not associate with any of the War Committees till the

result of the communications with the Viceroy are [*sic*] known.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

S. Jan Mohamad, Esq.,
Army Contractor, Poona

[1]No. 328.

332

M. A. Jinnah to Abdus Sadeque

F. 106/2

BOMBAY,
21 June 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 11th June,[1] and also the manuscript outlining the scheme to give effect to the partition proposals of the Muslim League Resolution at Lahore.

I was not able to go through this before the meeting of the Working Committee, but I will now go through this very carefully and consider your manuscript.

Thanking you for the trouble and interest that you have taken.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Abdus Sadeque, Esq.,
Prof. of Economics and Politics,
Islamia College, Calcutta

[1]Abdus Sadeque had forwarded to Jinnah a scheme to give effect to the partition proposals of the Muslim League. See F. 106/3-93, *QAP*. Not printed.

333

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 305/46-8

51 EZRA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
21 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I regret I have been unable to reply to your letter[1] earlier than today as I have been terribly worried over the situation that has arisen consequent upon the fiasco in Bombay.

Some of us had been feeling for a long time [that] Sikander Hyat and Fazlul Huq were taking too much liberty with the Working Committee and the President of the League and decided to draw your pointed attention to this fact by issuing a warning to these two spoilt children of yours. You must by now have realised that our repeated representations made year in and year out were not without reason. Had you and your Cabinet acted with firmness when Sikander and his counterpart in Bengal began to take advantage of the League, we would not have become the laughing stock of our political opponents. The progressive element which has been fighting for a re-orientation of the League policy and for creating a batch of sincere and active young, though titleless, workers met with no success. The League Cabinet today savours of the element that made the old League so undemocratic and moribund. The reactionary forces seem to have gained the upper hand once more. The progressives will wait patiently until such time as existing conditions change or until you feel that the salvation of the Muslim nation does not lie in the hands of such indisciplined and undependable colleagues. The Premiers of the two favoured provinces were allowed to torpedo the war policy of the Working Committee by having war resolutions passed in their respective legislatures. We protested to you and also in the party meeting here. We forced the statement from Fazlul Huq on the floor of the Assembly that if there was a clash between the League and the Government of Bengal, he and his colleagues would resign unhesitatingly.

What did you do, Sir? You, instead of taking strong action against these two for indiscipline, actually condoned their offence and confirmed it in the speech you delivered at Hubli. This hesitation in

the beginning, and condonation later on, jettisoned the authority of the League into a bottomless pit. Sikander felt that he was a law unto himself. He thought that he could challenge with impunity both you and the Muslim League high command. He saw the Congress President in direct opposition to the general instructions of the Working Committee and its President. He is now attempting obviously to bring about a compromise with the Congress for the administration of his province. His counterpart in Bengal perhaps means to do the same. They do not care two brass buttons whether they go over anyone's head or throw the Muslims in the minority provinces to the wolves. If a halt is not called even now, it is best that Sikander and his counterpart in Bengal are made the dictators of the Muslim League.

Another jumble has been made. Sikander and Fazlul Huq are striking on their own against the direction of the Working Committee in the matter of the formation of War Committees. This is indeed tragic and intolerable. Statement after statement has been issued to the press by you and others. They are all so contradictory that none of us knows what actually took place in the Working Committee on the 15th June. Our so-called leaders here, members of the Cabinet, took it for granted that they would secure the permission of the Working Committee for Leaguers of the province to join the Provincial and District War Committees. On this assumption names were submitted to the Governor for the various sub-committees and also for the General Committee. Then came the invitation from the Private Secretary of His Excellency to attend a meeting on the 20th instant in the Legislative Assembly Hall. This was followed by your statement[2] clearly calling upon the Muslim Leaguers to abstain from participating in the War Committees until such time as you asked them to do so. Those of us who believe in discipline, and love the League more than our lives, immediately wrote to His Excellency expressing regret at our inability to attend the meeting or to serve on the Committees in view of the direction of the Muslim League high command and its President in the matter. A meeting was held. Many Muslims attended and many Muslims did not. The list of members of the various committees prepared and printed a week ago, notwithstanding the many withdrawals from them, was not altered. You will thus find many names on the Committees that should have been struck off.

The Chief Minister is reported to have excelled himself in demonstration and [*sic* for of] emotion at the meeting. His heart bled and he shed tears for the misfortunes of the world.

The Working Committee of the Bengal League met on the night of the 20th instant to consider the awful situation that had arisen in view of your statement on the one hand and the previous commitment of the Ministers here on the other. We argued for two and a half hours. Among the Ministers present were Mr. Fazlul Huq, Sir Nazimuddin and Tamizuddin Khan. Suhrawardy, although in Calcutta, was absent. Sir Nazimuddin told us that Ministers had been exempted. We contended that your statement was clear and categorical and made no exceptions. It was suggested that the Bengal Working Committee should pass a resolution asking the Central Working Committee to reconsider its decision, failing which to requisition a meeting of the All India [Muslim League] Council. These were opposed and [it was] finally decided that no resolutions be passed as that would have been worse than the disaster at Bombay. Fazlul Huq went so far as to declare that the Working Committee was all wrong. He had a right to his own view and if it came to that he would have no hesitation in resigning from the League and the Working Committee, for he felt convinced that in helping Britain unreservedly lay the salvation of the Musalmans in India. Abdur Rahman agreed with him in the matter of his resignation but it was not forthcoming.

May I beg of you to clarify the position and tell those that are still loyal to the League what to do.[3]

Forgive me for the length of this letter but my heart is full and I must tell you what is in it.

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 31.
[3]No. 347.

334

M. A. Jinnah to Shah Nawaz Khan

F. 97/11

BOMBAY,
21 June 1940

Dear Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz,

My attention has been drawn to the press report from which I find

that you have joined the so-called War Committees. I hope that this is not true and if you had been misled by the interview that Sir Sikander Hyat gave to the press you must have also seen my contradiction that has also appeared in the press.

The Resolution of the Working Committee is quite clear and I hope that you, as President of the Provincial Muslim League of Punjab and as a member of the Working Committee, will not go against it; and if you were under the wrong impression when you agreed to join, as I can quite see that anybody would be misled by Sir Sikander's interview, I hope that you would dissociate yourself from these Committees.

I would also like you to examine the full text of our Resolution carefully and you will see from it that it requires the Govt. to share with us the authority and control in the Government at the Centre, and in all the provinces.

It does not mean non-cooperation but the Government so far has been marking time for Mr. Gandhi to pass his word and has refused to recognise those who are willing to co-operate with the Govt. machinery enlarged within the framework of the existing constitution and law. The Govt. by announcing these Committees without even consulting us are footling with the situation as they cannot serve the real purpose and the grave danger that is facing us.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

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A. M. Allapichai to M. A. Jinnah

F. 573/6

34 APPUMUDALI STREET,
MYLAPORE, MADRAS,
22 June 1940

Dear Sir,

I beg to forward to you the following resolution passed unanimously at a conference of the Muslims of the Tinnevelley District held at Tinnevelley Junction, under my presidentship on Monday, the 10th [of] June 1940:

> This conference expresses its full and unabated confidence in the policy and programme of the All India Muslim League, the sole

representative political organisation of the Muslims of India, in Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the President of the All India Muslim League, and in Mr. M. Haji Jamal Mohammed Sahib, the President of the Madras Presidency Muslim League.

The allegiance and loyalty of the Muslims of the province to the Muslim League and its leaders has almost become proverbial and the above resolution only reaffirms the same. I feel it, therefore, quite unnecessary to add anything further.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. M. ALLAPICHAI
General Secretary,
Madras District Muslim League

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Zia Uddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 203/19

ALIGARH,
22 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I could not understand the implications of the Resolution of the Working Committee about its attitude towards the war. Neither you nor the Congress can stop enrolment in the Army and sale of materials. You have allowed the Musalmans in majority provinces to join War Committees but the Muslims in minority provinces are not to join. In fact we have got greater reasons to join such organizations. In minority provinces, the Hindus are preparing for a clash which we cannot meet without the aid of the Govt., with whom you want us to non-cooperate. In fact they are the Govt.

Some statement from you is necessary. The accounts as published in papers have created a good deal of misunderstanding.

Besides, the Working Committee said nothing about desecration of mosques at Lahore, nor you pressed for the publication of Young Committee's report.

Yours sincerely,
ZIA UDDIN AHMAD

337

Mohammad Iqtedaruddin Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 276/4-6

BUDAUN,
22 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you very much indeed for your letter of 31st May 1940,[1] regarding the punitive tax on the Musalmans of Budaun. I need hardly tell you how deeply grateful we all feel for all that you have done so far in the matter. I have also seen the copy of the letter from the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy which you had very kindly enclosed with your letter. Since then I have been trying to find out the real facts as I was very much surprised that Khan Bahadur Sayed Mohammad, the President of the District Muslim League of Budaun, should have let us down in that manner. I now understand that he has promptly denied and contradicted the statement attributed to him that he only raised the point of the purchase of lorry. He says he has also sent you a letter to that effect a copy of which is with me at the moment. If his denial is correct all your kind efforts in this matter of tax have yet to be considered by Government. We, however, leave it to you to do as and what you think best for us. Since then I have also had an interview with His Excellency the Governor of U.P., and I made a last effort to have this unjust tax remitted. I said that the unanswerable argument on our side was that according to judicial finding only 8 persons were convicted out of 36 sent up by the police for un-lawful assembly. Hence it was most unjust that on account of 8 or even 36 persons the entire Muslim population of over 26,000 should be punished. His Excellency promised to look into the file *de novo*.

I thank you once again for all that you have done, and I trust that when you have so kindly taken up this matter, you will see it to the finish.

Yours sincerely,
M.I. HASAN

[1]Enclosure to No. 267.

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Musafar Karamchand to M. A. Jinnah

F. 181/1-2

GOVERNMENT COLLEGE,
RAJAHMUNDRY,
22 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Recently I had had several happy occasions of spending many delightful hours with Syed Sir Wazir Hasan and discussing the political situation with him. He is so disillusioned by [*sic* for with] the mean ways of his Congress friends that a line from you will bring him to your side. Mr. Wazir is a great patriot and a gentleman of much wisdom, loyalty and common sense. The way the Congress governments behaved no decent person will have anything to do with it. You will go down to posterity as the great Indian who saved the non-Brahmins from a great catastrophe. But for you the British would by this time have handed us over to the tender mercies of a Brahmin *junta* as ruthless as the Hitlerian one. I enclose[1] a letter from Sir Frank Brown which will tell you of my views.

I am a non-Brahmin Hindu but have no religious complex. Sir Mirza is an old and valued friend of mine and my love of the motherland is modelled on his. At long last he too is disillusioned, like Sir Wazir, and at heart knows you to be the saviour of India. I assure you that the whole of non-Brahmin India is behind you. But for your firm attitude the humbug of a Mahatma would have threatened the Government of India into a surrender of authority into the hands of his myrmidons. We had had no end of trouble with the Congress Government. The Ministers proved absolute strangers to truth and non-violence and decency. They fraternized with the riff-raff of the population and spread their nets far and wide to catch the unwary. Being devoid of any moral standards they gave a fillip to corruption unknown in living memory. We are having perfect peace now and hope that you will protect us from the sirens of the type of C.R.[2] and Co.

My wife and I had had the pleasure of making your acquaintance in London in 1923 or 1924 when we also had had the privilege of paying our homage to your late, lamented, charming wife. During the course of the next few months I hope to see you in Bombay.

Sir Wazir Hasan has been talking very appreciatively and affectionately of you. I do sincerely hope that you will very kindly try to establish contact with him and have him by your side. He will be in Hyderabad next week and is then visiting Bombay. Please do meet him. He is a good and true man.

With compliments,

Yours sincerely,
MUSAFAR KARAMCHAND

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Initials of Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, prominent Congress leader of Madras.

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Syed Maqbul Hossain to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 566/17

CHITTAGONG,
22 June 1940

Calcutta *Statesman* reports Bengal Muslim Ministers other Muslim leaders joined War Committee violating League Resolution. Chittagong War Committee [meeting] twenty fourth. Wire instruction.

SYED MAQBUL HOSSAIN
President, Chittagong Muslim League

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Rabb Nawaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 579/18-9

FEROZEPORE,
22 June 1940

Sir,

I believe you have already come to know that some members of your Working Committee, in direct defiance of your decision, have accepted offices on the War Committee set up by H.E. the Governor of the Punjab. When the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League has so defied you, where is the prestige of the League, and what is now your position in the eyes of the Government, other

political organizations and the outside world? Offices on the War Committees have [been] accepted after your clear statement that no exemption applies to either Punjab or Bengal.

2. I assure you that the Province of Punjab has complete faith in you and the League. If the Ministers and the Nawabs go off, the League in the Punjab shall still continue. At any rate it is better to have true and sincere Leaguers although smaller in numbers. Please purge the League of traitors to the League, if you want a solid following of your own.

3. In the presence of this attitude of the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, it is likely now that members of Primary and District Leagues in the Punjab may follow suit.

To obviate this I propose two things:

i. that strong disciplinary action against the defiant Muslim Leaguers be taken at once, and

ii. that a statement may be issued by you at once that the Punjab Muslim Leaguers should not follow the example of their Provincial President and that necessary action shall be taken against all the offenders.

4. In case no action is taken, I assure you we the people shall leave this impotent League which is no better than a farce.[1]

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
RABB NAWAZ KHAN
Secretary,
Ferozepore District Muslim League

[1]Jinnah replied that the matter would receive his careful consideration. See F. 873/426, *QAP*. Not printed.

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M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Yusuf

F. 469/19

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

BOMBAY,
22 June 1940

Dear Nawab Sir Mohammad Yusuf,

I thank you for your letter of the 20th June.[1] I considered the point

which you have placed before me, and I think you cannot owe allegiance to two organizations at a time. Besides, Agra Provincial Zamindars' Association is at most a guild, and mainly is intended to safeguard the rights and interests of zamindars.

After careful consideration, therefore, I request you to resign from the Board and loyally obey the Resolution of the Working Committee.

With regard to my communication with the Viceroy I have already put myself in touch with him and I hope that the British Government will move in the matter and not keep still, marking time for Mr. Gandhi to pass his word.

Your position is that we find it incompatible to our self-respect to co-operate with the Govt. that is not prepared to show trust and share with us the authority and control at the Centre and in all the provinces, whether the Congress comes in or not. We cannot be reduced to the position of hangers-on of the system, although we duly realize the gravity and importance of the situation and the vital interest of India involved therein. Besides, these Committees which are designated as "War Committees" are merely footling with the problem and they will serve no purpose.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 330.

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A. M. K. Dehlavi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 256/92-5

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

SADAR HOUSE,
SURAT,
22 June 1940

My dear Jinnah,

I have been thinking of writing to you almost every day ever since the close of our Committee session in Bombay, but all the same feeling diffident whether I should write to you or not. I have a feeling, to be very very frank with you, as an old personal friend, which you do not need, nor [*sic*] welcome or appreciate letters from me, which I may feel inclined to send with suggestions etc. But, all

the same, as a staunch and an old old Leaguer, I feel I would consider it almost a sin to keep back what I should place before you as the leader of our organization.

First, I must take Sikander and Nazimuddin into consideration. My suspicions are being confirmed from day to day that if not both, one of them most certainly [will] act [as] the "fifth column[ist]" between the League and the Viceroy; and both of them, I am afraid, have been and are trying to, what I may call, flatten you by degrees. If they succeed they not only harm an individual, who is at the helm of our affairs, but they succeed in ruining our cause. In plain words, I think Sikander is becoming, like the Nazis to the British Empire, a danger to our League. Well, this is by way of placing the facts before you, as I see them. Perhaps you too look at them with the same eyes. But, it is no use watching silently these vagarious and inconsistent movements of our so-called friends. These are moments for rapid decisions.

Now to another thing. I do not think our Committee resolutions have reached, in their true perspective and literal translation, the League public [*sic* for following] at large; and this is absolutely necessary, in fact, indispensable. There are hardly [any] vernacular, papers to talk of and the English papers are not understood by our public. I, therefore, suggest that the translations of all our three or four resolutions must be made, for this Presidency, in Gujerati, and the District Leagues be ordered to make them public immediately. Our local President, Mr. Shaikh, is somehow lost in the wilderness of Bombay. I enclose[1] for your information, if you care to read it, copy of my reply to the Collector, who invited me to a meeting this evening.

Now to the Congress Resolution. Our friend Gandhi has very artfully extricated himself [from], or rather absolved himself of, the intricacies of the situation, and the Congress is departing because of, as they put it, "the external and internal situations as they arise every day" from the principle of *Ahimsa* and organizing themselves to face any eventuality. You have already passed a Resolution about the National Guards; but I, personally, have all along been aiming at preparing our community, by any organisation you may like to call it, say National Guards or otherwise, for a civil war, which alone would settle one day the communal issues in India. As I told you at the Committee [meeting], Sikander and people like him, who imitate him, and other Provincial Governments might sit on the activities of our National Guards. But, to that you replied, not to my satisfaction, that if the governments did that, they would have to

stifle the activities of all communities, including the Congress. But that is no satisfaction to me. Our men must be prepared for the future. The death of the organizations, and with them ours, will only amount to, according to you, it seems [*words illegible*] that is not the object. Well, these are the matters and many such will arise as time goes by, which you have to face, and promptly and peremptorily guide your workers and colleagues in the country. The responsibility is [to be] borne by yourself individually, and as I have pointed out to you several times, that responsibility of the safety of the future of our great community, a nation as we claim it to be, is indeed a Herculean task, which we have to face and cope with. Please excuse this outburst of feelings, which sincerity and faith in the future of my community have prompted me to write to you.

Yours sincerely,
A. M. K. DEHLAVI

[1]See F. 256/97, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/81-5

PESHAWAR,
22 June 1940

Dear Sir,

We both went to the Government House and told the Private Secretary to H. E. the Governor about the ban on the War Committees and severed our connection till Simla adjustment or further orders from you—our interview had already been fixed. We had half an hour's interview with H. E. the Governor as desired by you to impress upon our provincial Governors to approach H. E. [the] Viceroy to give immediate association to four-fifth India at the Centre and in the provinces and four-fifth India would co-operate inside and outside India in the best possible way.

The position required a lot of clarification—our resolutions are always cut out but terse also. H. E. [*sic*] thought why we confused two issues:

1. Share in the Government; and
2. Intensification of war efforts

I said to him that within the framework of the Government [of India] Act 1935, the Viceroy so far as [*word illegible*] offered India national governments at the Centre and in the provinces and four-fifth India agreed, i.e.

1. Muslim League
2. Untouchables
3. The non-Brahmins of South India
4. The Sikhs
5. The Princes
6. The non-Congress Hindus
7. The Parsis

And as majority of India[ns] (who also count in fighting men (martial races) as well as in material) accepted H. E. the Viceroy's offer, it should have been allowed, but as the Congress high command turned down the offer, the Viceroy [also] turned down four-fifth India for the sake of the Congress. This is highly derogatory to our self-respect and this is [being] highly partial [towards] Congress—so Government of India feeling stampeded by the attitude of Congress ignored four-fifth India. Therefore we hold that the responsible Centre minus Congress, i.e. four-fifth India centre, will be as much representative as national government in England inasmuch as the English Cabinet does not include Communists or defeatists or fifth-columnists of England and yet it is national.

Secondly, the London *Times* and the Viceroy are not correct when they say [that] the Government of four-fifth India at the Centre or in the provinces will be sectional—this is wrong. It will be absolutely national. Don't attach undue importance to Congress—you may be afraid of Congress—we are not and we feel insulted, and refuse to co-operate when you withdraw [the] offer or withhold it so long as the Congress does not condescend to agree.

Thirdly, now or never.

The masses are with us. They may be contaminated [*sic*] by mischief-mongers any time and your Viceroy will wait till Doomsday. If you wait more, our negative policy of "nothing doing" may detach us from the masses.

Fourthly, we do not believe in inside India work—our intensification of war efforts means even overseas, if need be.

Fifthly, when your government trusts Muslims as well as leadership of other interests, we guarantee that Congress will not co-operate.

Sixthly, your measures are half-measures, inadequate, half-hearted

and halting—we believe in full measures.

Seventhly, time and tide never wait. Delay now at this juncture is most dangerous to you and us both. Eventually India's defence is delayed dangerously for Congress and we will go down for intransigence of this Congress one-fifth India [*sic*].

He felt completely convinced and took due notes and he will at once either phone or write to H. E. Viceroy for your immediate interview.

Regarding "Jinnah-Sikander Alliance". I send you a cutting from the *Tribune* which will tell its own story. How anxious Hindu India is to see a rift between you and Sir Sikander—the *Tribune* of 21st June.

I am sending a little note to the press about this anti-Muslim attitude of the so-called Hindu Mahasabha press of Northern India—the mischievous press of Northern India—Hindu press as well as Anglo-Indian press delights to find a point of divergence or disagreement between you and Sir Sikander. The cutting is for [your] kind perusal.[1]

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

[1]Jinnah replied that he was highly disappointed at the behaviour of Sir Sikander Hyat, and was going to Simla on 27 June to meet the Viceroy. See F. 329/95, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Nazir Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 331/2-5

BAHAR AFSHAN,
MONTGOMERY,
23 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have to thank you for your telegram of the 18th June[1] in reply to my wire[2] of the 12th June.

In accordance with the Working Committee's decision, I have resigned from the District as well as the Provincial War Committees formed by H. E. the Governor of the Punjab. I await your further orders in the matter.

It is with great regret that I have to draw your attention to the deplorable instances of indiscipline among members of the Punjab Muslim League regarding the Working Committee's Resolution.

The President of the Punjab Muslim League [and] several members of the Council of All India Muslim League (even Sir Sikander himself) have not only joined the War Committees but are actually running them.

Similar instances will be found in the districts of the Punjab where office-holders of District and City Leagues have openly joined the District War Committees. May I know as to what action do you (or the Working Committee) propose to take in the matter?

Do you think that in view of the example set by the Punjab, the ban imposed by the Working Committee can be effective even as a political gesture?

The League must be purged of these objectionable elements and be brought nearer to the masses in order to make its mission successful.

With kind regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
NAZIR AHMAD KHAN
Advocate
Member, Council of All India Muslim League

[1&2]Not traceable.

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M. A. Jinnah to Malik Barkat Ali

F. 215/38

BOMBAY,
23 June 1940

Dear Mr. Barkat Ali,

I thank you for your letter of the 18th June 1940.[1]

Now I can say that the position of the Muslim League in the Punjab is very sad indeed. Your letter and the press cuttings will have my very close attention. All I can say is—patience. The League

is bound now to go ahead. I have full confidence that our opponents and enemies will fail.

I hope you are well. With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Malik Barkat Ali, Esq.,
Advocate, High Court,
Lahore

[1]No. 326.

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Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 215/36-7

19 TEMPLE ROAD,
LAHORE,
23 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose herewith a cutting[1] from the *Tribune* of today on Sir Sikander's revolt. I strongly feel that this indiscipline must be met with vigour. What does it matter if Sir Sikander separates from the League. The League will gain immeasurably in public esteem. It is better that the League stands disencumbered of false friends and allies. It is my belief that every Muslim Leaguer in the Punjab who disobeyed the Resolution of the Working Committee should be removed from the rolls of the League. I am ready to send this resolution in my name provided that you agree and will press for its passage. I assure you that this will bring Sir Sikander to his senses and will take away from him a large body of Muslim members.

You will be glad to learn that in today's morning papers, in vernacular, the news is given "that Sardar Aurangzeb Khan and Khan Sadullah Khan have intimated to the Frontier Governor their inability to join the War Boards in obedience to the Resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League". I am told that the Nawab of Mamdot, under orders, held a meeting of the Working Committee and passed a resolution to the effect that your attention should be drawn to the advisability of Muslim Leaguers in the Punjab joining the War Boards. It is stated that he has been deputed to see you in

Bombay and to use his, so-called, influence with you. Needless to add that this old fool's conduct will receive the fullest condemnation at your hands. With all regards,[2]

Yours sincerely,
BARKAT ALI

[PS.] Do not take him [as] a simple man [that] he pretends to be. He started like this with the late Sir Mohammad Iqbal and ended by being branded by him as a despicable spy.

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Jinnah replied that he had already moved in the matter as intimated in his previous letters. See F. 215/40, *QAP*. Not printed.

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M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

F. 305/49-51

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

BOMBAY,
24 June 1940

My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 21st instant.[1] The Resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, asking the Musalmans and certainly the Leaguers not to join the proposed War Committees, is quite clear and my contradiction of Sir Sikander Hyat's statement also leaves no doubt in the matter. The question was discussed at great length and finally the Resolution was adopted without a dissent.

What you say in the rest of your letter is receiving my very close attention and I agree with you that the position is intolerable.

My only regret is that Sir Nazimuddin, according to the press report, should have said that the ministers were exempted. That is not correct. After the Resolution was passed Sir Nazimuddin asked me what would be the position of the ministers and I said to him that they must tell the Governors, or through the Governors it must be conveyed to the Viceroy, that pending our communication with the Viceroy they should not proceed with the formation of the War Committees. Sir Nazimuddin then said, "supposing we are forced to go on with it, which will leave no alternative [other] than to resign", to which my answer was that if it comes to that we

may ask them to resign and that they should communicate to me when that stage is reached. As a matter of fact, Fazlul Huq sent a telegram to Sir Nazimuddin that if the Working Committee does not resolve to support the British Government unconditionally, we shall have no alternative left but to resign [from] the League. The Working Committee seemed to regret the telegram and the threat conveyed by Fazlul Huq and entirely disapproved of it. Wherefore, Sir Nazimuddin thought that this telegram may have been sent by some mischief-makers, and withdrew it to get his confirmation and to put it before the Working Committee; but it was not placed before the Committee again although it continued its sitting for two more days.

I am fully alive to the situation. You ask me, "May I beg of you to clarify the position and tell those that are still loyal to the League what to do." I say, do faithfully and fearlessly what the Resolution of the Working Committee enjoins you to do. I feel also that time is coming when the League must be purified at all cost.

I am very glad you wrote to me a frank letter and I thank you for it. I may inform you that I had forwarded the Resolution to the Viceroy with a covering letter that if he desired to discuss it any further I will be glad to meet him. In response, I received his letter acknowledging the Resolution and the covering letter, and asking me to meet him on the 27th of June. Accordingly, I am leaving tomorrow night. After my return, it would be for all of us to consider the position seriously both with regard to Sir Sikander Hyat and Fazlul Huq and all other matters.

You know that last September, at the meeting of the Working Committee, both Sir Sikander Hyat and Fazlul Huq had given me in writing that they would resign the premierships, whenever I called upon them to do so. How far they would abide by their solemn word and pledge, I do not know.

There is one sentence in your letter which is not quite correct:

> You, instead of taking strong action against these two for indiscipline, actually condoned their offence and confirmed it in the speech you delivered at Hubli.

I did not deliver any speech at Hubli, neither did I refer to any one of them in my message[2] to the Hubli Conference. But I think you may be thinking of my statement which I issued on the 27th of May.[3]

If you read it carefully you will find that it was merely intended to show that the Muslim League so far had not embarrassed the British Government, pending our negotiations with the Viceroy.

The last letter from the Viceroy was written by him on the 19th

April,[4] and was placed by me before the Working Committee at Bombay on the 15th [June], and after consideration of all these matters the final decision was taken as indicated by the Resolution of the 17th June.[5]

Hoping you are well [and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
5 Camac Street,
Calcutta

[1]No. 333.
[2]Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, II, 1200-01.
[3]See Enclosure to No. 249.
[4]No. 190.
[5]No. 323.

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J. G. Laithwaite to M. A. Jinnah

F. 20/1

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA,
24 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I write in reply to your letter of the 14th June, [1] with which you sent me a letter from Khan Bahadur Sheikh Sayed Mohammad of Sheikhupur. I did not mean to suggest that the Khan Bahadur in his interview with H.E. Sir Maurice Hallett had not pressed for the entire cancellation of the orders for the imposition of punitive police [tax]—indeed it would have been strange had he not done so. But as I mentioned in my letter, H.E. Sir Maurice Hallett came to the conclusion that subject to reduction of the period by half, justification existed for those orders. Apart from this fundamental matter, one question, raised by the Khan Bahadur, concerned the lorry and I understand that after the examination to which I referred to in my letter of the

28th May,[2] His Excellency has modified the previous orders.

Yours sincerely,
J.G. LAITHWAITE
Private Secretary to Governor-General

PS. I return the original enclosure to your letter of 14 June.

[1]See No. 318.
[2]See No. 247.

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Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 458/21-2

CALCUTTA,
24 June 1940

Civic Guards being enrolled by War Committees in Calcutta and throughout Bengal. This organisation most important and influential will be utilized prevent and crush communal disorder. Hindu Mahasabhaites realizing importance and power enrolling in large numbers. Muslims anxious to join otherwise will be at mercy of Hindus. Owing to ban Muslims divided. Even those obeying ban are pressing for lifting ban for Civic Guards at least. Dangerous situation developing. Opponents of League undermining League's position. League's prestige at stake. Request lifting of ban at least for Civic Guards immediately.

SHAHEED SUHRAWARDY

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M. A. Jinnah to Huseyn Shaheed Suhrawardy

Telegram, F. 458/20

BOMBAY,
24 June 1940

Your telegram.[1] The aspect was fully considered by Committee. Leaguers should loyally stand by Resolution. Have no power lift

ban. Don't agree with your reasoning nor would I lift ban even had I power to do so. See no danger.

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 349.

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S. A. Siddiqui to M. A. Jinnah

F. 453/1-8

MAQSOOD MANZIL,
302/B NAI BASTI,
ALLAHABAD, U.P.,
24 June 1940

Dear Quaid-i-Azam and *Amir-i-Millat*,

Permit me, with all due respects to you, to submit that I am a Muslim Leaguer to the backbone, and am one of the sincerest followers and admirers of your personality, calibre and foresight. I know it very well that it is no one but you who have organised the shattered Muslims of India under one flag, one platform and one programme during these stormy days. It is my conviction that it is you who can be called the saviour of the Muslim nation in India since the death of Emperor Aurangzeb, the saint.

With all these beliefs and convictions, I, a Musalman, take the liberty—the liberty of free thought as given by Islam—of writing to you on this occasion something about the diplomatic move of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, and the sacrifices that the Muslim League has done [*sic*] for him.

The Muslim League members of the Punjab Assembly and all the Muslim League papers in India are supporting Sir Sikander because he is a member of the Working Committee of the Muslim League.

The special session of the All India Muslim League was held at Calcutta to settle the question of the Shaheed Gunj *Masjid* only to save the ministry of Sir Sikander. I don't know how far the Muslim League is carrying out the resolution, passed in Calcutta regarding the Shaheed Gunj *Masjid,* after the decision of the Privy Council, and as to what Sir Sikander has done or is doing for the *Masjid* according to the resolution passed. I don't know what good result the attitude of the Muslim League regarding it would bring about among [*sic*] the masses.

The Muslim League is playing in his hands, as it seems; and as Sir Sikander is considered an agent of British imperialism in India, so is the whole League taken in the same light.

So much for the sacrifices of the League for Sir Sikander, but what is he doing for the Muslims in India and for the Muslim League?

He deliberately kept himself absent from all the meetings of the League that took place in Punjab. Not only so much; recently he did not even accept a welcome address of an educational institution because therein he had been mentioned as one of the followers of the Muslim League. His deliberate absence from the Muslim League procession at Simla organised in your honour, [and] the Deliverance Day and Pakistan Day meetings at Lahore, are remarkable instances of his insincerity to the cause of the Muslim League. His attitude towards the War and his occasional outbursts are against the policy of the Muslim League.

His attitude towards the Khaksar Movement—which has even changed the policy of the League—is not only detrimental to the Muslim League but to the Muslim nation in India during these gloomy days of the War when the Hindus are trying to organise on the same basis.[*sic*] At least, the move ['*sic*] of the Police inside several mosques is a direct insult to Islam. Had this been done by the Congress Government, a lot would have been done by means of propaganda, if not by action, against the Congress. But the Muslim League is silently watching the whole situation and keeping quiet due to Sir Sikander.

The last move of Sir Sikander—his talk with the Congress President (*Shri Azadji*)—and his deliberate wrong interpretation of the Muslim League Resolution, passed at Bombay recently, and his taking part in the War Committee, etc., along with Nawab of Mamdot (the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League), is not only misleading for the Indian Muslims, but is [also] breaking the solidarity of the Muslim League; and others are laughing up their sleeve[s] at us.

I have tried to quote some instances of the attitude of Sir Sikander, which are anti-League in spirit, but I am extremely sorry to note that no disciplinary action has been taken against him. I happen to remember that Sir Abdul Halim Ghaznavi has been expelled from the Muslim League for four years because he delivered a speech against the policy of the Muslim League. Why not such a step is taken against him [Sikander Hyat]? It is said that no step can be taken

against him because he is dominating Mr. Jinnah by his diplomacy, which I do not and cannot believe.

In my humble opinion, it is the time when the matter should be carried [*sic*] with a high hand, and it would be far better if he is [*sic* for were] expelled from the League, and the Muslim masses in the Punjab approached directly, otherwise it is believed the Muslim League will receive a death-blow from the Premier of the Punjab, for he is playing off [*sic*] the Muslim League for his interest. If a serious view is not taken, I feel, it will simply fan the flames. Discipline should be maintained at every cost, otherwise there is the possibility of disintegration in the organization of the League.

I know it very well that the masses are League-minded, but they have never been approached in a right way.

These are the outbursts of a layman, who has tried to represent the opinion of the man in the street along with his own humble opinion before the accredited leader of the Muslim League, nay of the Muslim nation in India, for consideration just like an ordinary soldier putting [*sic*] up everything before the commander-in-chief and is always ready to carry out orders. Whatever I have submitted, is in the interest of the Muslim League. I, therefore, hope you shall [*sic* for will] pardon me if anything goes against your will in this letter.

I am, herewith, sending a cutting of an article[1] from a local daily for your perusal, though late, but better late than never. We badly need counter-propaganda, and am [*sic* for are] keenly waiting for the Muslim League paper to be issued from Bombay.

Thanking you for the trouble, and praying to God, the all-powerful, for His help and light for your brilliant success,

Yours very obediently,
S. A. SIDDIQUI

[1]Not traceable.

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/66-7

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,
CALCUTTA,
24 June 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I returned to my Calcutta office from a Bihar tour on the 19th June, i.e. only a day before the date fixed for the inaugural meeting of the War Committee under presidency of the Bengal Governor. I at once notified all members of the League through the press and by personal contact that they should implicitly obey your orders and desist from joining the War Committee. I succeeded as far as Calcutta and my area was concerned but I am sorry to inform you that some Ministers and Khwaja Shahabuddin, younger brother of Khwaja Nazimuddin, are moving heaven and earth for recruiting Muslim Leaguers for the War Committee. They have committed grave acts of indiscipline and disloyalty to the League. But the Muslim public of Bengal is with the League. Few Muslims of influence have joined the Committee. They are being denounced by the enraged public.

The daily *Azad* and *Mohammadi* (Bengali) are supporting me in my campaign for standing by the All India Muslim League. Moulana Akrum Khan has also declined to serve on the War Committee. Abdul Rahman Siddiqui, the Calcutta Mayor, did not join the Committee. The inaugural meeting in spite of great trumpeting by the *Statesman* was a fiasco. Mr. M. A. H. Ispahani has also refused to serve on the Committee. Many others are issuing their statements.

We understand the Viceroy and Mr. Amery are going to announce something tomorrow. I don't know what it will be, but the Calcutta air is thick with the rumour that the British will surrender to the Congress and betray the Muslims. But the Muslims are ready to face everything with firm faith.

The Khaksars in Bihar and Bengal are now openly adopting terrorist methods against the Muslim League. They, with knives in their hands, threaten the League leaders. They abuse you, Mr. Jinnah, as *ghaddar*, etc. They have, in many places, paralysed, terrorised and demoralized the Muslim League. They are opposing progress of the National Guards. The Central League should give a bold and

courageous lead before it is too late. Please remember that the Khaksars may or may not have [any] connection with the enemy or the Nazis but there is not the least doubt that the whole ideology, objective and method of Mashriqi, both in religion and power politics, is completely Nazi and fascist. It is a great menace to the Muslim League and Islam in India. I again appeal to you to attend to this danger. The League must master the Khaksars or be ready to be mastered by them.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/61

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,
CALCUTTA,
24 June 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

MUSLIMS AND ARMAMENT INDUSTRIES

I am forwarding to you a very important communication addressed to the Viceroy, the Commander-in-Chief, and other Army and Defence authorities in India. It is strange to find that while the Muslims, the Frontier Guards, and the sword-arm of India are shedding their blood and manning all the defences and outposts of the Empire by sacrificing the flower of their nation, the vast armament factories and vastly expanded war industries are becoming the monopoly of the *bania* Hindus who are profiteering at the cost of the public.

Please draw the attention of the higher authorities to the grievous injustices to the Muslims and oblige.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN
General Secretary,
Calcutta District Muslim League

Enclosure to No. 353

F. 204/62-4

An emergency meeting of the Chitpore-Cossipore Muslim League, Ward No. 32, Calcutta, was held on 2nd June 1940 in the League office. Moulvi Mohammad Isa Khan, Vice-President, presided. The question of the long-standing grievances of the Muslims, in general, and of the Muslim employees, in particular, regarding the Gun and Shell Factory, Calcutta, was discussed.

TREATED LIKE PARIAH[S]

It was revealed during the discussion that recently about four to five thousand new hands, artisan boys, mechanical apprentices, labourers, workmen, clerks, foremen, assistant foremen, work managers, assistant managers, technicians and other employees were recruited due to war expansion, but, in this [*sic* for of those] 5000, only eight or nine hundred were Muslims. In this whole factory, there are only three Muslim officers, an assistant foreman and two sub-labour officers. All the key positions, lucrative posts of power and advantage, are manned by the Hindu[s] and other non-Muslim classes. The Muslims are treated like the Pariah[s] and the Untouchable[s] in the most important department of war effort in which the Muslims of India are whole-heartedly co-operating and sacrificing the flower of their nation.

HEIGHT OF INJUSTICE

It was regrettable to note that the *Bara Sahibs* had resigned [*sic*] everything to the *Bara Babus* who wanted to establish a caste monopoly in this department of national industry and deprive the Muslims of their due share. Was it not the height of injustice that while the Muslims were in the fore-front of war, shedding their blood in France and Britain for the Empire, contributing the largest quota of Indian soldiers, and manning the out-posts of the Empire in India, Aden, Egypt, Palestine, Burma, Malaya, China, France and Britain herself, their co-nationals and sons were receiving shabby treatment in the armament factories of India, so much so that avenues of earning their honest bread and receiving their due and fair share in the wage-bill of the national armament industry were blocked by castes of monopolists? This is a grievous wrong which should be righted by higher authorities. The Muslims cannot be expected to tolerate grievous injustice and dishonourable discrimination.

The following resolutions were passed:

This meeting of the Working Committee of the Chitpore-Cossipore Muslim League regretfully records that the authorities of the Gun and Shell Factory, Cossipore, Calcutta, have conclusively failed to recruit Muslim officers (including foremen, assistant foremen, chargemen, supervisors) and workmen in accordance with the percentage fixed by the resolution of the Government of India in 1934 and in fair proportion to their vast majority in this Muslim Province of Bengal. Further, that the Hindu officers and workmen in matters of promotion and increment get favourable treatment in supersession of and at the cost of Muslim claims, which have practically been shelved for years.

BISKARMA PUJA VS NAMAZ

That restrictions have been imposed on the religious observance of Muslim employees, e.g. on the saying of *Namaz*, and that some Muslims have been fined and some even axed because they said *Namaz* in the factory compound, while the Hindus are allowed to perform their *Biskarma Puja* in the factory compound.

NO HOLIDAY FOR MUSLIMS

That this meeting views with regret the grievous discrimination against the Muslim employees of the Gun and Shell Factory, Cossipore, Calcutta, in the matter of holidays and festivals and condemns the practice of the factory authorities that they never grant full holiday with pay to the Muslims on important Islamic festivals such as *'Id al-Fitr, 'Id al-Azha, 'Id Milad-un-Nabi, Fateha Dewaz-dahum* and *Moharram*, while they grant full holidays to Hindus on numerous unimportant Hindu festivals like *Biskarma Puja, Kali Puja, Durga Puja, Ram Naomi, Janam Asthmai, Del Jatra* and scores of other. The Hindus are even allowed to perform their *Puja*, e.g. *Biskarma Puja*, within the factory compound while the Muslims are not allowed to say their *Namaz* in the factory.

VERY VERY FEW MUSLIMS

That this meeting views with profound regret and resentment the fact that in thousands of new employees recruited for manning the expansion of war industries in India, necessitated by the war, and particularly in the Gun and Shell Factory of Cossipore, Calcutta, the proportion of Muslims is very very few [*sic*] and quite out of proportion to the[ir] numerical

strength, political importance and sacrifices in men and material for the Empire, and that the Muslim employees were being subjected to acts of discrimination and injustice in the matter of promotion, increment and other emoluments.

APPEAL TO H.E. THE VICEROY

That this meeting, therefore, protests against this policy of discrimination against the Muslims and of making this factory a monopoly of non-Muslims, and urges upon His Excellency the Viceroy, his Executive Council, H.E. the Commander-in-Chief and the higher authorities of Indian ordnance factories to set up immediately a committee to enquire into the long-standing and legitimate grievances of the Musalmans, and to redress the same at the earliest moment.

This meeting appeals to the Defence authorities of the Government of India to take prompt steps to redress the grievances of the Muslims.

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Bashir Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 197/2-5

LAHORE,
24 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending three cuttings[1] from some recent issues of the *Civil & Military Gazette* to you to read. I don't think it is necessary for me to comment upon any of them, for the simple reason that they hardly need any.

The first cutting is nothing more than a certificate of expression of pleasure conferred upon, if you will allow me to say so, your lieutenant and colleague of the Muslim League—Sir Sikander Hyat Khan—by that arch-Mahasabhaite, Mr. [V. D.] Savarkar, for the unheard-of repressive measures resorted to by Sir Sikander to strangle the Khaksars, whom Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung in his oration on the closing day of the Muslim League Session at Lahore had called your "children". How I wish these poor boys had been Mr. Gandhi's children instead. They would then have had people at

their back who did not regard making speeches and passing a few nicely-worded resolutions (which certainly do take in people for the time being but in the end prove nothing more than a mirage) as the be-all and end-all of their lives. But one never knows. Hard pressed as these Khaksars are, with nothing better to support them except the mental anguish and helpless feeling of the silent millions of Muslims in this Province and their prayers, they may still let the Congress take them under its protective wings. As a matter of fact, Pandit Jawaharlal just dropped a hint about it when he visited the Khaksars at the Golden Mosque during his recent visit to Lahore.

The other two cuttings will make it abundantly clear to you what a laughing-stock of everybody has the Muslim League become so far as this Province is concerned. All the gallant Knights, Nawabs and Khan Bahadurs of its Working Committee seem to think that their very existence in the world of politics depends upon their hanging on to the lapels of Sir Sikander's coat, for all they are worth, in spite of the unmistakable and well-directed kicks that he is pleased to administer to the League from time to time. That is what all the people here say and I am afraid I can't blame them for that.

Now I ask you, can a thoroughly indisciplined body of men like the present Working Committee of the League ever do anything more than talk and pass resolutions knowing very well that they will themselves be the first to break them the very next day? If you are in earnest and really want to do something for your community, you have to take a leaf out of Kamal Ataturk's life and cut off all these deceased [*sic*] limbs, as he did in Turkey to make her great. It is the masses to whom you have to turn. In them you will find the right type of people who are real Muslims and are not only capable but [also] ready to make any sacrifice for their community.

Giving away one's life, which can never come back, is the greatest sacrifice which a man or woman can make. Do you think that any of your Knights or Khan Bahadurs of the present Working Committee of the League can ever dream of offering such a sacrifice. Most emphatically not. But if you turn to the masses and put your trust in them, you will find not one but hundreds and thousands of men and women who will be ready to sacrifice all their worldly possessions and everything else they hold dear and, if necessary, give their lives as well for the glory of Islam. But it cannot be the Knights or Khan Bahadurs who can lead them in such a struggle. It must be men who are actuated by the same motives and fired with the same spirit and are willing and ready to suffer and lose as much—if not

more—as the people whom they lead.

I am afraid you might regard me as having been very blunt if not actually discourteous in certain places in this letter, but I would hasten to assure you that it has not been intentional. I would be the last person to be discourteous to you. If I have used any words, which I should not have done, it has all been due to the recent happenings that have brought me to a state of mind in which I find myself incapable of mincing words.

You will probably observe that I have not put down my address in this letter. This is intentional. Knowing as I do that all letters addressed to you from Lahore pass through the hands of the C.I.D., I was reluctant to do so because the only result of that would have been to find myself safely lodged in prison during the next few days under that handy and all-embracing Defence of India Act which is being used to such good purpose as a "Protection of Unionist Party Act" by Sir Sikander and his henchmen, in stifling all opposition to their personal interests. Their latest victims have been a few Khaksar women and a ten-year old girl.

I won't attempt to describe to you what opinion, in the face of all this, do the Muslims here hold about the League now. I will leave that to you to judge for yourself.

Yours sincerely,
BASHIR AHMAD

[1]Not traceable.

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Fazlul Huq to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 281/8

CALCUTTA,
24 June 1940

Strongly feel Working Committee Resolution prohibiting Leaguers joining War Committee most impolitic and inadvisable in present circumstance. Strongly urge calling emergent meeting Working Committee at Delhi for reconsidering the decision. Otherwise most ardent Leaguers may be forced to leave League.

FAZLUL HUQ

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Shah Nawaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 97/12-4

CONFIDENTIAL

MAMDOT VILLA, DAVIES ROAD,
LAHORE,
24 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I herewith enclose a copy of the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League in a meeting held on 20th June 1940, and beg to place the following facts for your consideration, and request that early instructions may kindly be sent for our future guidance and action that you may desire us to take in connection with the nominations of certain members of the League on the Provincial War Board Sub-Committees.

As you are aware, conditions in the Punjab are very different from those in other provinces, and have never been propitious for the independent development of the Muslim League interests. The outbreak of war has made the conditions more intricate. Non-Muslim organisations in the Punjab have raised a storm against the separation Resolution passed in the annual session of the All India Muslim League at Lahore, and the Sikhs have openly challenged it and are steadily organising themselves to disturb the peace and tranquillity of the Province.

Incidents relating to the Khaksar activities have also gone a long way to[wards] creating differences among the Muslims and opponents of the Muslim League are taking undue advantage of the situation to make all sorts of propaganda against the League. Government operations under the Defence of India Act are also mainly directed against the Musalmans in the City of Lahore on account of the Khaksar agitation, and the fact that the Muslim League has for some reasons not been able to intervene has added fuel to the fire. It is, therefore, very necessary that we must try to keep the forces of the Muslim League, whatever they may be in the Punjab, intact as far as we possibly can.

I am very sorry that myself and a number of other prominent members of the League agreed to serve on the War Committees long before the Resolution of the All India Muslim League was passed. In this case, your statement, published in the *Civil & Military Gazette* of the 28th [29] May,[1] encouraged even the really genuine and enthusiastic

members of the League to believe that there would be nothing wrong if they agreed to serve on the War Committees in view of the fact that they were being set up for the defence of India and to maintain internal peace and tranquillity. As I have stated above, [the] Punjab threatens to be a hotbed of communal disturbances.

I may further point out that it was not until the 19th instant, i.e. a day after the inauguration of the Provincial War Board, and the nominations to the various Sub-Committees, that we, in the Punjab, learnt that the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League had decided, *inter alia*, that no member of the League was to serve on the War Board until the President had [had] satisfactory assurances from H.E. the Viceroy with regard to certain outstanding questions. The position now is that if such of the League members as have already allowed themselves to be nominated on the War Board Sub-Committees refuse to serve on them, it will be taken as a direct action against the Provincial Government, with results which may be better imagined than described.

To remove any misapprehensions, I may clearly state here that I am not writing this to say that I do not wish to follow the instructions contained in the Resolution of the All India Muslim League. I am doing so in order to approach you with a request to kindly find a way and guide us to get out of the difficulties in a way which may not in the least damage the prestige of the League. It is left to you as the President to give your considered directions as to the manner in which, under the present circumstances, the Punjab Provincial Muslim League is to act in this respect. With your permission and subject to your approval, I may suggest that the Working Committee of the Punjab branch may pass the following resolution that:

> As All India Muslim League Resolution reached a day or two after the nomination of certain members on the War Board Sub-Committees, it is hereby decided that the President of the All India Muslim League be requested to allow them to continue to serve on the Sub-Committees until the President receives a reply from H.E. the Viceroy with regard to the matter pending discussion between them and to forthwith resign their seats on the War Board Sub-Committees if the reply, in the opinion of the President, is not satisfactory.

Or, in the alternative, you yourself may issue instructions to this effect with reference to my this representation. As regards the

formation of the National Guards, I will write to you separately.

Yours sincerely,
SHAH NAWAZ KHAN

PS. Just as I had closed this letter, I received yours of 21st instant[2] and noted that instructions contained in that concern myself alone. I assure you that I personally will not hesitate in complying with your orders, but I feel it my duty to request you to kindly find a way to help some other very prominent and influential members like Sir Mohamad Nawaz Khan and Nawab Muzaffar Khan and others who did agree to serve on the War Board under the same circumstances as myself. On receipt of your instructions, I will act accordingly as far as I am personally concerned, and leave the others to choose their own way.

SHAH NAWAZ KHAN

[1]See Enclosure to No. 249.
[2]No. 334.

Enclosure to No. 356
Extract from the proceedings of the meeting of the Working Committee, Punjab Provincial Muslim League

F. 373/10

LAHORE,
20 June 1940

Dr. Mohamad Alam proposed that the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League be requested to communicate with the President of the All India Muslim League on the question of the ban imposed on the members of the League to work on the War Committee and to discuss the advisability of the same. The proposal was adopted.

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M. A. Jinnah to A. M. K. Dehlavi

F. 256/98

BOMBAY,
24 June 1940

My dear Dehlavi,

I received your letter[1] and thank you very much for putting your view frankly before me. We will talk over the matter when we meet next. I have to leave for Simla tomorrow, as I have been asked by the Viceroy to see him on Thursday, the 27th.

Don't worry. The League is strong. Few people who are disloyal to the League will be discredited and will only suffer themselves in consequence. But please do write to me when you feel inclined to, because it only helps me in my troubles and difficulties as the head of the Muslim League organisation.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]See No. 342.

358

A. N. Hakim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/420-21

51 HAJI MANZIL,
BOMBAY 8,
24 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith a form[1] that I have obtained from the Police Commissioner office for your information regarding the Civic Guards.

I take your permission to express my views that your Resolution regarding the formation of National Guards will not be successful in Bombay and the Presidency since there is always a clash between Mr. Ispahani and other Bombay workers. He always has his own

dictation. I have no desire to interfere in your business. I was only inclined to the seriousness of general situation. It is up to you to give life and force to the Resolution and immediate lightning tours throughout India will mean something.

I suggest that every member of the Working Committee of every Primary and District as well as Provincial Muslim League should be forced to become a member of the National Guards and that every member of the public bodies, elected on League tickets such as District Local Bodies, Municipalities and Legislative Bodies, should also become members, and they [should] be asked to enrol and secure, at once, in their individual capacity, members for the National Guards from their respective constituen[cies].

Hoping to be excused for the trouble,

Yours faithfully,
A. N. HAKIM

[1]See F. 837/422-4, *QAP*. Not printed.

359

Syed Fazal Hussain to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 873/425

CHOWK PANNIGARAN,
AJMER,
24 June 1940

Dear Sir,

The Muslim League Working Committee has not yet clearly defined its attitude towards war efforts but has enjoined upon all members of the Muslim League to have nothing to do with the War Committees until a satisfactory settlement is arrived at between the Government and the Muslim League. I have read a statement[1] recently issued by Mr. Jinnah in which he has not spared even Sir Sikander Hyat Khan. It is, therefore, very surprising and extremely regrettable that Mirza Abdul Qadir Beg, President, Provincial Muslim League, Ajmer, and Mir Mohamed Hussain Chishti, a member of the Council of the All India Muslim League, are both actively co-operating with the authorities in the war efforts and are serving as members of the local war purposes committee. I think this action is clearly against the mandate of the Muslim League and

should not be tolerated as it is calculated to undermine its discipline. I hope you will kindly call forth [*sic*] an explanation from these two gentlemen and take suitable disciplinary action against them for this deliberate flouting of the League's directions.

Yours faithfully,
SYED FAZAL HUSSAIN
Jagirdar

[1]See Yusufi, *Speeches, Statements*, II, 1212-13.

360

M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Ismail

F. 304/20

BOMBAY,
25 June 1940

Dear Nawab Ismail,

I received your letter[1] and the enclosed press cutting and thank you for them.

Yes, it is very sad that some of our leaders do not realise the amount of harm they are doing to the cause for which they are fighting. But I do not think they will succeed. I think they are doing more harm to themselves. The time has come when the League requires to be purified and the matter is receiving my attention.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab S. M. Ismail,
Ismail Manzil,
Patna City

[1]Annex.

Annex to No. 360
S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

F. 304/18-9

ISMAIL MANZIL,
PATNA CITY,
[*Undated*] *June 1940*

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have to thank you for your two letters; the one under reply is dated 18th instant.[1] I appreciate your kind good wishes, and I assure you that I shall always respect your personal command (not necessarily Working Committee's decision) for I have supreme regard for you and which [*sic*] I consider above everything else. I shall be happy to receive full proceedings of the Working Committee for our information as a matter of practice after each meeting is over. Yes, I got full message of your Working Committee's discussions at 10 p.m. on the night of 16 June through A.P. Next morning, the 17th June, it was published in our local daily *Indian Nation*. Long before that, I had already warned all Muslim Leaguers to obey your command. I have issued a statement which is enclosed[2] for your information. We in Bihar, I assure you, have followed your directions and although I had accepted H.E.'s invitation which was received on the 7th June, still after reading your first statement dated 10 June, I had expressed my inability to attend and to serve on the Committee. H.E. has appreciated my inability. While we in Bihar have followed your directions, I am shocked and disappointed in reading in all the newspapers of India that Nawab Mamdot, the Punjab Provincial President, and a member of your Working Committee together with other Muslim Leaguers have attended and consented to serve on the War Committee in the Punjab. In Bengal, I regret to find that besides the exempted ministers, a fair percentage of Muslim Leaguers have attended Calcutta meeting, over and above they have consented to serve on the Committee. I refer you to the *Statesman* dated 22nd June. This is indeed deplorable for Punjab and Bengal. Such actions on the part of individual Muslim Leaguers in Punjab and Bengal give an opportunity to our common enemy to ridicule our organisation as they have been doing in their papers. I have no right to draw your attention [*sic*]. If, however, I do so, I do so with the

best of intention[s] and to keep your dignity and prestige of the League in their solidarity and uniformity of action.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
ISMAIL

[1]Jinnah had written to him saying he did not send a reply to his letter because he believed that the decision of AIML Working Committee must have appeared in the press. See F. 304/17, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Not traceable.

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/68-9

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,
CALCUTTA,
25 June 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am sending you some of my publications under a separate cover. The enclosed *Meesaq*—pledge—[1] was adopted by the Calcutta League and the Bengal League for National Guards. This has also been adopted by the Gaya National Guards who are one of the best-trained Guards in India.

One defect in the draft pledge, recently published by the League from Bombay, is that it does not mention the name of the Muslim League and omits the essential, fundamental and vital matter of taking a solemn undertaking from every volunteer that he will be loyal to the League and [will] always work as a soldier under the command of the League. This is of primary and basic importance.

[*Next para omitted*]

I commend the enclosed *Meesaq* for your careful consideration.

The other defect or deficiency of the Bombay draft pledge [is] its baldness and the want of the element of spiritual inspiration. There is not a single word in the pledge which can inspire the Guards for self-sacrifice.

I hope you will consider these points and order remodel[ling] the pledge in [line with] the spirit of the great ideals of Islam and

national self-determination of the Muslim nation.

The Calcutta pledge was drafted in that spirit and deserves your sympathetic consideration.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

[1]Not traceable.

362

Hoosen Kasam Dada to M. A. Jinnah

F. 252/3

BANTVA, KATHIAWAR,
25 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

One person came to me at my office on 22-6-40 at about 4 p.m. and said that he had come here for seeking donations to a certain *Madrassa* Fund and that he had been sent by Jinnah Sahib with a letter. He gave the letter to me. On perusal of the address on the envelope, I found it to have been addressed to my eldest son Haji Adam. I, therefore, told him accordingly and was going to open the envelope, but he took it off from [*sic*] my hand and told me that if it was so, he should be sent to my son. So I sent him to my son with my servant. However, as I did not find his behaviour befitting a gentleman, I directed my servant to tell my son to beware of the person as he appeared to me to be a rogue. Having received the letter, my son went through it and he too doubted [*sic* for suspected] him as I did and sent the letter to me.

The letter was written on an ordinary foolscap piece of paper in Gujerati, was signed in your name in Gujerati, and the address on the envelope was also written in Gujerati. Copy of the letter is enclosed herewith.[1]

I, therefore, with a view to ascertaining the matter, wired you and in reply to which I have received your telegram purporting that you have not authorised anyone to seek donations for any purpose.

As disclosed by the bearer, his name is Ahmedmiya Sahib, a Syed by caste, a resident of Godhra and serving in B.B. & C.I.Rly as a *Havaldar*. He has got a similar letter addressed to Seth Adamji Haji Dawood of Jetpur.

Apologizing for the trouble and hoping that you and your family are keeping good health,

Yours sincerely,
[HOOSEN KASAM DADA]

[1]Not traceable.

363

M. A. Jinnah to Zia Uddin Ahmad

F. 203/20

BOMBAY,
25 June 1940

Dear Sir Zia Uddin,

I am in receipt of your letter dated the 22nd June[1] and thank you for it.

The Resolution of the Working Committee[2] is quite clear and the reports about Punjab and Bengal which were let loose have been categorically contradicted by me. I expect every member of the Muslim League to be loyal to the Resolution. It speaks for itself. It is not a declaration of non-co-operation, but it is calling upon the Govt. to do everything for the defence of India and seek our co-operation as trusted partners with a definite share in the authority and government at the Centre and [in] the provinces.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Dr. Sir Zia Uddin Ahmad,
Aligarh

[1]No. 336.
[2]See No. 323.

364

Ch. Bahawal Bakhsh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 137/22-9

MANGOWAL,
DISTRICT GUJRAT,
25 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Before I say anything about the present war and the Indian Musalmans, I deem it necessary to introduce myself to your goodself.

[*Para partly omitted*]

At the time Swami Shardanand had started the Shuddhi Movement among the Muslim *mullajat* in Delhi and the surrounding areas. To consider the ways and means to check that Movement, a meeting was held on 3rd March 1924 at Asarah, District Meerut, at which I had the honour to preside and as a result of which the Shuddhi Movement died its natural death within a week. During the second session of the Assembly at Simla, I saw you again at Cecil Hotel in company with K. B. Hafiz Abdul Hakim, Superintendent, Commander-in-Chief [Office,] and I expressed my views on the Hindu mentality. You listened to my views with some surprise as you and Moulana Fazlul Huq were then staunch nationalists and supporters of the Congress. You will recollect having sided with the Swarajist Party on the well-known Swaraj Resolution passed during that session in spite of Government opposition. In short, my views at that time were at variance with those of the late Hakim Ajmal Khan, the late Ali Brothers, yourself, Moulana Fazlul Huq and other leaders of the community. My views about Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress and Hindu-Muslim unity were then the same as yours at present and I had never for a moment changed my views. My writings on the subject bear testimony to this.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan had at the time preferred an election petition which was decided against me and we had no more chance to work together. I believe you have been the President of the All India Muslim League ever since and I am at present a member of the Gujrat District and the Punjab Provincial Muslim League.

The other day you issued a statement[1] as President of the All India Muslim League to the effect that Muslim majority provinces

had been given a free hand in regard to participation in War Committees, etc. As Sir Sikander and you have ample opportunity to exchange views on the subject, we all thought that in view of the special circumstances of the Punjab some latitude had been given to the Provincial Muslim League to act as they liked. Accordingly when Government proposed the formation of War Committees, we all participated. But immediately afterwards the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, in its meeting held at Bombay, passed a Resolution asking the Indian Muslims not to join War Committees until the correspondence between the President and H.E. the Viceroy had clarified certain points. The Hindu press representatives thereupon met Sir Sikander and questioned him on the situation thus created. Sir Sikander replied that the Punjab and Bengal had a free hand to act according to circumstances and the Resolution was inapplicable to their case. This was immediately repudiated by you. This difference of opinion may interest the leaders, but it makes the position of Muslim masses very awkward. The Hindu Mahasabha has also passed a similar resolution but as a precaution they have allowed a certain amount of freedom of action to individuals. They have learnt this lesson from the Congress. War Committees are being formed primarily for the defence of India. The Congress has also decided not to co-operate with the Government in their war efforts but is prepared to form the national militia. At the same time, disbelieving the creed of non-violence, the Congress has turned out Mr. Gandhi, which is a great change in the history of that body. The Sikhs of the Punjab who professed to be Congressites are co-operating with the Government and are also doing [*sic*] lip-sympathy to the Congress. The Hindu zamindars of the Punjab are doing like-wise. It must be remembered that Congress and Hindu Sabha are really one and the same body and it is for political reasons that they have set up two separate camps. Even [with]in the Congress fold, there are two schools of thought, those in favour of co-operation with Britain and those against it. The truth is that the Hindus have no reason to quarrel with the British as such. Their only contention is why the British do not declare that the Muslim minority will have to live at the mercy of the Hindu majority. Unfortunately, during the last [*sic*] Great War, the Muslims, under special influence, acknowledged Mahatma as the uncrowned king of India and made personal and financial sacrifices at his bidding, and the whole credit for the victory naturally went to Mahatma. From 1914 to 1927, the Muslims obeyed Gandhiji and this gave him and

the Congress an undue weight in the eyes of the Government, but during all this time the Congress spurned each and every request of the Muslim community. In consequence, the Muslims to their cost [*sic*], left the Congress fold one after the other [*sic* for another] and the gulf between the two communities has since 1927 been [*sic*] widened and no formula for their unity has been found yet.

At present the Muslims are working under your guidance and are keeping aloof from the Congress. The Congress having no Muslims to give as recruits and to conceal their inability or incompetency to make [*sic*] any effective assistance in the war, have resolved to non-cooperate with the Government. At one time they threatened to launch civil disobedience, but the Muslims were not with them to guide and make sacrifices and they gave up the idea. They have of course money but they cannot part with it. The seriousness of the war situation is clear to all concerned, but it is sad that the majority community of India—which is about to get Dominion Status—is so devoid of its responsibility and is wasting time in childish discussions. At this juncture, it seems necessary to say something about the various provinces of India. Six out of the eleven provinces have predominantly Hindu population. The Muslims there are at their mercy and they have no voice in the conduct of provincial or all-India affairs and they have no experience or precise knowledge of the circumstances of the Punjab and other provinces with Muslim majority. The N.W.F.P. and Sind have a Muslim majority but it pains me to say that their internal differences have never allowed them to rise to their rightful position and they go begging after the small Hindu minority there. These provinces may be left out of all account for the present. In Assam, the Muslims though in minority are holding their own, thanks to the wise leadership of Sir Saadulla. In Bengal, the Muslims form 54 per cent of the population and they depend for help on the European minority. If they have formed a Government in Bengal, the credit for it goes to Moulana Fazlul Huq, the seasoned leader of the Bengal Muslims.

The Punjab has a peculiar position, of all. The Muslims are in a nominal majority but, economically and educationally, they are extremely backward. As against this there is a very strong minority composed of two groups, Sikhs and Hindus, who come of the same stock, though for political reasons they profess to be separate entities. The Sikhs were at one time rulers of the Punjab, their rule is known by the name of *Sikha Shahi* and during their time, the Muslims were not allowed to call the *Azan* loudly. They consider themselves

the rightful claimants to the *Gaddi* of the Punjab and contemplate captur[ing], if possible, the Punjab and establish[ing] Sikh Government under the leadership of the Maharaja of Patiala. They have martial traditions and are well-advanced educationally and economically and have the means to arm themselves. There are five strong Sikh States in the Punjab—Patiala, Nabha, Kapurthala, Jind and Faridkot on which they can depend for every kind of help. They are, therefore, much dangerous enemies than [*sic*] the Hindus. The Punjab Muslims cannot look upon these circumstances with equanimity and a special meeting was held on 20.6.40 at the residence of Sir Mohammad Shah Nawaz, Nawab of Mamdot, to consider the situation and the views of those present have been conveyed to the Punjab Government confidentially. The Punjab Muslims are prepared to co-operate whole-heartedly with their Hindu and Sikh brethren to keep peace in the Province, but the response from the other side is not encouraging. The Sikhs, with a view to gain[ing] power, have organised various semi-military groups known as Akali Dal, Agni Dal, Khalsa Dal, etc. It was with a view to check[ing] such activities that the Punjab Government imposed restrictions on the formation of semi-military organisations. It was very unfortunate that the Khaksars thought it [*sic*] fit to come into conflict with the law of the land. But for this unfortunate situation, the Khaksars would have formed the Muslim National Guards, envisaged in the Muslim League Resolution passed at Bombay. As matters stand at present, organisations of semi-military character cannot be openly formed in the Punjab. The Muslims are 56 per cent, Hindus 30 per cent and Sikhs about 13 per cent of the population of this Province. Hindu-Muslim relations, as already stated, are not very happy and the Hindu-Sikh unity is a real danger for the Punjab Muslims. It goes to the credit of Sir Sikander that he has formed a stable Ministry in this Province which has done great service to the zamindars and the Muslims. The Punjab is called the sword-arm of India because a large percentage of the Muslim population depend for their livelihood on serving in the army.

I would invite your attention to the *fatwa* given by the religious leaders of Indian Muslims in 1921-22, that service in the army and police was prohibited, specially as Turkey was fighting on the opposite side. In spite of this *fatwa*, the Muslims joined the British forces in large numbers out of sheer necessity, and the *fatwa* was not given after careful thought over the needs of the Muslim masses. If the *fatwa* failed in those circumstances, the Muslim League had better proceed carefully and take all circumstances into consideration

before laying down their policy. The British are not now fighting against any Islamic country and the safety of India depends upon their success. What hesitation can we have in joining hands with the British in these circumstances. Indeed, it will be a great blunder, political and economic, for the Punjab Muslims not to join the army at present. They have not even the means to arm themselves for self-defence. Sir Sikander's policy is therefore in accord with the imperative needs of this Province and it would be a pity for the All India Muslim League to over-rule him and shut their eyes to the facts clearer than daylight.

No one, not even the Congress and Muslim League, can deny that the British rule is the best of foreign rules and it does not behove us to keep aloof from them at this moment of their difficulty. The Hindus would gladly co-operate with Government only if the Government leaves the Muslim minority at their mercy which they have not done so far. If Government at present cannot accept the demand of the majority, they may not find it possible to accept our demands also. But our self-interest requires that we must co-operate with them. The war must end one way or the other and it is time for us to make our contribution towards its successful execution. The Resolutions like the one regarding War Committees and that about the formation of National Defence Guards passed by the League at Bombay show that the majority of the delegates belong to the Muslim minority provinces, who have no military traditions, and cannot imagine the situation in the Punjab. It is, therefore, for consideration whether certain provincial matters should not be left for decision to the delegates of the province concerned in order to avoid occurrence of the awkward position now created. If timely note is not taken of these facts, the Resolution like the one noted above, will bring the League [in] to disrepute and the Indian Muslims to humiliation and political bankruptcy.

In the end, I thank you for the great interest taken by you in the affairs of the Indian Muslims and pray that God [may] keep you long at the head of the Muslim affairs.

After I had concluded my letter I came to know that you and Mr. Gandhi had been invited by H. E. the Viceroy to interview him on the 27th. I hope you will have received my letter before you go to see His Excellency. The Government have become fully aware of the mentality of the majority community and I have no doubt they will do justice to the Muslim demands. At the same time, I hope that, given satisfactory assurances, you will assure His Excellency of the

unconditional support of the Muslim community. This, at any rate, is the feeling of the Punjab Muslims. I have written these lines as a well-wisher of the community and not in [*sic* for under] any delusion that an eminent statesman like yourself needed any counsel. If there is anything distasteful in these lines, I hope to be excused. I thank you in anticipation for giving me your valuable time in reading this lengthy letter and hope to be honoured with a line in reply in due course.

Yours very sincerely,
CH. BAHAWAL BAKHSH
Zaildar & Rais

[1]Ch. Bahawal Bakhsh put an erroneous construction on the statement. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 31.

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Sayed M. F. Peerzade to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/427-31

ANKOLA,
N.KANARA,
27 June 1940

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I feel, once again, the urge within me to communicate to you my humble thoughts about the burning problems that today confront the Muslim community in India. I earnestly request to be kindly excused for the trouble now proposed to be given to you by inviting your kind attention to the following lines:

I think I may [*sic* for had] better start by referring to the recent article written by Mr. Gandhi in the *Harijan* under the caption *Two Parties*. That article, which definitely discourages the hope of even the remote possibility of a rapprochement between the Congress and the League, is evidently based on the belief that, on the one hand, the Muslim wing of the Congress has become sufficiently strong as a result of, among other things, the activities of the Azad Muslim Conference to negate the Muslim League's claim to speak on behalf of the community and that the Pakistan scheme is going to be rejected by the British Government. On the

other [hand], Gandhiji must also have derived some encouragement in this belief from the attempts now being made by some of the top leaders of the League at flirting with the Congress high command. There is, the recent statement of the Congress Working Committee too, to be taken serious notice of. It is highly significant that the Congress has now discarded the mask of truth and non-violence and openly reverted to the expediency of using violent means whenever necessary to attain its objective. I trust you will agree with me that there appears to be some justification for the conclusion to which Gandhiji has been led by the recent trend of events in Muslim politics.

The question which, therefore, now arises is what should be done to prevent the disruptive tendencies and forces from weakening the solidarity and unity among the Muslims? In my humble opinion, immediate adoption and execution of a programme of work on some such lines as suggested below will go a long way to strengthen our community from within and thus render it unassailable from without.

To my mind, the League has not paid sufficient attention uptil now to the amelioration of the general condition of the community—or if it has adopted a programme in this behalf, it has not put it into execution to the extent necessitated by the requirements of the community. Our community stands in need of drastic internal reforms, much more today than at any time before, and the various factors that have long been eating into our vitals should be stamped out in order that we, the Muslims, may be able to make progress along lines best suited to our genius and temperament.

In this connection, the recent Resolution of the League executive to organise a Muslim National Guard Corps is welcome, provided it (the Resolution) is immediately acted upon and not condemned to the fate of many other previous resolutions. Strict discipline should be enforced within the organisation of the League regardless of the persons affected by it. The Premiers of the Punjab and Bengal as well as some other leaders, notably from Sind, often conduct themselves in a manner quite derogatory to the power and prestige of the League and give the impression by their objectionable behaviour that the League exists for and because of them. This position, if not rectified soon, will prove as it is already proving, very injurious to the League. I think the ministers, who look more to their official position and power than to the interests and discipline of the League, may be relieved of the positions of trust which they now hold in the League in case they cannot afford to subordinate their personal interests to the

larger interests of the community.

Another important matter, hitherto neglected by the League, is the organisation of a strong Muslim national fund. Such a fund should be started without delay and the various branches of the League instructed to start and organise branches thereof. In view of the poverty of the Muslims, this may not turn out to be a grand success in the beginning. But the obstacles in the way can be got over in a short time, if the Muslim masses are made alive to the danger now facing their independent existence, and our leaders can inspire full confidence in them by their selfless sacrifices and services rendered [for] the cause of the community.

Yet another thing, which we badly require, is an effective machinery for propaganda on modern lines. Every Provincial Muslim League should aspire to have under its control two well-conducted dailies, one in English and the other in Urdu, and at least one weekly or monthly. Till this is realised, District Leagues should be advised to see that weeklies and if possible dailies are started in their districts in local languages. The various subordinate Leagues may also do much in this connection by arranging periodical lectures, discourses, starting libraries and night schools and so on. There are several places in which Primary Leagues are not yet established. This is generally due more to internal dissensions than to want of sympathy with the League in these places. The League workers should visit these [places] and establish Primary Leagues there.

In educational, religious, social and economic matters , too, our community requires urgent drastic reforms. It should be the earnest endeavour of every District and Primary League to see that every Muslim acquires a working knowledge of Urdu and learns the Devanagari script [as well] and that existing Urdu schools are improved and new ones opened wherever necessary. They will have to keep constant watch and vigil on the Government and other parties in these matters. After the educational scheme now being prepared by the Kamal Yar Jung Committee is ready in all its details, strenuous efforts will have to be made to popularise and get it accepted and enforced with necessary modifications according to the varying conditions obtaining in different localities. A determined and persistent literacy drive must be inaugurated by the different Leagues in accordance with the opportunities, means and resources at their disposal.

Many superstitions, unwarranted rites, ceremonies and usages have come to pass for religion in our society. Muslim masses are

incapable of distinguishing between essentials and non-essentials in religious matters. These usages etc. result in terrible wastage and squandering habits that are otherwise avoidable. The League will have to carry on a relentless campaign against these harmful practices and to seek that at least every member of the League is cured of them. Certain sections of the Muslim community have been unfortunately accustomed to observing a sort of "dignified aloofness" and assuming an air of superiority with regard to certain others in social and communal matters. This has been the root cause of the discontent and resentment prevailing now in some Muslim classes, like the Momins, the Ansars, a section of Shias, etc. These groups, therefore, fall an easy prey to the machinations of parties like the Congress, who by parading themselves as their friends and well-wishers, encourage them to suspect the intentions of their kith and kin and demand safeguards against their own brothers-in-Islam. Every member of the League should be strictly enjoined to regard and treat every other Muslim as his own brother in every walk of life. Leaguers should mix freely with these classes and should not spare any effort to serve and render them every possible assistance with a view to improving their general condition. It is thus the League will be able to win the confidence of these persons and acquire a strong hold over them.

The economic condition of the Muslim masses, particularly in the *mofussil,* is simply deplorable. Steeped in ignorance and grinding poverty as they are, the attractive Congress cry of *daal bhaat* naturally appeals to them much more than high and abstract problems affecting their religion, culture, language, etc. A comprehensive scheme should, therefore, be undertaken with a view to ameliorating our economic condition. The Muslims should be taught the dignity of labour, habits of thrift, the art of simple living and high thinking, and saving [*sic* for avoiding] wastages, that is daily going on in the community in the name of religion, etc., should be put to a stop [*sic*].

A comprehensive and detailed programme should be formulated covering matters referred to above, and all the members and branches of the League should be made to execute it at pain of drastic disciplinary action being taken against the defaulters. Fortnightly or monthly reports should be regularly called for from the subordinate Leagues, setting out in detail the progress they have made in this respect; and the slightest dereliction of duty on their part should be severely dealt with. The crying need of the hour is not merely words, speeches, meetings or resolutions, of which we have had plenty

now-a-days, but work, more work, and yet more work.

It is obvious that if some such programme be immediately undertaken, most of the critics of the League will automatically be silenced, the League will acquire enormous strength and, in consequence, our community will be enabled to weather all storms both from within and from without and make rapid progress in the right direction and on right lines.

With humble regards to [your]self,

Your humble brother-in-Islam,
SAYED M. F. PEERZADE
Pleader

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Moulana Hasrat Mohani to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 95/95

CAWNPORE,
27 June 1940

Please insist Pakistan scheme. Without assured establishment of scheme after War agreeing with Indian federation like Viceroy's proposal against League creed.

HASRAT MOHANI

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Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah

F. 498/25

SIMLA,
27 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

You will remember that you wrote to me on the 29th May[1] to send me a copy of a letter, which you had received from the Mufti of Palestine,[2] on which you asked my consideration. I am sorry not to have been able to let you have an earlier answer but as you will

understand I have had to ascertain the position from H.M.G.

2. I should, I think, make it clear in the first place that H.M.G. have no relations with the Mufti, who will not be permitted to return to Palestine, and that the answer which follows is accordingly made in confidence and should not be passed on to the Mufti.

3. The Mufti has, throughout his career, shown himself to be unalterably opposed to British administration in Palestine. He must, I fear, be regarded as primarily responsible for the recent campaign of assassination and terrorism and, in spite of notable efforts made to meet Arab claims by the policy set out in the *White Paper*, he has in no degree modified his attitude, but, on the contrary, has, under enemy influence, become the focus of hostile activity and intrigue in the Middle East against the British Government and the Allied cause.

4. In these circumstances, you will, no doubt, accept with great reserve statements emanating from such a source. The fact is that the publication of the *White Paper* produced an immediate detente in Palestine since [the] Arabs realised that it went far to meet their claims and, with the outbreak of the War, which was the occasion for widespread demonstrations of support for the Allied cause from the Arab community, progress towards the restoration of normal conditions in the country has been continuous. So great indeed has been the improvement in the situation that the military authorities in Palestine have been able to review sentences for offences committed during the disturbances and to release many who had been placed under detention. As recently as June 15th, you will be glad to know, the Emergency Regulations were amended to provide that military courts should not have the power to impose death sentences, and to remove from their competence any case in which the offence had been committed before that date. It is hoped that circumstances will permit of further gradual relaxation of the drastic measures imposed during the disturbances.

5. Finally, I would invite your attention to the measures, so far, taken to implement the policy laid down in the *White Paper* of May 1939, viz., regulation of Jewish immigration since April 1939, in accordance with the provisions of the *White Paper*, and the enactment of legislation last February, with which you will be familiar, from the references in the public press, and which was embodied in Command Paper 6180, controlling the transfer of land in the interest of Arab agriculturists. You may rest assured[3]

that every consideration has been and will continue to be given by H.M.G. to legitimate Arab claims.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

[1]No. 251.
[2]No. 75.
[3]Jinnah replied, on 28 June 1940, that he would go through the Viceroy's letter and, after detailed consideration of the position in Palestine, communicate with him further, if necessary. See F.498/29, *QAP*. Not printed.

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M. A. Jinnah to Shah Nawaz Khan

F. 97/17-8

28 June 1940

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I thank you for your letter of the 24th.[1] Immediately after the announcement by the Viceroy regarding the formation of War Committees on the 5th of June, I issued a statement[2] to the press, which must have been seen by you as well as by others, that the Musalmans, and especially the Muslim Leaguers, should not join these War Committees but should await the decision of the Working Committee of the A.I.M.L. which was meeting on the 15th of June[3] at Bombay. In view of this clear declaration, I do not think that there could be room for any doubt as to what action the Musalmans were expected to take with regard to the War Committees.

I am rather surprised to learn from your letter that it was not until the 19th instant that you and others in the Punjab came to know that the Working Committee had decided that no Musalman should serve on the War Committees till further instructions from the President pending the result of communication with the Viceroy. The Resolution of the Working Committee was issued to the press on the 16th evening and appeared in all the papers on the 17th, i.e. one day before the formation of Provincial War Board in the Punjab.

As regards the various aspects of the question mentioned in your letter, I assure you that the Working Committee very carefully considered all these and others and after great and careful deliberations came to the decision embodied in the Resolution. I am glad to learn that you are ready to sever your connection with the War Board and I request you to do so without any delay. As regards the others, you

as President of the Provincial Muslim League should draw their attention to the Resolution of the Working Committee and ask them on my behalf to resign from these Committees. You should see that the instructions contained in the Resolution of the Working Committee are adhered to by all Muslim Leaguers and I appeal to all and sundry to maintain discipline in the organization and thus serve the cause which we all have at heart.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The Nawab of Mamdot,
Lahore

[1]No. 356.
[2]Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 30.
[3]See No. 323.

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Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/86-7

PESHAWAR,
28 June 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your kind letter of 24th June.[1]

I am following your interview with anticipation. May God Almighty guide your steps aright. The situation is most delicate and urgent. May God bring you to correct decision. *Insha Allah* it will be so. To meet the present situation, I have got certain tentative suggestions:

a. We should not be cheap.
b. But we should be consistent with our idea (original) of cooperation with safeguards.
c. The Englishman is hard-pressed. We should not embarrass him. We should be a bit generous, rather more generous without prejudice to larger issues.
d. We should not imitate the Congress intransigence or truculence.
e. We should be more realistic and if there is [need of] giving way on a point of detail to meet the present menace, please do it.
f. Muslim India has got absolute confidence in you and God Almighty will guide you aright. I am glad NWFP Leaguers

have manfully responded to your or our ban on War Committees till further orders.

g. In the end, I beg of you to manage the affairs by your characteristic sweet reasonableness. *Insha Allah* we will succeed. With apologies for this lengthy letter.

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

PS. Your three-hour interview shows definitely that you have been able to cross all hurdles on matters of principle and you have got down to matters of detail and here I hope we can depend on your statesmanship of meeting the other side half way as you have been always able to do with consummate grace.

With sincere prayers for success of [your] parleys,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

[1]Jinnah had written to him saying he was deeply disappointed with the conduct of Sikander Hyat who was doing the greatest harm to the Muslims as well as to himself. See F. 329/95, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 321/26

MOUNT ROAD P.O.,
MADRAS,
29 June 1940

My dear leader,

It is rather unfortunate that some persons have acted against the Bombay Resolution. In Madras, Khan Bahadur P. Khalifullah Sahib and some others have not only joined the War Committees but are actively working. I have written to some of them, drawing their attention once again to the Resolution. Our strength, as an organization, lies in each one of us being loyal to the League and to its leader. We are fortunate in having a leader who has no equal in this country. The Government and the Congress do know that in spite of a few selfish defectors here and there, you command the respect and confidence of the eighty million Muslims.[1]

I may add at the same time that for some of our members, it is

rather difficult to remain out of the War Committees. I am making them realise that the leader is fighting for something really tangible for the community and that they should have patience. If they act otherwise, they will be doing great injustice to the cause of the community.

Wishing your efforts every success,

Yours affectionately,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN
ex-Mayor

[1]Muslim population at the time was ninety million.

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Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 197/6-7

LAHORE,
29 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I expect my last letter[1] has been redirected to you at Simla and you have received it by now. I had sent it under a registered cover to make sure that it reached you.

I have just seen the statements in connection with the War Committees[2] and Khaksars[3] issued by you to the press on the 28th instant. I do hope your appeal to those self-seeking leaders of the Muslims who have not only joined but have taken an active part in the formation of Provincial War Committees, in spite of the injunction of the Muslim League, will even now result in dissuading them from persisting in their criminal conduct. Please excuse me for using such a strong expression, but I can't think of any milder words to describe their deliberate misbehaviour.

As regards your statement in connection with the Khaksars, I have not yet had an opportunity to study the reaction of the Muslim public to that. They are bound to be grateful for your expression of sympathy, provided it is followed with something more substantial. But there is one thing which neither I nor those of my friends with whom I had the occasion to talk this morning can quite understand. Why should you insist on sole authority being given to you before you undertake to negotiate with the Punjab Government, or rather Sir Sikander, because it is he alone who is at the root of it all? Is it at all necessary? I doubt it. Won't you act up according to, [in] your own words, "the

declared policy of the All India Muslim League to do all it can to help the Musalmans wherever they may be and see that justice is done to them" and become the beloved idol of the Muslim masses as well instead of the Quaid-i-Azam of the intelligentsia alone? Will you let this opportunity also slip away as in the case of Red Shirts? I hope and pray that you won't.

Yours sincerely,
BASHIR AHMAD

[1]No. 354.
[2]Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 32.
[3]Ibid., 33.

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Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 199/19-21

C/O DR. ABDUS SAMAD,
16/10 CIVIL LINES,
CAWNPORE,
29 June 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter.[1] I look forward to having your opinion on the article I have sent you.

From the papers it appears that interested quarters including some dubious Muslim Leaguers are straining every nerve to put pressure on you to enter into a compromise with the Congress at any cost. Of course, we should not go by everything that appears in the form of press speculations; but it seems that people like Sir Mohammad Yusuf, Sir Sultan Ahmad and Sir Sikander Hyat who have never been sincere in their allegiance to the League and have never done anything to advance the cause of the League have gathered in Simla to persuade you to modify your attitude. I know that you will never yield to pressure from such people in matters of vital importance. May I, with your permission, briefly put forward, in all humility, the point of view of Muslim youth? I am sure you will consider our submission sympathetically as you have faith in youth.

It was quite in the fitness of things that you declared your willingness to consider, without prejudice to the settlement of the larger issues later on, the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about a

workable adjustment in the provincial field which would be followed by the appointment of the representatives of the Congress and the League on the Executive Council of the Viceroy. As a matter of fact, this offer of the Viceroy represented a candid admission of the claim of Muslims to their due share in administrative power and was thus a vindication of the position taken by the League. So far as the provincial field is concerned, the proposal seems to be satisfactory as a temporary measure pending the final consideration of the problem of India's future constitution. But what really troubles us is the question of the Centre. The position that we have taken up after long deliberation is that we do not recognise any federal centre. We are committed to the creation of several independent states whose relations are to be regulated by mutual arrangements and treaties. Now I put my difficulty before you. Suppose the League accepts a seat or two in the Executive Council of the Viceroy at the Centre, will it not mean that we have, by implication, accepted the principle of an all-India Central Government in which our representation will be that of a minority—one-third at the most. How will it accord with our claim to be treated as a nation possessing a status of complete equality with non-Muslims? It may be argued that Muslims are already represented and are co-operating in the Central Legislature. The Muslims joined the Central Legislature at a time when the League had not adopted its present creed of independent Muslim States without any centre. There, however, seems to be one way out of the difficulty. If the League must participate in the Central Executive as it is and there is no getting away from it, then we must declare that we can only agree to participate in the Central Executive on a footing of complete equality with non-Muslims as a temporary measure for the duration of War on condition that the whole problem of India's constitution will be considered *de novo* immediately after the war and that the League will reserve its rights to make its claims according to the fundamental principles of its policy and creed. It should be made clear that by agreeing to serve at the Centre, we do not, in the least, deviate from the principle embodied in the Lahore Resolution. Further, the position of the League representatives on the Central Executive should be one of complete equality with those [*sic* for that] of the Congress [representatives].

There arises one more difficulty. If the assurances asked for by the League, as a condition for cooperation in the war measures of the British Government, are not forthcoming, how shall we reconcile our non-cooperation with war measures with our representation in the

provincial and central governments. The position would be most anomalous. I think the question of our participation in the provincial and central governments can only be subsidiary to the settlement of the issue of the basis of co-operation between the League and the Govt. in the prosecution of war.

I for one think that the Congress [*word illegible*] as it is with ambitions of Hindu domination over the whole country will again refuse to co-operate on the basis of the Viceroy's proposal. If so, I will be glad, for that would absolve us of any responsibility for the present deadlock and leave us free to pursue our ideal without being side-tracked. I cannot conceal my apprehensions of coalition with the Congress under the present circumstances. It will put a brake on the forward march of the League movement as it will have a dampening effect on local and primary Leagues which, as you know, are the backbone of our organization. There are many black sheep among us, specially among the upper strata. The moment the League finds a share in administration, there will be a rush for concessions and jobs by the self-seekers among us with the result that corruption will set in and the League's prestige will go down. The longer we agitate, struggle and sacrifice, the purer will our organization grow. Of course, I do not mean to say that we should go on agitating for ever and ever. What I mean is that we have not yet reached a stage where we can conscientiously assume office and responsibility without any fear of damaging the prestige and morale of our organization. At present and for sometime to come, I think, we can better defend the rights of Muslims and create greater consciousness, courage and self-confidence among them by remaining in opposition. This is, however, my feeling. But I know that sentiment alone will not do. The practical necessities of the situation have to be met, of which you are the best judge. The Muslims have full faith in your judgment and integrity. Whatever your decision, the Muslims will follow it faithfully. You have already seen that your appeal to the Muslims to keep away from War Committees has had wide response. If it were not for the machinations of people like the Punjab Premier, who always tries to play a double game, not one self-respecting Muslim in any part of India would go against the decision of the League.

Apologising for the length of this letter,

Yours very sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]See F. 199/18, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah

F. 95/97

PERSONAL

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA,
30 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I had a long talk with Mr. Gandhi yesterday but for your own information no material progress was made. I must now consult Secretary of State in the light of my conversations with him and with you (it is possible that I shall ask the Jam Saheb, [V. D.] Savarkar and possibly [Dr. B. R.] Ambedkar to come and see me in the next few days but I propose for the present to confine any invitations I may send out to the very smallest compass possible) and it may, of course, be some days before I am in a position to say anything further. I do not, in the circumstances, feel justified in asking you to prolong your stay in Simla, though I should like to thank you again for acceding to my suggestion that you should remain here over the weekend, and I hope that you will forgive me if I should have at short notice to ask you to come and see me again.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

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J. G. Laithwaite to M. A. Jinnah

F. 95/98

CONFIDENTIAL

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA,
30 June 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

H.E. mentioned that in your recent conversation with him you had touched on the possibility of a War Advisory Committee at the Centre in connection with any expansion of the Governor-General's Council but he did not discuss this in any detail with you. He asks me to say

that if there are any further details which you would like to let him have as to what you have in mind, he would be very glad to have them.

Yours sincerely,
J. G. LAITHWAITE
Secretary to the Governor-General

375

Ashiq Husain Batalvi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 236/7-8

10 CHAMBERLAIN ROAD,
LAHORE,
30 June1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you have come back from Simla.

There have been many occasions in the past few months when I felt an imperative urge to write to you, but I refrained from doing so, lest I might be misunderstood. I am afraid I cannot keep silent any more. I must apprise you of what is going on here.

Since the affiliation of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, all those persons who do not think alike with Sir Sikander Hyat have been treated as Untouchables and turned out of the League one by one. I am being regarded as the arch-sinner and for me, therefore, all doors of the Punjab League are shut. Every attempt has been made to deprive me of the primary membership. I was nominated a member of the All India Muslim League Council by you in last February. Its term will expire on the 31st December 1940 and after that I have absolutely no chance of being elected to the All India [Muslim League] Council. I may assure you, whether I remain a member of the All India Council or go out, I shall never fall short of my duty as a staunch supporter of the cause of the Muslim League. My fidelity to the Muslim League is very deep-rooted. It is based upon my political convictions which cannot be easily shaken. I am not an opportunist nor I have any private axe to grind.

Sir Sikander Hyat's sins of omission and commission against the League are so numerous and so well-known that I need not recapitulate them here. They are considerably increasing. His fresh achievement, since his return from Bombay after the meeting of the

Working Committee, is his intensive propaganda against the Resolutions of the Working Committee regarding the formation of the National Guards and the War Committees. He has tried to create a mountain of lies and throw dust in the eyes of the public. His henchmen, some of whom are holding high offices in the Provincial League, have accepted membership of the Punjab War Committee. This is a clear violation of the Resolution of the Working Committee as well as your instructions. His subsidized press is denouncing your policy and praising his politics openly.

I am enclosing a cutting of the daily *Ehsan* of the 27th June.[1] I request you to go through its leading article entitled *Muslim League and Musalman.* This mischief, if not checked immediately, will create misunderstandings and weaken the position of the League in the Punjab. The Musalmans of this Province are already on the horns of a dilemma. This is high time for the Centre to take a bold step and clarify the position. All delinquents, irrespective of position, must be punished.

My humble suggestion, in this connection, is that a meeting of the All India Muslim League Council be called towards the end of July to consider the situation and decide certain other issues of far-reaching importance.

With all regards,

Yours sincerely,
ASHIQ HUSAIN BATALVI

[1]Not traceable.

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T. A. Tausif Lodhi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 957/29-34

BASHIR MANZAL,
PAKKA BAGH,
JULLUNDUR CITY,
30 June 1940

My dearest and respected leader,

It is long since I wrote to you on your birthday and was fortunate enough to receive your personal reply. I had the honour of paying my respects to you at Jullundur Railway Station while you were

going to Lahore, and I may also remind you that I succeeded there to [*sic* for in] obtain[ing] your autograph. I was also fortunate enough to attend the Lahore Session in which you so boldly described and adopted the Muslims' goal in most clear terms. You really deserve our congratulations and active support. The Lahore Resolution, in fact, is the only solution to India's problems and you have done your duty by pointing out the right path, not only to the Muslim nation, but [to] every inhabitant of this sub-continent. It is a matter of satisfaction that the Muslim masses and intelligentsia are with you. May you live long to give a correct lead and to help us realise our goal.

My dear respected Quaid-i-Azam! please excuse me today for putting you out by discussing with you a few important matters. Even in my first letter, I respectfully suggested to you to keep a special eye over the Punjab.

You know fully [*sic* for full] well that the Muslims of this Province were not satisfied with the Organising Committee which you once set up under Sir Sikander's presidentship. A relief was, however, felt when the Provincial League was formed and affiliated and Nawab Sahib of Mamdot was elected its President. In fact, the Punjab League took its birth on the eve of Lahore session and it was made to die practically by the so-called well-wishers just after the session. While all other Provincial Leagues are busy educating the masses and making them understand the Lahore Resolution, the Punjab League has practically done nothing in this respect. It has even used every method to demoralise the Primary Leagues. The part, which the Provincial League is playing, can be sufficiently judged from the fact that not even a single meeting or activity has been heard of since the League session. The office-bearers have done nothing except that they have added a designation to their names. Is it not a matter of regret and condemnation, and does this disorder not directly invite, rather provoke, the boldest possible step from you and the Working Committee?

Still, something more has happened. It was unworthy and disgraceful on Sir Sikander's part to join the Provincial War Committee, especially when the central body under your able and wise guide [*sic*] had definitely asked the Muslims, particularly the Leaguers, not to join them.

Nawab of Mamdot's participation is a betrayal, disgraceful and shameful, and, more, subject to criticism because he was officially the head of the Provincial League. May I humbly ask Sir! what steps

do you intend to take in this respect? You may not like to disclose them but one thing I must be graciously permitted to remark [is] that this incident should not go unnoticed and those self-seekers who have betrayed the nation, merely not to displease their kind and beneficial masters, should not go unpunished. The opportune time has come for you and the Working Committee to take the boldest possible step in order to maintain discipline and dignity of the League, which is so dear to us all, and there lies our salvation.

I may tell you Sir! the *mofussil* leaders of the Primary Leagues are strictly obeying the central head. None of them have joined War Committees. Now, may I humbly ask what is the position of the local Leaguers? Should they owe allegiance to the central or the provincial head? I may inform you that there is a strong desire that the Primary Leagues should withdraw from the Provincial League provided the All India Muslim League consent to affiliate them directly.

I may also be permitted to make a few suggestions. I think that a publicity department should be opened to advocate the League cause and to make the masses understand the importance and necessity of Lahore Resolution. All India Muslim League should directly control this department. Provincial and preferably Primary Leagues should be directly called upon to educate the masses on this point. Touring parties should be formed and every city and village should be visited. It is better that the Primary Leagues are directly called upon for action without the agency of the provincial one. I even suggest that you should call upon All India Muslim Students' Federation to assist you in this matter, and their parties should also tour every nook and corner of India. Lastly, I venture to suggest that the students should no more keep aloof. You should make provisions for the students to support the League actively and also to become active members of the League and Muslim National Guards. I am of the opinion that the youth [*sic* for young] students can serve the purpose of advocacy best. They must be allowed to enter the field because surely the Muslim nation stands in need of their active [*sic*] action under your able and wise guidance.

In the end, Sir! I most respectfully remind you of my offer which I made to you on the occasion of your birthday. I again say with a determined mind that the greatest honour which can be conferred upon me is that I should be permitted to serve you in person. I place myself wholly and solely at your disposal and it is

my burning desire to serve one, who has served the nation all his life, and may God give him thousands [of] years more to serve and lead his nation, and also [to] see how his humble soldier like myself serves him. I earnestly, respectfully and humbly request you (and may I humbly say press upon you) to [let me] put myself at your gracious feet. The sooner you give me a call the better it is. I request you to give me a chance to serve you and [to] take me on your personal staff as soon as possible—I may assure you that I don't and won't stand [*sic* for ask] for compensation. The only motive is to serve one (without compensation) who has served the nation. I do not like the idea of postponing the realisation of this goal to an indefinite period—nay [till] the very end of my studies. I want to throw myself at your feet as soon as possible during my studies. I may continue my studies after throwing myself at your feet. In fact the royal Lodhi family, which I come from, is not at all dear to me. I am ready even to abdicate any great rock of gold [*sic*] in order to serve you. I hope my request will not prove a cry in the wilderness.

We are having summer vacations, nowadays. Hoping that this will find you in the best of your health and hoping to be favoured with a personal [*sic*] reply soon,

Most obediently yours,
T. A. TAUSIF LODHI
B. A. student

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M. A. Jinnah to J.G. Laithwaite

F. 95/99

CECIL HOTEL,
SIMLA,
1 July 1940

Dear Mr. Laithwaite,

As desired by H.E., I am enclosing herewith a rough note of the points I discussed with him on the 27th June [19]40 in the course of my interview.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Enclosure to No. 377

F. 95/100-3

I. That no pronouncement or statement should be made by His Majesty's Government which would, in anyway, militate against the basic and fundamental principles, laid down by the Lahore Resolution, of division of India and creating Muslim States in the North-West and Eastern Zones; and it may be stated that that ideal now has become the universal faith of Muslim India.

II. That His Majesty's Government must give definite and categorical assurance to the Musalmans of India that no interim or final scheme of constitution would be adopted by the British Government without the previous approval and consent of Muslim India.

III. In view of the rapid developments in Europe and grave danger that is facing India, it is fully realized that everything should be done that is possible to intensify war efforts and mobilize all the resources of India for her defence for the purpose of maintaining internal security, peace and tranquillity, and to ward off external aggression. But this can only be achieved provided the British Government are ready and willing to associate the Muslim leadership as equal partners in the Government, both at the Centre and in all the provinces. In other words, Muslim India leadership

must be fully trusted as equals, and have equal share in the authority and control of the Governments, Central and Provincial. Provisionally, and during the period of the war, the following steps should be taken to comply with the formula, namely co-operation with the Government with equal share in the authority of the Government:

a. That the Executive Council of the Viceroy should be enlarged, within the framework of the present constitution [and] existing law, the additional number to be settled by further discussion, but it being understood that the Muslim representation must be equal to that of the Hindus if the Congress comes in, otherwise they should have the majority of the additional members as it is obvious that the main burden and the responsibility will be borne by the Musalmans in that case.
b. In the provinces where 93[1] has to operate, non-official advisers should be appointed, number to be fixed after further discussion, and the majority of the non-official advisers should be the representatives of Musalmans; and where the provinces can be run by combination of parties or 'coalition', naturally it would be for the parties concerned to adjust matters by agreement among themselves.
c. There should be a War Council consisting of not less than 15 members, including the President, to be presided over by His Excellency the Viceroy. I don't like the expression "War Consultative Committee". This Council should regularly meet to deal with, and review, the general situation as it may develop from time to time, and advise the Government with regard to matters in connection with the prosecution of the War generally, and in particular, fullest development of the defence possible, and finance, and to make a thorough economic and industrial drive. In this body, it will not be difficult to secure the representation and full co-operation of the Indian Princes, and as far as I can judge, they would have no difficulty in joining it. It is through this body that the association of the Princes can be secured. Here again, the representation of the Muslim India must be equal to that of the Hindus if the Congress comes in, otherwise they should have the majority.

IV. Finally, the representatives of the Musalmans on the proposed War Council and the Executive Council of the Governor-General,

and the additional non-official advisers of the Governors, should be chosen by the Muslim League.

[1]Section 93 of the Government of India Act 1935 providing for direct rule by the Governor of a province of British India.

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Sikander Hyat Khan to Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan

F. 353/29

THE BOUNDARY,
SIMLA E,
1 July 1940

My dear Sardar Aurangzeb Khan,

I have been doing my best and will continue to do my best at all costs for the sake of my community and country. I prepared the ground before Mr. Jinnah's arrival. He has seen His Excellency the Viceroy. He has not thought it [*sic*] fit to communicate the gist of his conversation to me. But that does not matter so long as he plays the game. Mr. Gandhi had at least the courtesy of sending his Private Secretary to call on me since he could not come himself; I live about 6 miles from the place where he was putting up. He left the same day and even though his visit was extremely brief, he thought it [*sic*] fit to send Mr. Mahadeva Desai as a matter of courtesy. It was hardly necessary for Mr. Jinnah to make a formal call on me, but I expected that he would at least communicate with me on the telephone. He was of course too busy to accept my invitation to lunch—repeated twice. However, these considerations do not matter. Let us hope that the result of his visit would be satisfactory. I am sure it will be, if he plays the game.

More when we meet.

Yours sincerely,
S. HYAT KHAN

379

Raza Ali to M. A. Jinnah[1]

F. 220/13-4

RAZA LODGE,
MORADABAD,
1 July 1940

Dear Jinnah,

You are busy and I will be brief. I see signs of the attitude of the Punjab and Bengal being magnified by the Congress into a mark of split in the Muslim League ranks. I have no right to speak for the provinces where the Muslims are in majority. But let me tell you that my own province, and as far as I can judge the other minority provinces, will loyally follow your lead in the negotiations on [*sic* for in] which you are engaged at Simla at present. Our people in the minority provinces suffered terribly in Congress regime. But we will certainly continue the fight if you consider that we should do so. I write this as I have just heard a faint rumour—it is no more than a rumour, I must repeat—that every effort will be made at Wednesday's meeting of the Congress Working Committee to persuade it to come to terms with Govt. As for the Muslims, did not Mr. Gandhi say in a recent article in the *Harijan* that there are two parties in India; those who are in the Congress and those who are not? This is old wine in new bottles, for had not Jawaharlal said practically the same thing after provincial elections in 1937? I am sure we can bring the Congress down on its knees if we keep united. The present watchword of Egyptians is—God, the Fatherland and the King. I think our watchword for the present should be—God, our people and the Muslim League.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
RAZA ALI

[1]For Jinnah's reply, see No. 392.

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M. S. Naginewala to M. A. Jinnah & Others

F. 825/56-7

POONA,
1 July 1940

Dear Sir,

I beg to state as under:

That all Muslim Leaguers in all the provinces throughout India have been asked not to associate themselves with the War Committees appointed by the Governors in various districts.

A meeting was convened on 28th June 40 by the Collector of Poona with a view to forming a War Purposes Committee. To the utter surprise of the local members of the Muslim League, our President, Khan Bahadur Jan Mohamed, who is representing the interests of the Muslims in the Bombay Legislative Assembly on a League ticket, was present—not only present but expressed his fullest co-operation with the Committee and consented to serve on one of the Sub-Committees.

I hear that Khan Sahib A.A. Khan, M.L.C., who is representing the interests of the Muslims of the Central Division in the Upper House on a Muslim League ticket, has also been taken on the general War Purposes Committee, although he was not present at the meeting held on 28.6.40 nor at the one held on 29.6.40. I cannot definitely say whether Khan Sahib had previously intimated his consent to the Collector to serve on this Committee, but at any rate, he was not present at both these meetings.

The other two Muslims, who are distinct Muslim Leaguers and who were present, were Khan Bahadur Mohamed Salahuddin and Mr. H.I. Shaikh, who are representing the Muslims of the Poona City in the Poona City Municipality on a Muslim League ticket.

I am bringing this to your notice with a request that if the dictates and mandates of the President of the Muslim League are to be adhered to, some disciplinary action must be taken against these gentlemen.

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,
M.S. NAGINEWALA
Secretary, Poona District Muslim League

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Sadrul Islam Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/441

DEPUTY COMMISSIONER'S HOUSE,
GODA,
2 July 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

With the honour [*sic*] of your leadership, I should like to ask two questions from you. I know that at the present time you are very much busy with the League's work. But I earnestly request you for answers to these questions, as I hope from your leadership [*sic*]. The questions are:

i. Whether the Pakistan scheme will be dropped at the present juncture; if so, what will be our future programme; if not, what will be the methods to make it successful?

ii. What will be the attitude of the League to the anti-League actions of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan?

Since I read in the papers about the interview of the Viceroy with you, I had been praying to the Almighty *Allah* for a good result of the talk. And now I am very glad to know that the talk was successful, and [I] congratulate you for this.

Again I request you earnestly for the answers to the above two questions with an early reply. Wish you good luck and good health in solving the great problems of today.

With best wishes and regards,

Yours obediently,
SADRUL ISLAM KHAN

382

Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 215/43

19 TEMPLE ROAD,
LAHORE,
3 July 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith three cuttings, one from the *Civil & Military Gazette* and two from the *Tribune*. For the last four days considerable propaganda has been going on in the Hindu papers to the effect that Sir Sikander did not see you during your stay at Simla. Apparently this information has been given to the correspondent of the Hindu press by the opposite party and a most ignoble effort has been made to reap credit out of meanness.

The Nawab of Mamdot has called a meeting of the Working Committee on the 4th to consider the action to be taken on the Resolution of the Working Committee regarding War Boards. You will find in the cutting from the *Civil & Military Gazette* that the Nawab of Mamdot is going to Simla to consult the Premier[1] and it is likely that he will have an interview with the Punjab Governor[2] also in this connection. The object apparently is to get the Governor to influence the Nawab of Mamdot. What the Nawab of Mamdot intends to do will become obvious in the meeting of tomorrow. I am, for one, certain that the newly affiliated Punjab Provincial Muslim League, consisting as it does of the nominees of Sir Sikander, will throw the Working Committee [Resolution] overboard and make a display of their loyalist attitude. More after tomorrow.

With all regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. BARKAT ALI

[1]Sikander Hyat Khan.
[2]Henry Duffield Craik.

Enclosure 1 to No. 382

F. 215/44

EXEMPTION GIVEN TO MINISTERS

Muslim League Attitude to War Committees[1]

3 July 1940

While the doubt regarding the exemption to Muslim League Ministers to join War Committees has been satisfactorily resolved, efforts are being made to secure permission for members of the Punjab Muslim League to continue to serve on the Punjab War Board.

It will be recalled that two weeks ago when the Punjab Premier, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, came to Lahore he declared, in an interview, that the Punjab and Bengal Ministers had been exempted from the operation of the Resolution of the Working Committee of the Muslim League which called on Muslims not to join War Committees pending instructions from Mr. Jinnah.

This was followed by a statement by Mr. Jinnah that the Working Committee had given exemption to nobody and had called upon Muslims not to join the War Committees for the time being.

The confusion created by these two apparently conflicting statements has now been ended by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Secretary of the Muslim League, who has clarified the position of Ministers as far as the Resolution concerns them. He says that not only the Muslim Ministers of Punjab and Bengal are exempted but also those of Sind and Assam.

He has pointed out that these Ministers have been allowed to join War Committees not as Muslim Leaguers but in the capacity of Ministers. It is mentioned in this connection that in none of the four provinces mentioned, there is a purely Muslim League Ministry. The Muslim Ministers have other responsibilities besides those as members of the Muslim League. In the case of the Punjab they are Ministers as Unionists. Therefore, while they are not allowed to join War Committees as members of the Muslim League, they may do so as Ministers.

The question of members of the Punjab Muslim League joining the War Board, however, still remains unsolved. Mr. Jinnah in a statement from Simla has once again requested these people to withdraw without delay from these Committees.

It is well-known that Sir Mohammad Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot, President of the Punjab Muslim League, and other members of the

League have joined the Punjab War Board and are taking a prominent part in it.

It is expected that the Punjab Muslim League will approach Mr. Jinnah to allow them and all those members, who are also Unionists to continue to serve on the War Board owing to peculiar circumstances of the Province. Sir Mohammad Shah Nawaz Khan of Mamdot is going to Simla to consult the Premier as to what attitude they should take in case Mr. Jinnah turns down the request. He is likely to have an interview with the Punjab Governor also in this connection.

[1]The *Civil & Military Gazette*, Lahore.

Enclosure 2 to No. 382

F. 21/45

RIFT IN MUSLIM LEAGUE LUTE

Mr. Jinnah Rebukes his Lieutenants[1]

3 July 1940

It is learnt that Mr. Jinnah has no intention of summoning the Muslim League Working Committee as he has full powers to deal with any situation himself. Moreover, he is aware that even the Committee of his nomination is rather sharply divided on the question of war effort, a fact which was made clear by the recent statements of Sir Sikander and Mr. Fazlul Huq and further demonstrated openly in Simla by the aloofness of the Punjab Premier from the League leader. To those others of the Muslim League, who have accepted seats on the Provincial War Boards and who came to watch the Simla negotiations last weekend, Mr. Jinnah addressed sharp words of rebuke in the interest of discipline. And the answer of the Leaguers to this rebuke was in effect this: "Your lead was wrong. You should have permitted us to work on War Boards subject to the condition that if you found that your negotiations on behalf of the League with the British Government necessitated withdrawal of co-operation, then to give us your order accordingly. As it is, you are straining our loyalty too much." The Muslim Leaguers from the Punjab in particular have made this position of theirs clear in the course of their talks.

[1]The *Tribune*, Lahore.

Enclosure 3 to No. 382

F. 215/46

WAR COMMITTEES AND MUSLIM LEAGUE

Punjab Leaguers holding consultations at Simla[1]

3 July 1940

It appears the differences between Mr. Jinnah, President of the Muslim League, and some of the chief adherents of the League and their supporters on the question of co-operation with the War Committees have become more acute. Mr. Jinnah, it is learnt, has during his stay at Simla been looking into the matter. He is said to be taking a rather serious view of this "indiscipline" on the part of the strongest pillars of the League. A controversy, it is stated, has been going on in the inner circles of the League now for some days. A feature of this controversy is that while the Punjab and Bengal Muslim Leaguers are generally quiet—in view of their loyalty to their chiefs in the legislatures—some Muslim Leaguers from other provinces who out of loyalty to Mr. Jinnah did not co-operate with the War Committees, have been asking Mr. Jinnah to take disciplinary action against those who had disobeyed the dictates of the League President.

The question has also been engaging the attention of the Punjab Muslim Leaguers. These members have explicit faith in their leader, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan and they would remain loyal to their own leader and prefer Sir Sikander Hyat Khan any day to Mr. Jinnah.

It is understood that in order to decide their united course of action some Punjab Muslim Leaguers are holding consultations at Simla. The Nawab of Mamdot, who is the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, on being summoned to Simla left tonight by the Kalka Mail. It is stated that some decision would be taken with regard to the attitude of the Punjab Muslim Leaguers in the matter.

[1]The *Tribune*, Lahore.

383

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F.305/53-4

51 EZRA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
3 July 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of letter addressed to Sir Nazimuddin which speaks for itself.

He has acknowledged receipt and has added that he will reply to it after hearing from you and the members of the Working Committee.

Yesterday the United Press splashed the news that Sir Abdoola Haroon, one of our prominent leaders in Sind along with another comrade of his, named Gujdar,[1] had joined the War Committee of Karachi City.

Again, another mischievous statement was issued from Simla by the United Press to the effect that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan has sent copies of the proceedings of the Working Committee to the members of the Council, and it is reported that the Ministers in the Muslim provinces were exempted from the application of the ban on joining the War Committees by Muslim Leaguers.

It is time that such mischief was stopped because such statements are harmful to unity in the League.

Your statement to which I referred in my last letter as your speech made at Hubli has been traced. I shall send you a copy of [the] same shortly. The statement was issued by you from Matheran in which you stated that it was not the desire of the Muslim League to embarrass the British Government in the provinces where the Muslim League are responsible for carrying on the administration. This statement apparently gave our friends both shelter and courage to act as they have done recently.

Your conversation with the Viceroy has terminated and we are all waiting anxiously for your final directions. We have to make up our mind one way or the other.

Subhas Chandra Bose was arrested under the Defence of India Act yesterday afternoon. The good work that we are doing together in the Corporation will suffer a temporary setback. However, I hope that his arrest has been in connection with his threat to break the

Holwell Monument[2] because Government will very soon remove that eyesore and thus remove the cause of his grievance and threat.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and [your]self,

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]Mohamed Hashim Gazder, a Muslim League leader of Sind.

[2]The Holwell Monument was built by Lord Curzon, the Viceroy (1899-1905), in commemoration of the Black Hole tragedy of Calcutta. Allegedly, 146 British prisoners were confined in a small cell on 20 June 1756. All but 23 were found dead next morning because of stifling heat and asphyxiation. See Z. H. Zaidi, ed., *Jinnah-Ispahani Correspondence*, Karachi, 1976, 148, note 1 and W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Empire*, New Delhi, 2005, 381.

Enclosure to No. 383
M. A. Hassan Ispahani to Khwaja Nazimuddin

F. 305/55-7

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
29 June 1940

My dear Sir Nazimuddin,

At the last meeting of the Working Committee of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, called to consider the attitude of the members towards the War Committees constituted by the Governors of the provinces, you stated that the All India Muslim League Working Committee had decided on the 15th instant at Bombay that Muslim League Ministers in non-Congress provinces were exempted from the application of the general Resolution which was passed without dissent calling upon Muslim Leaguers not to participate in the work of such Committees until further notice. To some of us present at the meeting, this decision of the Central body seemed absurd and highly mischievous, for it established two laws, one for the Muslim League Ministers and the other for the ordinary members of that body. Such a decision, we felt, rang the death-knell of the League as it created a serious breach of unity and discipline. We accepted your report but in order to discover the reason for the differentiation, wrote to the President and asked him to explain to us the grounds that had necessitated the adoption of such an unheard-of principle by the League.

The President has been pleased to communicate to me the actual decision of the Working Committee. I quote him as follows:

> My only regret is that Sir Nazimuddin according to the press report should have said that Ministers were exempted. That is not correct. After the Resolution was passed Sir Nazimuddin asked me what will be the position of the Ministers and I said to him that they must tell the Governors, or through the Governors it must be conveyed to the Viceroy, that pending our communication with the Viceroy they should not proceed with the formation of the War Committees. Sir Nazimuddin then said, supposing we are forced to go on with it, which will leave no alternative [other] than to resign, to which my answer was that if it comes to that we may ask them to resign and that they should communicate to me when that stage is reached.

You will admit that the decision of the Working Committee is clear and unambiguous and is opposed to the statement that you issued to the press on your return from Bombay. The statement issued by the President on the 28th instant made it absolutely patent that no special privileges were granted to Muslim League Ministers.

A copy of the proceedings of the Working Committee meeting held in Bombay also confirms Mr. Jinnah's assertion that no exception of any sort or kind was made in favour of the League Ministers.

In view of the above, some of us feel and feel very strongly that the time has come for us to take stock of the whole situation without delay. We should not, at this critical juncture, when the fate of the Musalmans of India is in the melting pot, allow internal disruption; and indiscipline should be put down mercilessly. If those to whom we look for a proper lead and correct guidance are themselves busy smashing the unity that has prevailed so long, the unity that has been brought about by such sacrifice and labour we feel we must, without fear or favour, cry a halt. If necessary, those who do not respond to the directions of the League may have to be turned out, lock, stock and barrel, irrespective of the immediate consequences. In our opinion it is far better to lose the so-called power in one or two provinces now rather than continue putting the telescope to the blind eye and court insurmountable trouble later on.

The position in Bengal is going from bad to worse daily. You will not deny that ever since the day Mr. Fazlul Huq assumed the premiership of the Province, Muslim League[rs] have rallied round him and have given him unstinted support in every matter. His staunchest supporters, on the other hand, deserted him right from the beginning. Mr. Fazlul Huq stated this fact from the platform and on the floor of the Legislative Assembly. Power, however, does not mean and should not mean riding roughshod over national decisions. Discipline is for all and all must be for discipline if

anything is to be achieved by a political party. In this connection I shall place before you certain definite charges. I am confident no fair-minded person can repudiate them. They are:

i. The flouting of the Resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League in regard to the War. The mandate of the Working Committee was definite. What did Mr. Fazlul Huq and those of you in the Cabinet do? You took no notice of it. On the contrary you tabled a War Resolution. This, in spite of opposition by those who stood by the League, was carried in the party meeting and in the Assembly. This was the first slap on the [face] of the parent body. Our political opponents ridiculed the League and joyfully declared how impotent the body that claims to speak for the Muslims of India was in actual fact.

ii. The Working Committee of the All India [Muslim] League directed that no individual other than the President was empowered to negotiate with the Congress in the matter of a settlement between the Hindus and the Musalmans. Mr. Fazlul Huq in direct opposition to this mandate responded to the invitation of Mr. Abul Kalam Azad and went to Delhi to attend the conference that this Muslim representative of the Hindus had called. Apparently, while in Delhi, courage failed him and in accordance with his established practice he left Delhi before the other Muslim Ministers arrived.

iii. The mandate of the Working Committee in regard to War Committees was also flouted. As I have dealt with this subject at length in the first few pages of this letter, I shall not repeat.

iv. Mr. Fazlul Huq had the hardihood to telegraph to you in Bombay that unless the Working Committee gave unqualified and unstinted support to the British Government in the prosecution of the War, he would resign from the League. You placed this message before the Working Committee and are aware of the reaction this meaningless and undisciplined challenge created. You asked for time because you felt that the telegram may have been the work of a mischief-monger and so desired to have confirmation from the Premier before you placed it formally before the Working Committee. Time was given. After this the Working Committee sat for two days, but the telegraphic message was not placed again before the meeting in Bombay. This is not secret any longer for I have received the information from the Punjab.

I ask you if this is not the limit of indiscipline, and flouting of the parent body.

You will no doubt agree that there cannot be divided loyalty—loyalty to the party and loyalty to Government as a Minister. When a clash occurs, the choice must be made. Otherwise indiscipline must result and do incalculable damage to the Muslim cause.

I have written to you what was in my heart. It may appear brutally frank but I felt that the friendly relations between us demanded that I should utter the truth. Please rise to the height of the occasion and let us be loyal to ourselves and our cause.

Yours sincerely,
[M. A. HASSAN ISPAHANI]

Khwaja Nazimuddin,
9 Gariahat Road,
Calcutta

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/71-4

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,
CALCUTTA,
3 July 1940

WAR COMMITTEES

I hope you have received my letter addressed to Bombay.[1] The War Committees in Bengal, as far as the Muslims are concerned, have not been a success. The Calcutta Muslims have boycotted them under our instructions. The Bengal Muslims have really been aloof from them. Some persons here and there have joined them but they do not carry the people with them and their action is being looked down upon and denounced by the masses and classes. Mr. Altaf Hussain, the Director of Information, Bengal, admitted before us, in private, that they have not succeeded in obtaining the services of a single preacher or lecturer for making public propaganda for the War Committees.

On the 26th June 1940, the Working Committee of the Bengal League met. Mr. Fazlul Huq was in an angry mood. He began to attack and abuse you. He said that Mr. Jinnah was following a wrong policy regarding the War. Sir Nazimuddin rebutted all the attacks of Mr. Huq and by his arguments and quotation of facts and reasons

proved that Mr. Jinnah's policy was the only course open to Muslims. This completely silenced Mr. Huq and convinced the house.

It was strange to find that during the debate Mr. A. R. Siddiqi was supporting Mr. Huq and passing remarks against you. This was obviously, because Mr. Siddiqi is at present out of count in the League circles and is opposed to you personally. However, the Committee dispersed without passing any resolution on War or War Committee and decided to wait for your further statements on the subject.

The same night (26th June) the Working Committee of the Calcutta League passed a resolution calling upon all Muslims to resign from the War Committees and to abide by the mandate issued by the League. The response was very good.

I just learnt that Mr.Fazlul Huq has left for Simla to interview the Viceroy.

Mr.Altaf Hussain was saying that the Govt. believes that in case of a crisis there will be four ministers in India—Sir Nazimuddin, Matin Chaudhry and two others from the Punjab and Sind—who will resign at the call of the League.

Sir Nazimuddin in the said meeting of the Bengal League declared that he was ready to resign his ministership when called upon to do so by the League.

Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy also said that he would be ready to resign his ministership. Mr.Tamizuddin Khan and Nawab of Dacca will also be ready to follow Shaheed and Sir Nazim.

BOSE'S ARREST

This, in brief, is the situation. The arrest of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose on the question of the Holwell Monument (Black Hole) has created a stir in Bengal. A public meeting is going to be held in the Town Hall this evening to commemorate Serajuddowla's martyrdom by the treachery of Clive, Umichand and Meer Jafar. A big procession of black flags was taken out this morning. The procession was led by Muslim students. The procession flags were black with crescent and star. They condemned Meer Jafar's treachery and Black Hole Monument. In my opinion, the Govt. have committed a blunder by arresting Mr. Bose at this psychological moment.

KHAKSARS

Your statement regarding the Khaksars has had very unfavourable reception in Bengal. The papers here have criticised you for showing sympathy with the Khaksar Movement. This is being taken

exception to for more than one reasons. For instance, the venerable President of the Calcutta League, Moulana Abdur Rauf Quadri, the most influential Leaguer in Calcutta, Bengal and Bihar and an elder politician who is a pillar of strength of the League movement, is deadly against the Khaksars on both political and religious grounds. Politically, Moulana says, the Khaksars are out to establish the dictatorship of Mashriqi and undermine the democratic organization of the League. He says that Khaksars are opposed to the National Guards. He has very strong views on the question and was on the point of resigning from the presidency of the League on this question.

Religiously speaking, Moulana and all other religious divines of Calcutta, including *Mufti* of the Jamia mosque, are unanimous in their verdict that Mashriqi is out to undermine Islam and founded a new cult or religion like Akbar, the Mughul Emperor, who founded *Deen-i-Ilahi* to suit and serve his political objective. I do not think you will ever succeed in bringing round the Khaksars to the League fold. This is apparent from the comment of Khaksar organ[2] on your statement. To tell the truth, the Khaksars in Calcutta on the 23rd June 1940 assembled at Mohammad Ali Park and their *Salar*, Fida Hussain, delivered a most abusive lecture against you and the National Guards.

On the 1st June 1940, at Kidderpore the Khaksars at a physical feats exhibition, organized by the League, abused you in the filthiest language and attacked National Guards.

I learnt it at Gaya and Patna personally that the Khaksars had adopted terrorist measures to threaten League workers and the National Guards. They show knives and want to cow down the National Guards.

I wonder how and why you showed sympathy with [*sic* for to] a Movement which is fundamentally and diametrically opposed to the League authority, ideology and objective and which is undermining Islam as a religion by preaching anti-Islamic principles. Please explain your statement and remove misunderstandings.

Yours,
RAGHIB AHSAN

[1&2]F. 204/70 *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]See ibid., 15-6. Not printed.

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S. M. Shareef to M. A. Jinnah

F. 445/4

NURUL HUDA ROAD,
P. O. MAHENDRU,
DISTRICT PATNA,
3 July 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah

I see from the papers that you have now returned from Simla to Bombay. I trust this will find you well and not over-bagged with the immense strain that you are being subjected to.

I am sending you, as desired in the presence of Syed Abdul Aziz at our last meeting together at Bombay, a copy of the scheme adopted by the Bihar Provincial Muslim League in December last at its Workers' Conference.

I hope your interview with H.E. the Viceroy was pleasant, fruitful and in the interest of the Muslims and the League.[1]

Yours sincerely,
S. M. SHAREEF

[1]Jinnah wrote to say that his talks with the Viceroy were continuing. See F. 445/6, *QAP*. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 385

F. 445/5

RESOLUTION

The Muslim League workers of Bihar feel and realise that to strengthen the organisation and to have real connection and co-operation of one branch with the other, it is essential that propaganda and organisation work should be carried out in right earnest and smoothly and in order that the Muslim League workers can reach [*sic* for take] the voice and aims and objects of Muslim League to every corner of the Province in minimum possible time. This Conference thinks that the following three kinds of funds be created:

One, especially for propaganda which will include the purchase of motor lorry fitted with loudspeaker etc., so that the workers can make extensive tours throughout the Province and four inspectors

be appointed. The second will be for the wider publicity of the policy and programme of the Muslim League through a newspaper which should be started with satisfactory permanent finance. The third fund will be to carry out easily the work of the office of the Bihar Province Muslim League.

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Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah

F. 302/30-3

RANI BAGH,
QUETTA,
5 July 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

You must have reached safely back to Bombay after a successful interview with the Viceroy. The Musalmans here love you from the depth of their hearts for the bold attitude you have adopted and the brave lead you have given them in the present difficult times. On the 29th June, the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League fully endorsed the Resolution of the All India Muslim League passed at their recent meeting. On the Ist, the District Officer here had called a meeting of the leading men of the place in connection with the formation of the War Sub-Committees—I told him about our Resolutions and our inability to serve on the Committees. The authorities here are not used to such kind of frank statement—they like their "yes" men. This is what he told me: "then you send a cable to Hitler and ask him not to bomb this town of ours." To this, I replied, "If such an occasion arises, then it would not be we who would send a cable to Herr Hitler, but our Quaid-i-Azam would do it for us—as he is the person who represents not only the Musalmans of this Province but of the whole of India." At this sharp reply of mine he kept silent. By the next day, this news was spread all over the town and you should have seen the enthusiasm of Musalmans who were pleased by this bold statement on behalf of the League.

We have earnestly launched the National Guards scheme in order to encourage the public. I have enlisted myself as a guard—details about it have been published in our today's paper *Al-Islam*.

By the time you get this letter of mine, it would be the 10th of July

and I am sure you would be in a position to reply. Whether you can come here for our annual conference on the 26th, 27th and 28th July. Please try your best to reach here on the 26th and then consider the whole of this Province to be conquered for ever for the League cause. Please do your best not to disappoint us. Send me your presidential address which I will print here and release to the press about three or four days before the session. I have also to make the necessary arrangements about the session and it all depends on your definite reply. Leave Bombay on the 23rd by the Frontier Mail. You would reach Lahore on the 25th morning at about 8 a.m. Catch Karachi Mail the same morning at 9 a.m. and reserve accommodation in the air-conditioned coach as far as Rohri. The train reaches Rohri at 11 p.m. where you have to change and get into Quetta Carriage. If you are not particular about the air-conditioned coach, then get your accommodation reserved from Lahore in the direct Lahore—Quetta Carriage of Karachi Mail, in this case you would not have to change at Rohri. You would reach Quetta on the 26th at 12.30 p.m. Please also let us know how many days can you spare for us so that I should make the necessary programme. I am also writing to Nawabzada Sahib—please write to him also not to disappoint us. As for the presidential address you can fix it up with Nawabzada Sahib as to who should deliver it, but I must get a copy of it soon.

The two Judas,[1] Sikander and Fazlul Huq, have again met today at Simla and the latter intends going to Delhi to meet the Congress President. We must decide something definitely about them. They cannot go on cheating us for ever. They must be punished. The sooner we get rid of these traitors the better for our cause. The masses love you for your bold and unbending attitude and it is actually they who count—it is they who make Sikander and Fazlul Huq. Without them they are nowhere and they would be nowhere as far as the Musalmans are concerned if you withdraw your support from them. We want men who are sincerely with us and not those who work against us. We want strong hands and not tools that work in everybody's hands. Thank God, Musalmans have got a wonderful Quaid-i-Azam.

My wife sends you and Miss Jinnah her *aadab*. My *aadab* to Miss Jinnah.

Please reply me soon.

Always at your command,

Yours sincerely,

ISA

[1]Judas Iscariot, an apostle of Christ's, who according to the Bible betrayed him to the Jewish authorities, leading to his (Christ's) arrest and crucifixion. Judas remorsefully committed suicide later.

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M. A. Jinnah to Shah Nawaz Khan

F. 97/19

BOMBAY,
5 July 1940

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I am very pleased to read your statement[1] and to know that you were going to withdraw from the War Committee. As President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, you were good enough to say that you were bound to carry out the instructions of the Working Committee and the President of the All India Muslim League. I hope that you have sent in your letter withdrawing from the War Committee. As President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, you and your Working Committee should see that the Resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League is obeyed and ask all others to withdraw. Please let me know the names of those who refused to withdraw after due information was given to them.

Hoping you are well [and] with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan,
Mamdot Villa,
Lahore

[1]Not traceable.

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/77-80

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,
CALCUTTA,
5 July 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I hope you have received my letters.[1] Mr. Fazlul Huq, according

to his old practice, cancelled his Simla visit. Almost all his Calcutta friends were informed by him personally that he was leaving for Simla but at the eleventh hour he decided not to go. We do not know why he was going and why he cancelled his programme.

But as far [as] I know, the strong attitude of the Calcutta League and the growing discontent of the Muslim masses have made him very nervous.

I am sorry to inform you that Khwaja Shahabuddin has adopted the role of the leader of the reactionaries and loyalists in Bengal. Yesterday, 4th July 1940, the Asst. Secretary, Bengal League, before Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy and Khwaja Shahabuddin, pressed for holding the annual session of the Bengal League. But while Mr. Shaheed supported this move, because the annual session was overdue in December 1939, K. Shahabuddin strongly opposed it on the ground that the election of new office-bearers will create trouble; and that members of the League in the annual conference will criticize Mr. Huq who will resent this criticism and revolt from [*sic* for against] the League. Hence, he argued, it was better to postpone the conference. The fact is [that] he prizes the ministry and friendship of Mr. Huq more than a real League organization in Bengal. Mr. Shaheed differed saying that it was impossible to work for two years when they had been elected for only one-year term of office. Mr. Shaheed is sincerely anxious for League organization.

Mr. Shahabuddin also opposed the preparation of a list of those members and office-bearers of the League who have violated your mandate and become members of War Committees.

I have seen the telegram of one Dr. Mohammad Ismail Nami to you regarding the Khaksar crisis. He is absolutely unknown in Bengal and Eastern India. I met Khaksar *salars* and visited their headquarters in Calcutta but they refused to disclose his identity. I found them very anxious to keep Nami's personality and identity a mystery. Our impression is that he is a bogus man and has no authority to deliver the goods on behalf of the Khaksars.

This is evident from the fact that according to A[ssociated] P[ress] of I[ndia's] report dated Simla 2nd July, the Khaksar leader, Agha Ghazanfar Ali Khan of Bulandshahar who interviewed Mr. Mashriqi at the Velore Jail, met Sir Sikander Hyat Khan on the 2nd July and had a talk with him.

The conditions, moreover, imposed by Mr. Nami fetter your freedom to work as an arbiter. I do not think the Khaksars will ever abide by your award or decision if it is not sanctioned by Mashriqi. To the Khaksars, the word of Mashriqi is the word of religion.

In the meanwhile, the Khaksars are opposing the League and National Guards Movement in Calcutta.

Another important development is that the Khaksars in Bengal, as in the Frontier, have offered their services unconditionally to the War Committees, disregarding your appeal to the Muslims to wait for your instructions. This move of the Khaksars has produced a very bad impression.

I do not think the Khaksars will be able to do any good to Muslim organization unless and until they give up their fascist ideology and recognize the Muslim League as their supreme political presidium. To support the Khaksars, without first making them swear fealty to the League, will [be] tantamount to Munich Appeasement which will recoil on the League like Nazi aggression.

Yours most sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN
General Secretary

N.B. I request you to kindly go through the printed leaflet in Urdu by Maulana Hakim Abdur Rauf Quadri, the President of the Calcutta League, on the Khaksar movement. I enclosed a copy[2] of the leaflet in my earlier letter.

[1]F. 204/70, *QAP*. Not printed & No. 384.
[2]Not traceable.

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A. K. Fazlul Huq & Sikander Hyat Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 97/3-7

SIMLA E,
5 July 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

We deem it our duty to address this personal letter to you and trust that it will be received in the frank and cordial spirit which prompts it.

We feel—and this is also the general feeling of prominent Muslims in Bengal and the Punjab and, maybe in other provinces also—that the present policy of sitting on the fence adopted by the League in the matter of Muslim cooperation with the British

Government in the prosecution of War is both undignified and detrimental to the Muslim interests, as also to the interests of the country as a whole.

The Resolution passed by the Working Committee at its meeting in Bombay on the 16th June has created a great deal of confusion and even consternation among the Muslims. This is not surprising considering that the Muslim public is not aware of the reasons which actuated the Working Committee to adopt that Resolution. It was made clear by you in the meeting of the Working Committee that the Resolution was not meant to be a gesture of non-cooperation or a threat to the Viceroy and was merely intended to secure time to enable you to discuss with the Viceroy and satisfactorily settle two outstanding issues, viz. (1) to ensure that the British Government would not let down the Muslims over the question of constitutional readjustments and (2) that, even if the Congress refused to participate, the Muslims should be associated with the administration both at the Centre and in the provinces to enable them to give whole-hearted and effective support in the prosecution of War. You have since seen His Excellency the Viceroy. We have not been informed by you of what transpired at the meeting. We are, however, confident that so far as the two issues referred to above are concerned, there should be no difficulty in securing the necessary assurances. We, therefore, hope that you will kindly issue a statement immediately, as authorised by the Working Committee, removing the conditional and temporary ban imposed by the Working Committee on the members of the Muslim League in the matter of participation in the War Committees.

We feel strongly that the position with regard to the participation of the Muslim Leaguers in the Provincial and District War Committees demands your earnest reconsideration and most tactful handling. We are emphatically of the opinion, based on the knowledge of the inner working of the various forces and circumstances in the Bengal and the Punjab, that in these provinces, at any rate, it would be suicidal to the interests of the Musalmans and these provinces, and against the cause of the Muslim League itself, if the Musalmans did not forthwith take their due and active share in the establishment of the War Committees and the proposed formation of Civic Guards. We have not yet been convinced that the position in other provinces would justify a different course even there.

Moreover, both you and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League share the view that, in the interests of the Musalmans in India and in Muslim countries as also for the cause of the ordered progress of India and the world, it is our duty to help

Britain in the present war, whatever England's sins of omission or commission may have been in the past. This view was reiterated in your statement of the 27th May, which has been endorsed by the meeting of the Working Committee in Bombay on the 16th June 1940.

We desire further to bring it to your notice, in addition to the aforesaid considerations, that many members of the Muslim League in Bengal and the Punjab had joined, or communicated their willingness to join, the Provincial War Committees and the District War Committees long before the Resolution adopted by the last Working Committee of the All India Muslim League or your statement on the subject was issued to the press. They did so *bona fide* at a time when no ban was contemplated by the League against their joining such bodies. It would obviously be embarrassing to these members to ask them to resign from these Committees now and to rejoin them again after a few days when instructions are issued to the contrary.

Our friends and supporters in Bengal and the Punjab, and many tried and trusted workers of the Muslim League in other provinces, honestly feel that any hesitancy or policy of drift in this matter would be as dangerous to the Muslims as their non-participation in the War Committees and the Civic Guards at this juncture; and we owe it to you to state that we ourselves share their view in this matter. As such, we cannot conscientiously strain their convictions or their loyalty over this issue. At the same time, we are most anxious to avoid anything at this juncture which may weaken the solidarity of the Musalmans or damage the prestige of the League and your position as its accredited spokesman and leader. We have, therefore, felt constrained to address this personal letter to you. The situation is undoubtedly embarrassing, but we feel that it is not beyond constructive statesmanship or incapable of an honourable solution. The present suspense, however, cannot and should not be allowed to continue any longer, and we most earnestly appeal to you to give a clear, unequivocal, final and far-sighted lead in the matter without undue delay to safeguard from jeopardy the interests of Muslims and the peace and the safety of the country.

We wish to avail [ourselves] of this opportunity of addressing you on another matter of vital importance to the Musalmans at the present moment. As you are aware, the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, which met in Bombay on the 16th June last, authorised you to negotiate with His Excellency the Viceroy for the acceptance of the principle that the Musalmans be assured that they will be guaranteed their due position and rights in any future

constitution and that meanwhile they will be given their due share, both in the Government at the Centre as well as in the provinces where the administration had been taken over, so that they may be in a position to cooperate effectively in the matter of war effort and internal security. We feel confident that with your far-sighted statesmanship and unquestioned integrity, you will see that if the principle urged by the League is accepted by His Excellency the Viceroy, and on that understanding he agrees to include the representatives of Musalmans in the Government at the Centre and in the seven provinces referred to above, the negotiations are not allowed to break on the question of personalities as to which persons should or should not be included in these Cabinets. We feel that the participation of the Musalmans in the Government at the Centre and in these provinces, if the principle urged by the League is conceded, far transcends at this juncture the question of individual personalities. Any insistence on particular individuals, we are afraid, unless the Working Committee is unanimous on the names or the panel of names suggested, would create serious rift in the ranks, particularly in the provinces where the Musalmans are in a minority, and would not be justified so long as the principle is established. There is, however, one exception to this general proposition and it is that the whole of the Muslim League should unanimously insist both on His Excellency the Viceroy and on yourself that Mr. Jinnah shall be included in the Central Cabinet and that if His Excellency should not accept this unanimous request, the negotiations may break because we feel that your personality enshrines the prestige of the League to such an extent that the rejection of your name would be tantamount to the rejection of the principle urged by the League.

For obvious reasons, we have refrained from giving an expression of views in the press and have invoked our privilege, as your colleagues and co-workers, to address this frank and personal letter which we commend for your early and earnest consideration[1] in the cordial spirit which prompts us.

Best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
A. K. FAZLUL HUQ
S. HYAT KHAN

[1]See No. 419.

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Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/99-101

PESHAWAR,
5 July 1940

Dear Sir,

At the outset, let me congratulate you for the correct lead you have given your people and the correct way in which you have conducted the interview.

It is easy to be wise after the event. I now feel you were quite correct and we were wrong. Now the Congress is in a fix. If they agree then the credit goes to you. You have managed to bring them down and to bring them to their senses and you gain exactly what you wanted in February last when Mr. Gandhi summarily rejected then [*sic*], and if they do not agree and come with counter-proposals "*Bania*-like," then your refusal of War Committees gives an honourable background for compromise, i.e. you bring the British Govt. round to accept[ing] nine-tenth[s] of India as national governments in provinces and at the Centre. May God Almighty give you its reward. Let us see that all turns [out] well. *Insha Allah*!

Dear Sir, there is one word of submission for which I enclose in original Sir Sikander's letter[1] for kind perusal. I at once confess that Sir Sikander is wrong and you are right but who is the elder, who is the father of the nation and who has to set matters right, the father or the son. As long as you are the head of the family, you have to kindly see that there is domestic harmony and peace and you have to sometimes make a sacrifice even in [*sic* for of] your prestige and courtesy. It reminds me of a college episode. There was a witty student named Ali Ahmad Tommy in good old Aligarh days. He was witty and once upon a time his elder brother and guardian omitted to send him subsistence allowance at proper time. Though the elder brother supplied him maintenance out of his own earnings, yet Ali Ahmad Tommy wired him: "Send Rs. 100 or resign guardianship" and his brother wired back: "I comply, Sir; I cannot resign guardianship".

Now, dear Sir, we your sons and youngsters can in the same way respectfully call upon you. "Either make Sikander happy or resign

fathership." You know, dear Sir, that Sir Sikander is a wayward, spoilt child of Sir Fazle [Hussain], though sometimes he even misbehaves, but you have to keep the team together. As a herdsman, as a shepherd you have to keep us together. We are your sheep and if we sometimes play the sheep, you have to forgive, you have to chastise us, but you cannot afford to break [*sic*].

Dear Sir, permit me to say that there would have been no loss of prestige even if you had called on him. In Persian they say: "President is President, whether he sits in the pit." To my mind, he has made honest amends. He has written to the press that he will never see Abul Kalam Azad and it was the mischief of the press that from his interview the word "ministers" was deliberately omitted which caused so much misunderstanding and confusion and, dear Sir, if I have got any claim on your generosity, I beg of you to kindly write him a cheery letter and fix it up in your own old statesmanlike way. If you have been pleased to have decided to guide the destinies of your nation at the expense of your health, wealth, comfort and everything, you have to make all these sacrifices.

You are like a father to me and when I feel I must write to you. My suggestions are always tentative and subject to your kind approval.

With my repeated thanks to Miss Jinnah for all those sumptuous functions at your most welcome house [*sic*] and with affectionate regards to you,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

PS. I may submit [that] I have written very strongly to Sir Sikander on Gandhi's or his Secretary's courtesy call. I said enemy's courtesy or his Secretary's call is more dangerous than his overt act of animosity—Beware of this *Samri* (witch) of Sabarmati [Gandhi, that is].

MAK

[1]See No. 378.

391

Saieduddin Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 654/10-2

BENGALI KOTHI,
CIVIL LINES,
ALIGARH,
5 July 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

There is a great talk of League's idleness, these days. Furthermore, many people speak of its inaction by its policy towards the Punjab and Bengal Provinces. When these so-called League leaders take part in War Committees, how do you expect the Muslim masses to refrain from attending the War Committees. There are continuous reports of other people joining War Committees. It goes to show that the League has lost supreme authority over the Musalmans. There is great uneasiness among the masses at the failure of the League's Resolution of Bombay and its subsequent surrender to the ministers. Of course, masses follow the leaders.

Furthermore, Mr. Huq's visit to Simla to see Sir Sikander Hyat Khan in order to discuss the situation arising out of the League's Resolution is a definite step to disassociate themselves from the League's policy.

There is a great possibility that Mr. Huq and Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, together with some other title-holder Leaguers who want to give unconditional support to Britain, may form a bloc against the present League's policy.

It is very [*sic*] possible that they may leave the League.

May I most respectfully ask you as to whether you would take effective steps to preserve the reputation of the League before these people desert the cause of their nation.

With all good wishes for your long and healthy life to serve the people's cause.

Expecting an early reply,

Yours sincerely,
SAIEDUDDIN AHMAD

392

M. A. Jinnah to Raza Ali

F. 220/18

BOMBAY,
5 July 1940

Dear Raza Ali,

Many thanks for your letter of the Ist July.[1] It is something to be cheered up in these days.

I wish that Musalmans of India, like the Egyptians, could think that their watchword should be God, our people and the Muslim League. But I find that they are coming round to it more and more. It is only a few here and there, especially amongst the intelligentsia, who are doing our cause the utmost harm they can. But let us pray that they will fail, as I feel now that the Musalmans of India are solidly with the League.

My talks with the Viceroy are continuing and I cannot disclose just now, but there is always hope and let us hope for the best.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 379.

393

Mohammad Abdul Ghaffar Kheiri to M. A. Jinnah

F. 852/6

NAWAB GUNJ,
DELHI,
5 July 1940

Dear Sir,

I hope you have fully grasped the condition of the Delhi Provincial Muslim League.

It is more than a month that I have been pressing the Provincial workers of the Delhi League to organize the "National Guards", but to no effect. You yourself impressed them but it was quite

momentary because they are busy opposing each other as you are yourself fully aware.

Under the circumstances, can I ask you to authorize me to organize the Delhi Provincial National Guards directly under All India [Muslim] League? I can promise to hand over the organization to the Provincial League whenever the All India [Muslim] League considers fit.

I wish to do work for the benefit of Islam and the community without any wish for office or return.

Yours faithfully,
MOHAMMAD ABDUL GHAFFAR KHEIRI

394

M. A. Jinnah to Mian Bashir Ahmad

F. 197/9

BOMBAY,
5 July 1940

My dear Bashir Ahmad,

I am in receipt of your letters of the 24th[1] and 25th[2] June, and I thank you really for all the information and for your advice. I wish I could have a personal talk with you; but it is very difficult for me to explain matters fully through correspondence. Let me tell you however that I am fully alive to the situation, and also know what is going on in the Punjab. All I can say [is], it is up to the Punjab public and the leading men there to act. There is nothing to prevent you from organizing the District Muslim Leagues and establishing the Muslim National Guards.

As regards those who are putting the difficulties in our way, believe me we shall deal with them and they cannot succeed. A little patience is still necessary. I believe that Nawab of Mamdot has already withdrawn from the War Committee and hope that a few others who have joined will follow suit.

As regards the Khaksar question, you ask me why I should insist on a full authority given to me before I negotiate with the Punjab Govt. But how else can I negotiate. On whose behalf? Who will carry out any honourable agreement which may be reached between me and the Punjab Govt? Yes, I still maintain that we must do all we can to help the Musalmans wherever they may be and see that

justice is done to them. But don't you see that Khaksars are taking the law in their own hands and are defying law and order, which puts us in a very difficult position. When the Lahore Resolution was passed, those who were speaking on behalf of the Khaksars definitely gave us to understand that, pending the negotiations with the Punjab Govt., the Khaksars will maintain peace but they never gave us a chance, because they continued their activities in spite of all our persuasion to suspend their defiance.

However, you don't tell me what would you expect me to do now. What action you suggest me to take in the matter?

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 354.
[2]Not traceable.

395

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Ismail Nami

Telegram, F. 518/89

5 July 1940

Your telegram.[1] My advice suspend defiance pending negotiations. If your instructions obeyed by rank and file your authority cannot be doubted! Willing help find solution.[2]

M. A. JINNAH

[1]See F. 518/87, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Mohammad Ismail Nami replied that orders had been issued for suspending defiance of the law till 27th July 1940. See F. 518/91, *QAP*. Not printed.

396

Dildar Khan Muqbil to M. A. Jinnah

F. 957/35

M. A. O. COLLEGE,
AMRITSAR,
6 July 1940

Respected Sir,

Ever since the Resolution of partition of India has been passed in

the annual session of the All India Muslim League at Lahore, nothing has been done so far to educate the public opinion in its favour, with the result that today, excepting [*sic*] a very few Muslims, understand the meaning and significance of the scheme.

In order to achieve the desired end, propaganda on all-India basis should at once be started in right earnest.

The opposite party is doing its level best to mislead the masses by false propaganda. The only way to check it is to start counter-propaganda.

For this purpose I offer my humble services. I have already worked on the Goodwill Deputation sent to U.P. in November 1939. I represented the Punjab.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
DILDAR KHAN MUQBIL
M. A.
Professor

397

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

F. 305/58-9

BOMBAY,
6 July 1940

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 3rd July[1] and also the copy of the letter addressed to Sir Nazimuddin, dated the 29th June, enclosed. The matter is receiving my attention.

With regard to the other reports about Sir Abdoola Haroon, I cannot believe because from the very beginning, he announced having declined to join the War Committee. It is really the Congress press mischief as they are doing their utmost to show that there is a serious split in the Muslim League. The report that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan has sent copies of the proceedings of the Working Committee to the members of the Council stating that the ministers in the Muslim provinces were exempted from the application of the ban, is equally incorrect.

With regard to my statement[2] that I issued from Matheran, and not my speech as you thought, it is quite clear. In fact it has been

embodied in the Resolution[3] of the Working Committee of the Muslim League, and the point of the statement was that so far we have put no difficulties in the way of the Govt.

I would like you to read carefully the statement underlined in blue pencil, and we in our Resolution say that we are not satisfied with the reply of the Viceroy, dated the 19th April,[4] with regard to the assurances we had asked for.

You need not bother to send the copy but I do not think there is any room for any such inference or conclusion as it is suggested, compatible with honesty.

With regard to my conversation with the Viceroy, the talks are still continuing but my final direction is that the Resolution of the Working Committee must be adhered to, irrespective of what may happen as the result of my talks with the Viceroy, and the Provincial Muslim League, Bengal, must call upon every member of the Muslim League to resign from the War Committee. In the meantime, please go on with the organisation of the Muslim National Guards all over Bengal.

As regards the arrest of Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, I do not know what really is the true reason or cause. I should like to have more facts before I can express any opinion.

With kind regards to all of you from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

M. A. Hassan Ispahani
5 Camac Street,
Calcutta

[1]No. 383.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 249.
[3]See No. 323.
[4]No. 190.

398

S. M. Abdulla to M. A. Jinnah

F. 194/1

FATEHPURI,
DELHI,
6 July 1940

My dear Jinnah,

As instructed by you, I have resigned from the War Committee as

per copy attached herewith. There are a few points which I would like to bring to your notice, and this I will do after 2 or 3 days.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. ABDULLA

Enclosure to No. 398

S. M. Abdulla to President, Provincial War Committee, Delhi

F. 194/2

FATEHPURI,
DELHI,
6 July 1940

Dear Sir,

I understand that there has been no understanding so far between the Government and the All India Muslim League regarding the framing of future constitution of India. I, in accordance with the Resolution passed by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League at Bombay, beg to resign from the membership of the War Committee.

I, however, have every desire to serve my King and the country, which I will continue in my private capacity according to my means, and I have every hope that the War will be terminated with complete victory for Great Britain.

Yours faithfully,
S. M. ABDULLA

399

Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah

F. 95/104-6

PRIVATE/PERSONAL

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA,
6 July 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am much obliged for the private and personal memorandum headed "Tentative Proposal", which you were kind enough to send

me in your letter[1] to my Private Secretary of the 1st July. I note the points taken in paragraph 1 of that memorandum, and in the first sentence of paragraph 2, both of which you emphasized in our recent conversation. I welcome also the amplification, as putting me in fuller possession of your mind, of that conversation represented by the balance of your letter. But certain of the points taken suggest that there may be some slight misapprehension, which you will, I think, agree that it would be desirable that I should clear without delay.

2. As regards any expansion of the Executive Council, this would, as you rightly observe in your memorandum, be within the existing constitutional scheme. In other words, any Council so expanded would operate as a whole and as a single Government of India. It is not a case of striking a balance between the different interests or of preserving the proportions between the important parties. As you yourself indicated in the course of our conversation, there are parties other than either the Congress or the Muslim League who may fairly claim to be considered for inclusion, and there is a very definite limit of number to any possible expansion. At the same time, I readily accept the importance, in the event of any expansion, of securing adequate representation of Muslim interests, and that is a point which I would bear in mind. There is, however, as you will see from my explanation, no question of responsibility falling in greater or less degree on any particular section. Responsibility will be that of the Governor-General in Council as a whole. Again, it will be clear that under [the] existing law and practice, it must remain with the Secretary of State, in consultation with the Governor-General, to decide upon such names as we may submit to His Majesty the King for inclusion in the Governor-General's Executive Council, and such persons cannot be the nominees of political parties, however important; though it may, of course, be assumed that both the Secretary of State and the Governor-General would, in all cases, do their utmost to select persons from the various sections of the community.

3. I need not remind you that under [the] law, the whole responsibility for the Government in section 93 provinces vests exclusively in the Governor, although a Governor can, of course, take advantage of the assistance of any advisers he may appoint. Whether, and if so, at what point and in what strength, non-official advisers from political parties should be appointed in provinces under section 93 administration, in the event of an expansion of the Governor-General's Council, would clearly call for consideration in the light of the circumstances of each province. You will, I think, agree with me also that the importance of

the community from which advisers are drawn in a particular province has a direct bearing.

4. Your idea for a War Council is, in my view, well worthwhile considering, though details would have to be worked out. Here again there are, of course, many parties to be considered other than the Muslim League or the Congress.

5. As regards section III of your memorandum, I ought, I think, to make it clear that it would be constitutionally impossible for the choice of Muslim gentlemen to be appointed to any expanded Executive Council or as non-official advisers to rest with the Muslim League. But in the contingency envisaged, you need not fear that any suggestions you may put forward would not receive full consideration.

6. Let me in conclusion thank you again for your very clear and valuable memorandum. I realise, of course, fully that it is not merely private and personal, but that, in your own words, it embodies a tentative proposal. I am sure that you will agree with me that it is well that there should be no misunderstanding on the important points on which I have touched above.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

[1]No. 377.

400

M. A. Jinnah to Nazir Ahmad Khan

F. 331/6

BOMBAY,
6 July 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 23rd June[1] and thank you for it. I am glad that you are loyally holding by the decision of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

Yes, my attention has already been drawn to a few instances, who [*sic*] have joined these War Committees. I believe the President of the Punjab Muslim League has withdrawn and hope the others will do so. I hope that the Working Committee of the All India Muslim

League will not allow those who deliberately continue to disregard this Resolution, and hope that it will take necessary action. I am, I need not tell you, fully alive to the situation.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Nazir Ahmad Khan, Esq.,
Advocate,
Bahar Afshan,
Montgomery

[1]No. 344.

401

M. A. Jinnah to M. S. Naginewala

F. 873/445

BOMBAY,
6 July 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 1st July[1] and thank you for it.

With regard to your question regarding some of the members of the Muslim League joining the War Committee contrary to the Resolution of the Working Committee, I beg to inform you that your proper course is, if they are the members of your District Muslim League, to ask them to withdraw and failing their withdrawal, to report the matter to the Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

The Secretary,
Poona District Muslim League,
Poona

[1]No. 380.

402

Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 321/29

MADRAS,
7 July 1940

My dear leader,

I have great pleasure in introducing to you Nawab Mahomed Vahiduddin Khan Sahib Bahadur, a member of Sir Khursheedjah Paigah, Hyderabad [*sic*]. I believe he has had the pleasure of meeting you when you visited Hyderabad last. He wishes to represent to you certain matters which vitally affect the Paigah. The Paigah maintains a certain military force. It is feared that this force might be ordered to be disbanded by the Government. If this comes to pass, it will throw out of employment about 10,000 Muslim sepoys and, with them would deprive about 40,000 Muslim souls of their means of livelihood. This would be a dire calamity. Besides, in these days of communal tension, the existence of such a force is a matter of great political necessity.

The Nawab Sahib desires you to [take] interest in this first-class Muslim question with a view to securing your kind intervention and help to prevent the calamity.

With kindest regards and esteem,

Yours very sincerely,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN
Member,
All India Muslim League Council

403

Abdool Guffoor to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/446-8

EMPRESS HOTEL,
BOMBAY,
7 July 1940

Honoured Sir,

I take [*sic*] your honour's kind indulgence to be pardoned

for approaching your honour with this letter, but since I have come to India, I am reading through newspapers about your social and political activities and good and sincere love you entertain for your mother country in general and for our community in particular, I have been induced to address this letter to you.

I am [*sic* for was] born in India but have stayed in Australia for 61 years and for the last one year I am here in Bombay. I am an old man of 82 years of age and as the War broke out, I was unable to sail back to Australia. Besides, I also desired to pass my last days in my mother country, where I was born, but I being an old man of very advanced age, am unable to do any work to earn for my maintenance. The same is the case and trouble with every old man and woman in India over sixty years of age. I have learnt that like other countries, i.e. England and Australia, etc., there is no provision in Indian law to provide old and invalid people with stipend or pension by granting them old age pension and invalid pension.

Now, Sir, you are the oldest member of the Legislative Assembly of very high repute and influence in the Assembly, I hope you will be kind enough to bring a bill in the House asking the Government to provide old age pension and invalid pension to all men and women over sixty in India.

In Australia, every man and woman over sixty get pension irrespective of their nationality and our so many Indians as such get old age pension. This fact your honour can well inquire for your satisfaction from Honourable Mr. [Robert Gordon] Menzies,[1] the Prime Minister of Australia, Canberra, the capital of Sydney [*sic*].

I hope you will soon bring the bill of this type and receive thousands of boons and blessings of millions of old and invalid people all over India and add one more bright jewel to your shining glory.

I appeal to you to kindly put this letter before the House and try to pass the bill immediately and redress the grievances and sufferings of old people of India.

I shall be thankful to you to explain personally if you so desire.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your humble servant,
ABDOOL GUFFOOR

[1]Prime Minister, 1939-41, and later, 1949-66.

404

Sikander Hyat Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 353/32-4

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

CAMP JULLUNDUR,
8 July 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wired to you as follows on July 5th[1]:

> Hope no objection my seeing Savarkar if an opportunity offers. Propose conferring with Congress leaders regarding Punjab situation arrests.

Your reply was communicated to me on the telephone yesterday at Delhi. I reproduce it here for facility of reference:

> Your telegram. I cannot agree your seeing Savarkar as go-between. If he desires see me he is welcome. Regarding Punjab situation arrests you may your discretion see Congress leaders as Premier Punjab Government at your office or residence. Please adhere strictly letter spirit Working Committee Resolution. Hindu leaders welcome see me regarding Hindu-Muslim question.

When I received this message, I refused to believe that it could have been sent by you and I suspected it to be a hoax on the part of someone at Simla. But I was soon disillusioned as the representative of the Associated Press in Delhi rang me up shortly afterwards and informed me that my message to you and your reply had been handed over to the A.P.I. for publication. I am writing this letter to convey my protest and indignation on the tone and wording of your reply as also against the most unusual and objectionable step of releasing the correspondence to the press without my permission. Believe me that it has caused me immense pain to find that a person of your position and experience should have stooped to take such an unmannerly and undignified step.

My main object in sending you the above telegram was to avoid any misunderstanding in case Mr. Savarkar and I had an occasion to meet during his recent visit to Simla, and in the event of my meeting Congress leaders. I thought it advisable to warn you since a section of the press seems to have spotted your weakness of being provoked into making statements or counter-statements—particularly where I am concerned—on the slightest pretext, and sometimes on the basis

of a message which may have emanated from their own representative for the purpose of drawing you; and they exploit it to the full. To quote a recent instance, the A.P.I. conveyed a distorted version of my interview with the press representatives on my return from Bombay. All the local papers published the correct version but the A.P.I. message, which was communicated to you direct even before it was released to the press, was published in Bombay papers together with your statement which you thought fit to issue without making any attempt to get it verified.

Your telegram, to put it mildly, shows an utter lack of decency and sense of proportion. I never had any intention of acting as an intermediary between Mr. Savarkar and yourself. You have reserved to yourself the privilege of acting as 'go-between' between the Hindus and the Working Committee; and this is as it should be as after all it is primarily the function of the office-bearers of the League to play this delicate role.

As regards interviews, so long as the Resolution of the Working Committee is not contravened, it is none of the business of the Working Committee or the President to dictate to me in these matters. It is for me, and for that matter, it is the inherent right of every individual member of the League to decide whom to see, and where and when. As I have already said, I mentioned in my telegram the possibility of my seeing the Congress leaders to avoid any misunderstanding. Your gratuitous advice regarding the venue of the meeting and the capacity in which I should see them was uncalled for and irrelevant; and, as I have said, indicates a lack of sense of proportion.

One brief reference to the penultimate sentence of your telegraphic message: You say "Hindu leaders welcome see me regarding Hindu-Muslim question." I only wish they could be made to reciprocate this desire. It appears they are shy of going near you because they are not sure of the kind of welcome they would receive if they went to see you. My recent talk with a lady, who is held in great esteem throughout India and who claims to have known you 'for years' as a fellow-worker in the political field, would help you in appreciating the nature and depth of this feeling which seems to be prevalent among Congressmen and others. She said: "Oh, why don't you try to bring Jinnah and Congress leaders together and get this tangle solved? He was such a nice man—I do not know what has happened to him." I suggested in reply that she should herself see you and try to find a solution of the difficulties. She immediately retorted: "But he would bite my head off". I said, "Surely an old friend like you need have no

such fears". She said, "Yes I know Jinnah, he is very nice, but everybody does not understand him. He puts on a brusque and bullying attitude merely to hide his lack of self-confidence. He does not mean it; he suffers from an inferiority complex and adopts a haughty and superior attitude to conceal this shortcoming." She may or may not be correct, but even Quaid-i-Azam is after all a human being and it would do no harm, even if the description given by this lady is not true, to do a little heart-searching and see whether there is no room for self-correction or self-improvement if for no other reason but [*sic* for than] to remove this erroneous impression regarding the accredited leader of the Muslims.

Yours sincerely,
S. HYAT KHAN

[1]See Telegram, F. 353/30, *QAP*. Not printed.

405

Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 321/30-31

MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
8 July 1940

My dear leader,

I find that the Congress has now definitely decided to go their own way, still insisting upon immediate declaration of complete independence of India. What I cannot understand is the recognition that they have given to the Central Assembly for the purpose of getting an upper hand in what they call a national government. This effete body which should have been dissolved long ago does not reflect the opinion of the electorate at present even amongst the non-Muslims, much less amongst Muslims. I feel confident that the Viceroy will give a definite 'No' to such a proposal.

As regards the War Committee, I wish to bring to your notice a very hard case of a member of the League Party in the Madras Assembly. He is a very able and loyal member of the League. At the same time, he is placed in a disadvantageous position on account of his being a Govt. pleader in a district town. He was nominated by the district authorities to the War Committee on account of his status

and position in the district, and this was done prior to the Working Committee Resolution. He is prepared to withdraw from the War Committee, but that would entail his losing Government pleadership. He is prepared to make this sacrifice also, if so advised. But if there is a possibility of the League deciding to co-operate with the War Committees, may I not advise him to continue in the Committee as a special case in the interim period. If you decide finally that the League members should in no case co-operate in the war efforts of the Govt. by joining, or remaining members of, War Committees, he will be prepared to abide by the League decision irrespective of the sacrifice he would have to make. I seek your advice on this matter.[1]

In case the provincial governments are going to appoint non-official advisers with your consent, should they not select Muslims only from amongst the loyal members of the Muslim League Legislative [Assembly] Party? It will not be proper if the Government appoint Muslims who are either opposed to Muslim League or have not been members of the League Party in the Legislatures. I seek your advice on this matter also.

With affectionate regards,

Yours very sincerely,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN
MLA

[1]See No. 421.

406

M. A. Jinnah to Jamilud Din Ahmad

F. 199/22

BOMBAY,
8 July 1940

My dear Mr. Jamilud Din,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 29th June[1] and really thank you very much for a very thoughtful and well-considered suggestion. I am, if you will allow me to say it, fully alive to every one of the points that you have mentioned and also know that there are black sheep amongst us. Well, time is coming soon when we would be in a position to deal with them but let me inform you that the Musalmans of India are solidly with the League, and incidentally it

has been an acid test and they have stood the trial wonderfully well.

My talks with the Viceroy are continuing and I cannot, at present, disclose anything but I am, not to overstate the case, hopeful so far.

With regard to your article, I have been suddenly called away to Simla and [have] had no time to go through it but I will, in due course of time.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Jamilud Din Ahmad, Esq.,
C/o Dr. Abdus Samad,
16/10 Civil Lines,
Cawnpore, U.P.

[1]No. 372.

407

Purshotham Trikamdas to M. A. Jinnah

F. 924/115-6

BOMBAY,
8 July 1940

My dear Jinnah,

I gathered, from my conversation with you, that you feel that in the situation that is developing to-day, an organization for the purpose of preserving internal peace is very necessary.

I hope you will agree with me that such an organization, to be useful, must be broad-based and truly representative of the citizens. If this is to be achieved, I hope you will also agree that such an organization must not be organised by or affiliated to a single political organization. This does not, of course, mean that political organizations can play no part in bringing it about. The task of political organizations would be to jointly organise a citizens army or, if for any reason such a course is not possible, to help the citizens to organise themselves in all possible ways.

Since my meeting you, I have interested several friends in the matter, and it was my desire to discuss the matter with you and to seek your guidance. I shall be glad to know your views on the question and if you can find a little time during the week, I would like to come and discuss it personally.

Yours sincerely,
PURSHOTHAM TRIKAMDAS

408

Ch. Bahawal Bakhsh to M. A. Jinnah

F. 825/60-61

LAHORE,
8 July 1940

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

In my capacity as a member of the Muslim community, I wrote your goodself a letter on 25.6.40[1] regarding the inappropriateness of the Resolution passed by the Muslim League Working Committee at Bombay on the subject of participation of Muslims in War Committees. The Resolution was inappropriate because it was in conflict with your previous statement on the same subject and secondly because certain Muslims, relying on your previous statement, had joined War Committees before the Resolution was passed and they have now been put to a hard test. In my letter, I made an attempt to deal with the position of the Bengal and Punjab Muslims, who are forced by considerations of self-preservation to co-operate with the Govt. In the Punjab, we are faced with three-cornered opposition, the Ahrar and Khaksar Party among the Muslims, the strong Sikh minority and the Hindus whose intrigues go so far as the Hyderabad (Deccan) State. The Punjab Muslims are in the best position to decide what line of action is best suited for them and they might well be allowed to choose their way. As I stated in my letter, the majority of the Muslim League members [of the Working Committee] are drawn from the Muslim-minority provinces who have no idea of the situation in the Muslim-majority provinces or in the rural areas generally and they pass resolutions which do no credit, either to the League or these provinces. I also explained in my letter that the only quarrel between the Govt. and the Congress is the Govt.'s declaration that at the end of the War, leaders of various communities will be asked to frame a suitable constitution for India. The Congress view is that the Muslim League should not be associated with the framing of the constitution, but the Govt. have not accepted this demand, thanks to your efforts. The Govt. attitude is quite reasonable and we had better co-operate unconditionally with them on this account also.

With these few words, I beg to request your goodself to peruse my previous letter and favour me with a word in reply. If no reply is received, I will conclude that my letter has not received consideration and I will then consider the question of publishing my letter. But I have the deepest regard for our Quaid-i-Azam and I do not want to do anything which may not have his approval.

With best regards and good wishes for the League,

Yours sincerely,
BAHAWAL BAKHSH
Member, Provincial Muslim league,
Zaildar and Rais of Mangowal, Dist. Gujrat

[1]No. 364.

409

R. A. Maniar to M. A. Jinnah

F. 901/48

62 NISHANPADA ROAD,
BOMBAY,
8 July 1940

Brother-in-Islam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

With reference to the interview Mr. A. M. Thariani had with you this afternoon, I am directed by the Working Committee of this institution to address you as follows:

Since the movements such as Civic Guards and A.R.P. have been set on foot in the city, it is likely that the Muslims may be tempted to join the same if no other activity is set on foot by the Muslim League. It is, therefore, very essential that the movement of the National Guards is set on foot publicly under the direction of the Muslim League so that the energies of the Muslims be directed in that channel.

I have, therefore, the honour to request you to please inform us how the matter stands at present in respect of the National Guards movement.

Thanking you in anticipation and awaiting your early reply,

Yours-in-Islam,
R. A. MANIAR
Honorary Secretary,
All Aid Society

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Tufail Ahmad Jamali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 769/119-20

75 MUSLIM HOSTEL,
ALLAHABAD,
9 July 1940

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,

We have learnt with the greatest pleasure and the profoundest satisfaction that you have taken on yourself the noble but difficult task of securing justice for the victims of Sikander Ministry. The importance of an organization of the type of the Khaksars cannot possibly be overemphasized, and we hope you will succeed in securing an honourable compromise in spite of the attempts of interested people.

We have no desire to say things against any member of the League Working Committee, but the wounds inflicted by some, regarded as responsible from amongst them, are bound to leave deep and ugly scars behind. Young Muslim India may forgive, but will find it difficult to forget.

As feared, the titled gentry is about to betray the cause of 90 millions of people of this land. It is hardly saying much that they should not be allowed to do so. Muslim India has been betrayed only too often in the past [and] it can ill-afford to be betrayed any more. Any measure that you take to eliminate the undesirables will be fully backed by your young followers. There may be few Muslim students in the League, but they are all with the League and you can rely on them. They shall [*sic* for will] not betray.

With all wishes,

Yours brotherly,
TUFAIL AHMAD JAMALI
Secretary,
Allahabad District Muslim Students' Federation

411

Mohamed Burhanulhaq to M. A. Jinnah

F. 570/89

JUBBULPORE,
9 July 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received an invitation from the Secretary to His Excellency the Governor of C.P., requesting me to attend a meeting held on Thursday, the 27th June 1940 at Govt. House, Nagpur. It was held to constitute a Provincial War Committee. I attended the meeting.

Before the commencement of the meeting, the Secretary to Governor had asked my consent to become the member of the Provincial War Committee. I declined to accept the offer with thanks saying that I was not permitted by the All India Muslim League Working Committee and its accredited leader, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, to join such Committees pending the result of his talks with H. E. the Viceroy.

The Secretary to the Governor accepted my reasonable refusal and conveyed it to H. E. the Governor, but more than once requested me that my refusal as well as the talk I had with him should be treated as most confidential. Nevertheless I feel it my duty to put [sic] you informed of the above.

Yours sincerely,
MOHAMED BURHANULHAQ
Member, All India Muslim League Council,
President Distt. and Town Muslim League

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Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 364/12-4

LUCKNOW,
9 July 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Congress Working Committee Resolution[1] must have convinced some of our friends that it was not the League but the British

Government which stood in the way of fuller co-operation between India and the Government. The demand for complete independence makes it abundantly clear that it is not merely the difference between the Muslims and the Hindus but the differences between the British Government and the Congress also, which make the co-operation of British Government and the Congress impossible on the one hand and the coalition of the Congress and the Muslims on the other. The recent attitude of the Premiers of [the] Punjab and Bengal, whatever may be [the] reasons behind it, has considerably affected our solidarity, but I am inclined to think that after the recent Resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress, both of them must have realized that their efforts in bringing the three main parties together were destined to fail, for the Congress was not prepared to revise its demands even during the pendency of the War. We have now finally to decide upon a definite course of action for ourselves. The last Resolution of the League did not contain full and complete instructions with the result that several questions are being asked by the District Leagues and we do not know what answers are to be given to them. For instance, some people want to know whether they should subscribe to the War Fund or not.

The position in the Province appears to be that local officials are making demands from the zamindars to contribute to the war purposes fund. In some cases, the local officials have gone to the length of crediting a portion of money sent to them for payment of revenue towards war purposes fund. It seems natural that we should give instructions to the Muslim Leaguers to abstain from giving subscriptions directly or indirectly, but before doing it, I think it would be better if you call a meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League to consider all these questions, for I think if we take our Resolution to its logical limits, it is bound to bring us in open conflict with the Government. We have, therefore, to decide finally our attitude in regard to the war.

Yours sincerely,
KHALIQ

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 559-61.

413

Anonym to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/449-50

BOMBAY,
9 July 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Now that Gandhi has failed in India, he is trying to show his frustration by knocking at the doors of British papers, to threaten the people there. I am glad you have put in new life among [*sic*] the Muslims and minorities but I am sorry the Muslims are backward in making propaganda. Why not contradict Gandhi in British papers? What right has he to speak on behalf of the country? Let him say anything for Congress. Please seek co-operation of all minorities, princes and foreign Muslim countries. It is most important that you should make regular propaganda in the USA, Britain and Muslim world. You will find many supporters in above countries.

Why not arrange weekly gatherings and parades of Muslim youth all over the country? Tell Muslims [that] union is strength and to awake at once or be for ever fallen. Why not hold meetings in Azad Maidan—have the Hindus got the monopoly?

May God give you strength to fight the devils.

Yours sincerely,
[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

414

A. Qayyum Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/451-4

MOHALLAH MIAN SAHIB,
BATALA,
10 July 1940

My lord,

With every respect I beg to put before you the following few lines for your divine [*sic*] consideration.

It has been as clear as the sun from the recent events that Sir Sikander Hyat Khan is not a true Muslim Leaguer. From the very day he joined the Muslim League, he has been cheating her and her creed. He is nothing but a puppet in the British hands. He has no respect for his nation, religion, country or anything of this sort. His object of life is to earn fame and riches. He is numb to all feelings which are part of a true Muslim's life. He has proved himself to be rather more dangerous to Muslim League than any Hindu or a Congressman can be. He can well be called a *Munafiq* (a term in the holy *Qur'an* meaning those people who took up Islam to cheat Muslims and were not real Muslims) to Muslim League. He is cheating you as those people who used to cheat *Hazrat* Muhammad [PBUH] in old days.

Another point which I want to put [*sic*] to your notice is that Sir Sikander is not at all respected in our Province these days. People hate him. He had, but now has no respect or honour in our hearts. Ninety-nine per cent of the Muslims dislike him. Public has lost her confidence in him. And these things were evident in the *pindal* of All India Muslim League Session at Lahore. I believe and, you too Sir, that those were the people upon whom the League depends, who love League honestly and passionately, honour and welcome you and your commandments. Did they not made [*sic*] a clear demand for turning out Sir Sikander from the League?

Leaving aside these things I come to the most recent things. Has he not insulted your goodself and the whole of Muslim League by joining the War Committee and arranging talks with Mr. Gandhi and Maulana Azad? Is it not a direct breach of conduct? Then, Sir, why such people should be kept in our good Muslim League? Kindly purify, as you call it, the League from them as soon as possible and save our community from death. If you make [*sic*] delay in this matter, it will cause a great trouble, and such people will make favourable arrangements for themselves in [*sic*] this time. If you immediately throw them out of the League, they will meet a miserable political death.

Then, Sir, last of all I want to put before you a personal matter of mine for your kind consideration. The thing is that I have a chance of getting myself recruited to the Royal Air Force as a pilot. Am I allowed to do so by the League resolutions passed a few days ago at Bombay? If you allow [me] I will join, otherwise not.

At the end I request you for an early reply. *Salaam*

Yours obediently,
A. QAYYUM KHAN

415

Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 215/49-52

MELROSE,
DALHOUSIE,
10 July 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I came up here on 5.7.40 just to recover my failing health.

There is so much appearing against you in the Punjab press at the instance of Sir Sikander that I decided not to bring it to your notice. The cutting I enclose[1] is from the late Sir Zulfiqar's silly lad who is an Assi[stant] Secr[etary] of the affiliated League.

Permit me to say that the League has been thoroughly disgraced in the Punjab and is being treated to all kinds of contumely and ridicule. The Resolution of the Working Committee regarding War Committees has been completely disobeyed. In fact, credit is sought to be reaped out of it by telling the Britishers that Sir Sikander has cast that Resolution on the dung heap. This would not have mattered if Sir Sikander had done it as an individual outside the League. But the pain of the situation is that he is using the League machinery in the Province for his selfish ends.

A meeting of the Working Committee was called for the 4th to consider the Resolution of the All India [Muslim] League Working Committee. I decided to attend it and attended it. I raised the question of the ban imposed by the Resolution of the parent Working Committee on the membership of the War Boards. The Nawab of Mamdot would not first let this question be raised on the ground that he was corresponding with you. On my asking him to let us know if he had received any reply to the letter he had sent as President in compliance with the Resolution of a previous meeting, he refused to read the reply on the ground that the reply concerned his person more than the Working Committee.

On my insistence, he allowed the question to be raised. I moved a resolution to the effect that the Working Committee Resolution be sent to the branches and to all members who had agreed to serve on the War Com[mittees] with the request that the directions of the

Working Committee be complied with forthwith. My resolution was defeated. The Nawab then moved a vague resolution to the effect that as the position of the Muslim League members was not yet clarified, members might refrain from taking part until such time the position is clarified.

Apparently, even this is to be reconsidered. Sir Sikander is at Lahore and a meeting has again been called for the 14th. I do not propose to go down. All I can say is that the position has become impossible and that the League has been dragged into the very mire as a result of the affiliation granted to Sir Sikander's League body.

I have done all I could to apprise you of the position. Strong action and purification is needed. [*Word illegible*] of the Punjab League and removal of all persons from the League membership who have defied the League Resolution must forthwith take place. This is no time for half-measures. I wish our word had been heeded at the time of affiliation. We have loyally carried out your wishes. The result has been disastrous to the prestige of the League. Day in day out, the League mandate and resolutions of the Working Committee are being thrown to the winds. True friends of the League are becoming dispirited and are losing heart.

I hope you will excuse this long letter. I felt that silence and passive spectatorship would be culpable at this juncture. The leaders must be taught a lesson. A clean purge is what is needed, whether it is Sir Sikander or Mr. Fazlul Huq on whom the purge falls does not matter. People say that the reason why no action is being taken is the fact that without Sir Sikander and Fazlul Huq, the League shrinks to nothingness. I do not believe this nonsense. I hope you [also] do not believe it. Let us lay this ghost to the ground.

With all regards and prayers that God may give you strength and renewed life and energy to serve your poor and disorganized community,

Yours sincerely,
M. BARKAT ALI

[1]Not traceable.

416

Mian Bashir Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 197/11-4

NORTH VIEW,
CAMEL'S BACK ROAD,
MUSSOORIE, U.P.,
10 July 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 5th July 1940,[1] from Bombay. You say therein that you have received two letters from me dated 24th[2] and 29th June.[3] I have not written any letter to you recently. So I do not know if your letter is meant for me or for someone else. It is addressed to one "Bashir Ahmad, Lahore." It appears that it was delivered at my Lahore address, i.e. at 23 Lawrence Road, Lahore, from where my clerk has forwarded it to me here. If the letter was meant for some other Bashir Ahmad, please let me know his address, so that I might send it to him.

I remember that after the recent All India [Muslim] League Session at Lahore you asked me to write to you occasionally to keep you in touch with the situation in the Punjab. I regret that I have not written to you since then.

In April and May I was very busy in attending to my work, which was neglected for two or three months previously on account of my being engaged with Muslim League work of the then forthcoming annual session.

Then when I came to the hills to have some rest, a most terrible calamity overtook me and the whole of our family. My son, Asghar Bashir, aged 20 years, who was studying at Oxford and had been doing his work there extremely creditably, was drowned while punting in the Cherwell, on 24th May 1940. This has plunged the whole of our family in mourning and, at least for the time being, I cannot take any interest in my work or any public activities. I am prostrate with grief. I loved him dearly. Besides he was one of the most brilliant youngmen. May God grant me and my wife fortitude to bear this irreparable loss.

Your letter of the 5th July referred to above deals with the Khaksar situation in the Punjab and the Punjab Muslim League. The writer of

the letter apparently wanted you to negotiate with the Punjab Government. You say in your reply that you must have the authority to do so. A few days ago, I saw in the paper that such an authority had been given to you.

All I can say is that the sufferings of the Khaksars have grieved the Muslims of the Punjab immensely and I look forward to the day when you, the leader of the Indian Muslims, may help to solve the tangle and thus partially restore the much-needed unity of the Muslims. The deplorable situation arose out of a partisan spirit displayed on both sides. Nobody was unselfish enough to place the good of the community above considerations of personal and party prestige. You know all that better than any one else and you would surely know what to do. So far as the League is concerned, I earnestly hope that all the members, whether high or low, will observe strict discipline for the sake of the community.

Hoping you are quite fit.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
(MIAN) BASHIR AHMAD
Bar-at-Law

[1]No. 394.
[2]See No. 354.
[3]See No. 371.

417

S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

F. 304/21-2

ISMAIL MANZIL,
PATNA CITY,
10 July 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have to acknowledge with thanks the receipt of your letter dated 25th June[1] posted on the same date when you left for Simla. I have no desire to tresspass on your patience nor to trouble you with frequent requests for advice and action. But circumstanced as I am at present I do feel for your help and guidance. Against your advice and our advice, a few Muslim Leaguers in Bihar had either attended or joined the War Committee. A number of them in response to our request

had withdrawn from the War Committee. The others who have not yet withdrawn are likely to withdraw very soon. I have given them time till the 12th July for my Working Committee meets on the 14th July. There is a feeling of resentment against all those members who have not yet withdrawn from the War Committee. A very deplorable incidence [*sic*] has happened and I feel ashamed to mention it. Our esteemed friend, Lady Anis Imam, has not only attended but have [*sic*] consented to serve on the Provincial War Committee. I have already made this fact known to you in my letter dated 22nd June[2] to which you had replied on the 25th June. In spite of my personal intervention and request she is not at all willing to sever her connection from the Provincial War Committee. Much has been made out of the act of her joining and serving on the War Committee. I therefore seek your help and advice in absolute confidence as to what step I should take against her in particular and others in general who refuse to comply with our request. A very early reply is solicited if no objection. Of course we are not aware as to what will happen in future. The Congress recent decision is nothing but stalemate.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
ISMAIL
[*President, Bihar Muslim League*]

[1]No. 360.
[2]Annex to No. 360.

418

M. A. Jinnah to Mohamed Burhanulhaq

F. 284/1

BOMBAY,
11 July 1940

Dear Mr. Burhanulhaque,

Many thanks for your letter of the 9th July.[1] I am glad that you have adopted the right course in declining to serve on your Provincial War Committee, pending the result of my talks with the Viceroy.

I do not see why the Secretary to the Governor of your Province wanted the matter to be treated as confidential. On the other hand, in

most of the provinces the Governors have openly written to our members saying that they appreciate their difficulties and that their places will be kept whenever the League decides to allow its members to join the Committees.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Moulana Mohamed Burhanulhaq,
Jubbulpore

[1]No. 411.

419

M. A. Jinnah to A. K. Fazlul Huq
(Copy to Sikander Hyat)

F. 97/8-10

BOMBAY,
11 July 1940

Dear Mr. Fazlul Huq,

Many thanks for your joint letter of the 5th July[1] signed by Sir Sikander and yourself, which I received on the 8th. I am very sorry to find that you characterize the policy of the League as"sitting on the fence," in the matter of the Muslim co-operation with the British Government in the prosecution of the War, in paragraph 2 of your letter, which is self-contradictory in the paragraphs that follow.

The policy of the League has been repeatedly laid down since the 27th August 1939, and to put it shortly, it is that if the British Government desires full co-operation it can only do so provided the assurances we have asked for were given, and further provided that the co-operation is sought with the trust in the Muslim leadership and as confidant friends; with authority as equal partners in the Government both at the Centre and in all the provinces.

I do not see that the Resolution of the Working Committee passed at Bombay on the 16th June has created any confusion in the minds of those who care to understand it properly. It is quite clear. It is one more declaration that the Muslim League is willing to co-operate provided the assurances are given, and the representatives of the Muslim League should be associated with the Government, both at

the Centre and in all the provinces, as you yourself have indicated in your letter in paragraph 3.

Yes, I have seen His Excellency the Viceroy and negotiations are still going on. I cannot in the midst of the negotiations inform every member of the Working Committee as to what is going on. I cannot issue any statement lifting the ban unless the result of the negotiations is finally satisfactory.

All the other grounds referred to in your letter were fully considered by the Working Committee and I regret you were not present, and there is nothing new in what you have placed before me now.

There are many statements in your letter which, I am afraid, are far from being accurate; but I do not think that I need go into the details.

As regards your pointing out that many members in [the] Punjab and Bengal "had joined, or communicated their willingness to join, the Provincial War Committees and the District War Committees, long before the Resolution adopted by the last Working Committee of the All India Muslim League or my statement on the subject was issued to the press." I am sorry to say that this is not correct. The first pronouncement was made by the Viceroy, which appeared in the press on the 5th June,[2] and about the 10th June I issued a statement[3] to the effect that the Muslim Leaguers should not commit themselves to join the War Committees until the decision of the Working Committee which was to meet on the 15th June. I do not wish to challenge the *bona fides* of any of them—the Resolution of the Working Committee was out on the 17th June—but I really cannot see why it should be embarrassing to these few members to ask them to withdraw or resign from the War Committees, pending the result of the negotiations and further instructions from me as laid down by our Resolution. The Governors of the various provinces have already written to some of the members of the Muslim League informing them that they fully appreciate their position in withdrawing or resigning from the War Committees and that their places have been kept for them, pending the negotiations between the Viceroy and myself. If this little thing, namely asking them to wait is going to strain their conviction or loyalty to the Muslim League, which I cannot believe, what would they do in the event of there being a great crisis and if real sacrifice was required from them?

I am very glad to note that you say, "At the same time, we are most anxious to avoid anything at this juncture which may weaken

the solidarity of the Musalmans or damage the prestige of the League and your position as its accredited spokesman and leader." In deference to these sentiments of yours, may I request you to loyally obey the Resolution of the Working Committee? I see no danger or the difficulties that are pictured by you in your letter.

As regards other matters mentioned by you, namely my negotiations with the Viceroy, I shall certainly examine your suggestions and see how far they would be in the interest of the League, and I think you can safely leave it to me to deal with those matters; but I thank you for your personal and kind references to me and the compliment for my "farsighted statesmanship and unquestioned integrity", and also for your kind remark that my "personality enshrines the prestige of the League."

Finally, I appreciate and thank you for having sent me your views as you have a right to do so, in the spirit, to use your own words, as my colleagues and co-workers, to address this frank and personal letter.

My reply is prompted by the same spirit.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 389.
[2]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 717-9.
[3]Ibid., 30.

420

M. A. Jinnah to Hassan Suhrawardy

F. 457/8

BOMBAY,
11 July 1940

Dear Sir Hassan Suhrawardy,

Many thanks for your letter of the 13th June[1]. You must have by now seen my interviews given in the last few weeks and the last one given in connection with the Resolution of the Congress passed at Delhi about the 7th. Personally, I think that so long as the British Government tolerates Mr. Gandhi and the Congress, with the pistol in their hands of Civil Disobedience, and yet keep on approaching them and appealing to them, it means not only they are humiliating

themselves but are encouraging them. The Congress is out and out for Congress *raj*, which means permanent Hindu majority govt. The British have got to choose between Muslim India and Hindu India and I refuse to believe that they will throw the Musalmans under the heels of the Hindu *raj*, to be supported and maintained by the British bayonets, but whatever the consequences, Muslim India will never accept it. We have made up our mind that the only peaceful solution is the division of India, as indicated by the Lahore Resolution.

I doubt that Mr. Amery's visit to India will be of any use or advantage at this moment. The Muslim League has made it clear that if the British Govt. would show trust in Muslim leadership and seek our cooperation as confidant friends and as equal partners in the authority of the Govt. both at the Centre and in all the provinces, we shall not fail. But in the meantime there must be given an assurance that they will not let us down by coming to a settlement, interim or otherwise final, with regard to the future constitution of India. Instead of getting on with those who take a responsible and practical view of the things it seems that the British Govt. is marking time and still waiting for Mr. Gandhi to pass his word. If you cannot have both, as it has now been made clear, a wise person would get on with one who offers practical and honourable cooperation.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 314.

421

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Hameed Khan

F. 321/27

BOMBAY,
11 July 1940

Dear Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 8th July[1] and thank you for it. I beg to inform you that I have no power to make any exception to the decision of the Working Committee; and even if I had the power I would not do so. If once you start, there will be many special cases

that will spring up. I will therefore request you to ask our friend whose name you have not mentioned, as a staunch Leaguer to withdraw. If the League decides to co-operate, later on, as a result of negotiations between me and the Viceroy, the instructions will be issued by me to that effect. In several provinces the Governors have written to the members of the Muslim League who have declined to join the War Committees, to the effect that they fully appreciate their difficulties and that their places would be kept, pending the negotiations that are going on. I, therefore, do not see why the Government of Madras should threaten to take away the Government pleadership from this gentleman. Even then, whatever the consequences, a member of the Muslim League must carry out the Resolution of the Working Committee of the 16th June.[2]

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Abdul Hameed Khan, Esq.,
Mount Road,
Madras

[1]No. 405.
[2]See No. 323.

422

Abdul Wahid Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/460-1

NOWSHERA CANTONMENT,
11 July 1940

Dear Quaid-i-Azam Sahib,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I wish my letter may reach you in the best of your health. I know it perfectly well that every minute of your time is very precious and all of us must refrain from wasting it on unimportant matters. I had a mind to inform you of the Frontier politics since many days. But it was very difficult for me to put everything in black and white [and], therefore, I was hesitating to write. Since my first talk with you in Lucknow in 1937 during the All India Muslim League session, this is my second letter that I am writing to you. I am proud to say that, though a young poor man, I can work for the cause of the

Muslim League as I promised when supporting the "Independence Resolution", in the open session of the League at Lucknow.[1] So far we are making progress but there are some defects which must be removed if we want more progress. I am only placing facts before you; if you consider that there are defects then I am sure you will take steps to remove these defects. My duty only is to inform my commander.

You had announced nearly a week before 15th of June 1940 that no Muslim Leaguer should take part in the proposed War Committees till verdict of the All India Muslim League Working Committee. The Working Committee also called upon the Muslim Leaguers in particular not to act upon [*sic*] the War Committees. Both the members of the Working Committee from Frontier Province were present during the deliberations of the meeting of Working Committee. They said nothing against the Resolution. But I feel ashamed to say that both failed in their pious duty. They both went to the Government House at the invitation of the Governor. They both went at the appointed date and time and took part in the deliberations of the War Committee meeting, along with the other invited members. They said nothing during the deliberations of the meeting to the Governor that they were Muslim Leaguers and would abide by the Resolution of the League but, on the other hand, proposed measures that might be done. They were in the meeting till it was dispersed and assured the Governor that they would help.

We all resented this and questioned them during the meeting of the Provincial Muslim League Council as to why they had taken part in the War Committee meeting at the invitation of the Governor. K.B. Sadullah Khan, President, Frontier Muslim League, apologized that he had not done the right thing in attending that meeting while Aurangzeb Khan said that he had gone to compel the Governor to write a letter to the Viceroy so that the Viceroy must invite Quaid-i-Azam. Then he was asked that he could easily have done so on some other occasion and not on that particular date and time which was fixed for the Provincial War Committee. At this Aurangzeb Khan got angry and abused the mover and supporter of the resolution for having no confidence in those Leaguers who had taken part in War Committee.

This is the situation. I have conveyed all these matters for your satisfaction [*sic*]. I am ready to substantiate what I say. When you are convinced that these members have done wrong then I leave it to you to do whatever you like.

They have given a statement to the press that they have refused to act on the War Committee. It is wrong. By taking part in the deliberations of War Committee that [*sic* for they] have degraded the Muslim League in the eyes of the public; it will be better if you inquire into the matter yourself.

Yours sincerely,
ABDUL WAHID KHAN
B.A. LL.B.
Pleader
Member, Provincial Muslim League Council

PS. Both these members are not on good terms with each other. So far it was not harmful to the cause of the League. But now under these circumstances on account of party system League cannot make any progress.

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 575-9.

423

Abul Kalam Azad to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, AFM/265

CONFIDENTIAL

NAINI TAL,
11 July 1940

Your ninth July statement.[1] Congress Delhi Resolution definitely means by national Govt. composite Cabinet not limited to any single party. But is it the position of League that she cannot agree to any provisional arrangements not based on two nation scheme. If so please clarify and wire.[2]

ABUL KALAM AZAD

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 38-9.
[2]No. 424.

424

M. A. Jinnah to Abul Kalam Azad

Telegram, QAD (127)

BOMBAY,
[12] *July 1940*

Your telegram[1] cannot reciprocate confidence. I refuse to discuss with you, by correspondence or otherwise, as you have completely forfeited the confidence of Muslim India. Can't you realize you are made a Muslim 'show-boy' Congress President to give it colour that it is national and deceive foreign countries. You represent neither Muslims nor Hindus. The Congress is a Hindu body. If you have self-respect resign at once. You have done your worst against the League so far. You know you have hopelessly failed. Give it up.[2]

M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 423.
[2]The Malabar District Muslim League by a resolution endorsed this reply of Jinnah to Abul Kalam Azad. See F. 833/73, *QAP*. Not printed.

425

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan

F. 329/102

12 July 1940

Dear Aurangzeb Khan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 5th July[1] enclosing a letter, in original, from Sir Sikander Hyat Khan addressed to you on the 1st July. What can I say? I do not understand what Sir Sikander and now Mr. Fazlul Huq are driving at.

I think you have understood the position very clearly, as it appears to me from your letter, and I think your reply to Sir Sikander is most appropriate.

With good wishes from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 390.

426

A. Malik to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/464-9

37-39 HABIB LODGE,
NESBIT ROAD, MAZAGON,
12 July 1940

Dear Sir,

Some of my friends who claim to know something about you encouraged me in writing this letter to you. I was told that you do condescend to enlighten a young man lost in the labyrinth of the present Indian politics. Hence this indulgence, for which I beg to be excused.

I am a young Muslim from E[ast] Africa and know almost nothing about the intricacies of our body politic, but I am certainly interested in the same.

During my short [*sic*] sojourn in Bombay I have been following with interested zeal the trend of our Indian politics as an independent thinker. Sometimes I am inclined to believe that the Congress and Mr. Gandhi are in the right, and sometimes I think that the Muslim League is justified in some of its demands. In other words I cannot quite decide which party is in the right.

You were a staunch Congressman before taking [over] the reigns [*sic* for reins] of the Muslim League. Your remarkable works as a nationalist are not unknown. Then came your breaking down [*sic*] from the Congress and denouncing the Congress high command. This can be interpreted in two ways by the people:

i. That you had some personal grudge with [*sic* for against] the Congress high command and in order to take your revenge, you organized Muslim League by upholding the communal banner, to save the minorities from the Congress atrocities.

ii. That you really found insincerity of the Congress high command towards Musalmans and other minorities, and to defend them against social, political and economic injustice by the Congress, you stood for justice and fought against heavy odds organising Muslim League within a short span of time and made the voice of the Musalmans audible throughout the world. In other words, you are the saviour of the Indian Musalmans and the minorities.

Personally, I believe in the second interpretation because I am

convinced, at least on this score, that you are too great a man to stake the larger issues of a nation for petty personal grudges. My convictions were further strengthened by the speech delivered by Dr. [Bhimrao Ramji] Ambedkar on the Deliverance Day which impressed me tremendously.

One thing I must admit that before you came to the rescue of the Musalmans, we were so much degenerated and the subtle Congress propaganda had infused in the minds of the Musalmans an inferiority complex, that we were ashamed to call ourselves Musalmans—at least in India. Thanks to you, today a Musalman boldly says that he is a Musalman and that he is proud of being one. You have restored our self-respect and honour.

Your latest statement[1] on the Congress Working Committee's resolution, is that "Mr. Gandhi came to Simla to dictate and not to negotiate and so is the Congress attitude as is demonstrated by the Delhi resolution." It only aggravates matters so far as Hindu-Muslim unity is concerned. It is no use saying, 'united we stand, divided we fall,' because you know it much better than I do. Today the goal of every Indian, no matter what he is, should be independence. There is an opportunity for us. Britain is too busy defending her fronts. We must now make a united effort and demand nothing short of *swaraj*. We must avail ourselves of the golden opportunity as Ireland did in the last [*sic*] Great War.[2]

We must therefore sink our differences and launch a united campaign and independence is ours for the having. Surely, you will find Mr. S[ubhas Chandra] Bose and Pandit Nehru responsive enough to reach an understanding for our own good. They have a great following too and what is more they are very sincere.

Without indulging in your detailed arguments and justification for Pakistan scheme, I am only expressing my views in general. Your clarion call to Musalmans to support Pakistan scheme breaks my heart. Pakistan scheme to me appears as realistic as *Paristan* [land of fairies]. It seems you are out to divide India into Hindu India and Muslim India. A Hindu or a Muslim is an Indian. India is his home. Then why should responsible people like you, an Indian, create split in India. Posterity will never forgive you for this move of yours.

After all we are a minority. This [is] a natural and numerical disadvantage to us. As such we cannot demand more than we are worth. Once India gets independence we will get our legitimate share in the Indian politics. That is all we want. We are the sons of the soil and the Congress or whatever government it is, cannot deny this fact.

Therefore, let us not be obsessed with Pakistan scheme. Let us not be

disillusioned about the future. Let us be realistic and face facts clearly in the face.

If you remain adamant on Pakistan scheme, the Indian communal problem will never be solved. We will remain in bondage and slavery in India and abroad. I wish you could realise the humiliation by the Whites to us—Indians in Africa. It is something unthinkable [and] unbearable. This is why we want *swaraj* so that we may be free and respected as other nations are. We therefore look forward on [*sic* for to] our leaders giv[ing] us our legitimate human inheritance. But we are disappointed, heart and soul.

However, this is how I look at things. I should certainly like to be enlightened on the subject. Therefore, I shall be highly obliged if you could kindly condescend to give me an interview at your convenient time and explain [to] me the deadlock in the Indian politics today, as I am really very much interested in the same.

I must apologise for encroaching upon your most valuable time. I had to do it because I could not go to anyone else except my leader.

With best wishes,

Yours faithfully,
A. MALIK

PS. As I am expected to sail for Africa on the 18th instant, I shall very much appreciate [it] if you could kindly give me an interview before [that] date, as before I leave, I should like to have clear ideas about our politics. There is not a single great man in Africa at whose feet I can fall and learn something. Hence this request.

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 38.
[2]The Great War or the First World War, 1914-18.

427

Resolution Passed by Madras Presidency Muslim League Council

F. 1098/285

13 July 1940

RESOLUTION

1. This meeting of the Council of the Madras Presidency Muslim League, [held on 13.7.1940,] while expressing on opinion adverse to the war effort in the country, takes a very serious view of the highly

objectionable action of certain officers and members of the Muslim League in the province in having accepted membership of War Committees and in continuing to be members thereof in flagrant violation of the clear and unequivocal decision of the President and the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, and calls upon them to resign their membership of War Committees and to communicate to the Secretaries of the Madras Presidency Muslim League on or before the 31st July 1940, failing which the Council of the Madras Presidency Muslim League will be compelled to take disciplinary action against such members.

2. All the District and Primary Leagues are requested to furnish the Secretaries of the Madras Presidency Muslim League immediately the names of all such office-bearers and members of the Muslim League as have become members of War Committees and also to report to the said Secretaries immediately on the expiry of the current month, the names of such members as have not resigned their membership of War Committees in accordance with this resolution.

428

Abdul Hai to M. A. Jinnah

F. 271/1-2

CONFIDENTIAL/URGENT

44 NAKHAS KOHNA,
ALLAHABAD,
13 July 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

At Allahabad, the District Magistrate is trying his level best to form a District War Committee. Mr. Zahoor Ahmad, Bar-at-Law, President of the City Muslim League, interprets your statement[1] regarding War Committee, which appeared in the *Pioneer* just a few days back, in the following manner, and has advised the District Magistrate to interpret it in the same light to the other members of the Working Committee of the City League. District Magistrate is pressing each of us, the Working Committee members. Mr. Zahoor Ahmad's interpretation is (1) that the Muslim Leaguers may enter the War Committee and get themselves enlisted but (2) no member would actually help the Govt. so long as orders are not received from All India Muslim League or Provincial League. Some of us quote the example of Sir Abdoola Haroon and argue

that their names may be entered in the War Committee tentatively and the place may be declared vacant till the final decision of Mr. Jinnah.

Our Provincial League has ordered us to issue a week's notice to the persons who might have entered the War Committee to quit. If they fail to comply, their names be sent to the Secretary, U. P. Provincial Muslim League.

I hope you would kindly instruct me on the above issue in detail so that I may advise the Working Committee members accordingly. On the next Thursday we are having the Working Committee meeting. I hope to be advised by you on this issue before that date so that we may discuss in the same light and may not remain in darkness.

Yours most obediently,
ABDUL HAI
B.Sc., LL.B.
Advocate

N.B. District Magistrate told me that Zahoor Ahmad saw you at Lahore during the Session and you interpreted in the same light which he is propagating now regarding War Committees.

ABDUL HAI

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 38.

429

Amir Haider Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 383/41-4

CHEENA PARK,
NAINI TAL,
13 July 1940

My dear uncle,

The present attitude of the Muslim League with regard to War Boards and war donations has given rise to a difficult position for my brother [Raja Amir Ahmad Khan]. As I have been entrusted by him to look after the affairs of the estate I am deeply concerned about this question, especially as the terms of the *Taluqdari Sanads* clearly state that the *Taluqdars* are expected to help the Government with men and money in case of war.

Thus, on the one hand, we are faced with constant invitations from the Government to contribute to the war effort, while on the other

hand, the allegiance which my brother has sworn to the cause of the League deters him from acting in any manner which may be contrary to the policy of the League.

It might have been possible to seek exemption from the League's Resolution by quoting, as a precedent, the case of the two Premiers [Sikander Hyat Khan and Fazlul Huq] of the Muslim League Ministries, but this kind of argument can never be put forward on behalf of a faithful soldier who takes pride in his fidelity to the cause of Islam.

In these circumstances, therefore, you are the only person who can guide us to a satisfactory solution of the problem.

If there is any possibility of an understanding in the very near future, it might be possible to wait, but otherwise, I must have some answer to give to the Government:

a. When they ask for voluntary contributions, recruitment, and service on War Boards.
b. If, in future, they wish to enforce compulsory participation in the war effort.

I hope that you will very kindly write directly to my brother or to me at my present address so that I may know exactly what position to take.

I hope this will find you in the best of health. Respects to auntie.

With affectionate regards,

Yours affectionately,
NABBU

430

M. Nasim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/471-4

30 CANNING ROAD,
ALLAHABAD,
13 July 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

As an acknowledged and undisputed leader of the Muslim community, I take the liberty of addressing a few lines to you about the ceaseless propaganda which is being carried on in the Hindu press against the Urdu broadcasts by the All India Radio. Everyday, letters and resolutions of the mushroom Hindu Sabha appear in the press protesting against the use of Arabic and Persian words in the

Hindustani broadcasts of the All India Radio. As an example, I am enclosing two cuttings of the *Leader*, Allahabad, and its editorial note[1] on the resolution passed by the Hindi Sahitya Sangh of the U.P. Secretariat under the chairmanship of Mr. C. B. Rao, an I.C.S. [officer] and a son of Sir C.Y. Chintamani, the Chief Editor of the *Leader*. These speak for themselves. To me the object of this agitation is twofold:

i. To drive Urdu from its position as the only language which is, more or less, universally understood in this country and to substitute Hindi for it.

ii. To obtain the control of the All India Radio Station, Delhi, where, from its very inception, Muslims have been holding chief positions. First, there was Mr. [Ahmad Shah] Bukhari and now there is some other Muslim gentleman; and also to get the monopoly of all the radio stations by getting the dismissal of the Muslim employees when Urdu has been replaced by Hindi.

If this agitation is not checked and counteracted in time, it will do immense harm to the cause of Urdu. This word Hindustani has been the cause of great mischief. Under its cloak, the supporters of Hindi are carrying on a raging propaganda against Urdu. There is no such language as Hindustani in existence. There is either Urdu or Hindi. I do not know whose brain wave is responsible for coining this word Hindustani. Fortunately, we have many eminent Hindus who are zealous supporters of Urdu. The leading name is, of course, that of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who, for championing the cause of Urdu, has been nicknamed by a Hindu vernacular [paper] of Delhi as Islami Brahman. All honour to these people who, in spite of vigorous opposition from their own community, are putting up a great fight.

This question, like so many other questions, has become a communal question and every effort is being made to exterminate Urdu simply because it is chiefly spoken by the Muslims in this part of the country. In my humble opinion, time has come for the Muslim League, as the only organisation in this country to safeguard Muslim interests, to counteract this agitation against Urdu. If I may suggest, with respect, representation should be made to proper authorities to drop the use of this word Hindustani and to have news broadcast both in Urdu and Hindi.

As you are aware, the chief bulwark against the Hindi agitation started by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in the beginning of this

century was the use of Urdu as the recognised court language in the subordinate and district courts, both civil and criminal, and also the revenue courts in these provinces. All applications, plaints, written statements, statements of witnesses and arguments, etc., before these courts have always been in Urdu before Hindu, Muslim and even European presiding officers. Of course, the court language of the Allahabad High Court and that of the Chief Court, Lucknow, has all along been English.

With the advent of the Congress Government in these provinces, the Hindi propaganda received a great impetus and had the direct and indirect support of that Government. The Education Minister of this Government, Mr. Sampurnanand, has been a zealous worker of Hindi and openly supported Hindi during his term of office, and wrote and obtained the approval of Mr. Gandhi as to what he meant by Hindustani. Mr. Gandhi, as you know, is very fond of using dubious words and phrases and interpreting them as the occasion demands.

During the Congress regime, some of the Hindu presiding officers began to entertain applications in Hindi which formerly used to be in Urdu only. You will please excuse my going into these details, as I want to impress upon you the fact that Urdu is in great danger if timely steps are not taken to counteract this propaganda. Mushroom Hindu Sabha are springing into existence to carry on a vigorous agitation against Urdu in every shape or form.

I know that at present very serious problems are engaging your attention but I do hope that you will be pleased to give your attention to this matter also, which is a matter of vital importance to a very large section of the Muslim community.

There is another matter of importance and that is the need of an up-to-date and well-informed [*sic*] Muslim English daily. The Hindu community has got a very powerful English press in every province. The result is that whatever Mr. Gandhi or his satellites say is echoed and re-echoed from one end of the country to the other. Propaganda, in its most subtle form, is carried on in the country on behalf of the Congress, and even credit is being claimed for the muddle which has been created. Press is a great power these days. For want of a Muslim English daily, we have no voice in the country. We cannot reply to the accusations and false charges brought against the Muslim League and our leaders and also against the community. If we send any communication on the subject it is refused publication by Hindu daily press. So only one-sided propaganda

is being carried on in the country. Sometime ago, I read in the papers that you were going to collect subscriptions and start a Muslim daily soon. When should we expect this paper to come out?

I again apologise to you for taking up so much of your valuable time, but the importance of the subject is my excuse.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. NASIM
Barrister-at-Law

[1]Not traceable.

431

Maulana Hasrat Mohani to Ahmad Nabi Khan

F. 378/16

[*Original in Urdu*]

CAWNPORE,
14 July 1940

Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim

Respected Secretary, Cawnpore Muslim League,

After due consideration of the various happenings in the recent past, the undersigned has come to the conclusion that neither is the Muslim League willing to adopt my ideals and objectives nor am I ready to follow the dual policy of the League. As such, my continuation as a member is of no use.

I, therefore, request that my resignation from the membership of the Muslim League may be accepted and the offices of the Provincial and All India Muslim League informed accordingly so that my name is also removed from Working Committees of these bodies.

HASRAT MOHANI
President,
Cawnpore City Muslim League

Note. My this decision is final and irrevocable.

432

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/81-2

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,
CALCUTTA,
14 July 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Thousands and millions of congratulations on your master stroke against the Muslim show-boy of the Congress. By deposing him from the *imamate* of the Calcutta Maidan, the Calcutta Muslims demonstrated the fact long ago that Mr. Abul Kalam Azad is an outcast in Muslim society. But the exquisite manner [in which] you have ruthlessly exposed this arch-traitor is being loudly and widely applauded in Bengal.

Naturally, the Congress press has lost its balance. But it is noteworthy that not a single Congress paper or publicist has dared to advance a single argument against your assertion that Azad represents neither Hindus nor Muslims. This kick, in reality, represents the abysmal degradation and humiliation of this *ghaddar*. Azad must be experiencing the agony of his life.

Mr. Fazlul Huq has returned from his visit to Simla, Delhi and Dacca. He is very very angry with me. I don't know the reason but it appears that he is resenting my effort to fail his work for the War Committees. But I have faith in myself and in the League. Prominent Muslim leaders of Tippera, Mymensingh and Chittagong, including the Nawab of Bogra, an M.L.A., have resigned from the War Committees. There is widespread anger and resentment among Bengali Muslims against Mr. Fazlul Huq's policy of meeting the Congress leaders on [*sic* for over] the head of the League.

Mr. Huq was today very bitterly complaining against you saying that you were blocking the way of cooperation with the result that all key positions were being monopolised by the Hindus. Mr. Huq also said that he will soon leave the Muslim League. But this will be the beginning of his end.

DAY OF PRAYER FOR UNITY AND LIBERTY OF MUSLIM WORLD

Very thick clouds are gathering on the horizon of Islamdom [*sic*]. Turkey, Egypt, Syria and Iran lie in the danger zone. The heart of Muslim India is beating in unison with those of Turkey and

Egypt. It is time Muslim India demonstrate[d], in an unmistakable way, its solidarity with the Muslim nations of the Near and the Middle East.

Hence I propose that you should declare Friday, July 26, 1940, as the all-India day of prayer for the unity and independence of the Islamic world in the present crisis. On this day, the League should organize:

i. special prayer services in all mosques and *jamaat[khanas]* for the unity and independence of Muslim India and of the Muslim world;
ii. after prayers, resolutions affirming solidarity and sympathy of Muslim India with Turkey, Egypt, Iran and other independent Muslim nations should be passed;
iii. meetings and demonstrations should be held and the Muslims should be exhorted to organize under League banner and mobilize National Guards. "Hands off Turkey", "Hands off Iran", and "Hands off Arabia" should be the slogans of this day.

I hope you will please consider this suggestion. The day may be termed *Youm-ud-dua wa istiqlal-i-alam-i-Islam*. This will bring many nearer the League and unite Muslim hearts and minds at this critical hour.

Yours most sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN
Secretary,
Calcutta Muslim League

433

Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/88-9

PESHAWAR,
14 July 1940

Dear Sir,

Permit me to offer my respectful but warmest congratulation on your virile, Islamic and original [*sic*] reply to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad.[1] We are proud of you, and your reply represents our innermost feelings.

I have received your last letter[2] which is most encouraging and redolent of your kindest feelings. We don't want you to divulge

what is passing on between you and H.E. the Viceroy and our fervent prayers are that you may succeed by the grace of God Almighty. Your success is our success. You fight for the nation. God [may] grant you health [and] spirits to carry on the fight!

REGARDING SIR SIKANDER

I have sent him a sharp rebuke and I have told him that Mr. Jinnah is the father of Muslim India and without entering into the merits of the little controversy between him and Mr. Jinnah, his only honourable and Islamic course is to offer an unconditional apology to Mr. Jinnah. As they say, 'king can do no wrong' and in our case, our President, our boss and our father can do no wrong. He understands the machinations of the Hindus much better as he has been in close touch with them for thirty to forty years and has received shock after shock of disillusionment at their hands.

Dear Sir, pray allow me to say a word. His puerile pranks are not the result of a black but of a weak heart and this is what you were pleased to tell me at Delhi at your house. Your rejoinders are invariably crushing and they pulverise the opponents but don't give him (Sir Sikander) pulverizing replies as your last telegram to him[3] in reply to his Simla telegram[4] but give him replies which an elder will give to a wayward erring youngster.

It is amusing to see the awkward fix in which the Congress high command finds itself. They shot too high as at that time the English nation was a bit depressed in War but now as the Englishman is gradually recovering, there is a flood of explanations by the high command to "explain the obvious". I am afraid, as Byron says: "They will have to explain their explanations. Their position is confusion worse confounded". They are dishonest and even Mr. Arthur Moore has seen through the Congress game.

With fervent prayers for your success and with affectionate regards,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

[1]See No. 424.
[2]See No. 425.
[3&4]See No. 404.

434

Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 392/15-9

9 GARIAHAT ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
14 July 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Mr. Hassan Ispahani has written me a letter[1] in which he has quoted the following passage from your letter to him:

> My only regret is that Sir Nazimuddin, according to the press report, should have said that Ministers were exempted. That is not correct. After the Resolution was passed Sir Nazimuddin asked me what will be the position of the Ministers and I said to him that they must tell the Governors, or through the Governors it must be conveyed to the Viceroy, that pending our communication with the Viceroy they should not proceed with the formation of the War Committees". Sir Nazimuddin then said, "supposing we are forced to go on with it, which will leave no alternative [other] than to resign", to which my answer was that "if it comes to that we may ask them to resign and that they should communicate to me when that stage is reached.

Before going into the merits of the question raised in your passage I would like to point out that I did not expect a treatment of this kind from you. You are aware that since I have joined the League I have tried to loyally follow the mandates of the League and I have confined my objections and differences to the meetings of the Working Committee, and once a decision has been arrived at, I have tried to carry it out honestly. You will remember that after the first resolution of the Working Committee on the War, when I made an announcement in the Assembly, I sent you cutting of what I have [*sic* for had] said and obtained your approval to the attitude adopted, so that I may be sure that I was not doing anything or saying anything which is contrary to the resolution of the Working Committee. I have also from time to time written to you whenever I have felt any difficulty and placed my point of view before you for consideration, and although I have held strong views on certain subjects, I have not expressed them publicly because I have all along been of the opinion that nothing should be said or done which would in any way undermine the prestige of the League.

On this occasion if, for argument's sake, it is admitted that I have

misinterpreted the decision of the Working Committee I owed this much from you at least that you would write to me direct and point out to me my mistake instead of writing to others without letting me know beforehand that you differed from me.

As regards the merits of the question, I would refer to the following news published in the *Star of India* which got it from the United Press. I asked the United Press to find out who has given them the portion marked "A" (copy attached herewith) and they told me that they got it from the Secretary of the All India Muslim League—Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. I tried to get Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan on the phone to obtain the information, but unfortunately he has left for Mussoorie and I have not yet been able to get him on the phone. I will be obliged if you will kindly let me know if I am correct in stating:

> It appears no definite exemption has been made in case of Muslim Ministers who are members of the League but it is realised that so long as they continue as Ministers they must co-operate in war efforts as Ministers and not as members of the Muslim League. This applies to all Muslim Ministers who are members of the League, not only in the Punjab and Bengal but also in Assam and Sind.

If you agree with the above, then you will realise that there has been a misunderstanding. It is obvious from the Resolution that no exemption has been given to the Ministers by the Resolution, so that when I claimed that Ministers were exempted I meant that as long as they remained Ministers they have got to carry out their duties as Ministers conscientiously and they can be members of the War Committees in spite of the Resolution of the Working Committee; and, as far as Mr. Hassan Ispahani is concerned, I related to him exactly what took place in the Working Committee. I told him also about the portion marked "A". If you had written to me and drawn my attention to the misunderstanding I would have issued a correct statement to the press making it clear what actually took place in the Working Committee.

The extract from your letter to Mr. Hassan Ispahani gives the impression that you do not support the statement of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. I hope I am wrong in this supposition, because I would like to remind you that after the Resolution was passed it was not I who enquired what would be the position of the Ministers but it was Sir A.M.K.Dehlavi who asked the question and then followed the conversation recorded in the extract ending with the following words "if it comes to that we may ask them to resign". I do not remember the latter portion "and that they should

communicate to me when that stage is reached". Anyhow this is not very relevant because after you had stated that they should resign you got up and we dispersed for tea. Then you had a private talk with Sir Sikander. Before we dispersed I again got the Working Committee together and raised the issue about the Ministers in view of the remark made by you that the Ministers should resign and they could not be on the War Committee. Then a discussion followed and ultimately you stated that the Ministers, as long as they were allowed to remain Ministers, have got to act conscientiously and if as Ministers they were required to be members of the War Committee they could be members of the Committee. I accepted this pronouncement of yours and I said as long as this was clearly understood, I had no objection. As far as I know it was understood by all that as Ministers we could be members of the War Committees. I will not swear to the details of what we said and when it was said, but I have no doubt whatsoever in my mind, and I am sure all of you will also remember that the last thing on this subject that was said was that if Ministers in their official capacity are expected to be members of the Committee they can be members of the War Committees.

I will be obliged if you will kindly send me a reply immediately as this question is bound to come up in the meeting of the Coalition Party of the Legislature in a few days.

Yours sincerely,
K. NAZIMUDDIN

[1]Enclosure to No. 383.

Enclosure to No. 434

F. 392/20

SIMLA,
27 June 1940

United Press learns that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary, Muslim League, has sent circulars to all Provincial and District Leagues embodying the Bombay Resolution of the Working Committee of the League regarding War Committees. It appears [that] no definite exemption has been made in case of Muslim Ministers who are members of the League but it is realised that so long as they continue as Ministers they must co-operate in war efforts as Ministers and not as members of the Muslim League. This

applies to all Muslim Ministers who are members of the League not only in the Punjab and Bengal but also in Assam and Sind—United Press.

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/83-4

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,
CALCUTTA,
15 July 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I had today a long talk with Khan Bahadur Manzur Murshed, Private Secretary and the right hand man of Mr. Fazlul Huq. He is the son of the sister of Mr. Huq, and the conscience-keeper and regulator or rudder of Mr. Huq.

I found that they are very nervous on account of the success of the policy of the League regarding War Committees. They feel that they cannot defy League with impunity. It will cost them heavily. Hence they want peace with the League authority.

Under the circumstances, I think that the meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League should be held at Calcutta. The Bengal Assembly is in session. The League workers and district representatives, MLAs and MLCs are in Calcutta.

This is [the] most opportune time to forge new contacts with the representatives of Muslim Bengal and to urge them to organize the League and the National Guards. I also met Mr.H.S.Suhrawardy. He also supports the idea of holding the meeting of the Working Committee at Calcutta.

There is not the slightest chance for any opposition party to obstruct or influence the League meeting. There is a sincere complaint that the biggest Muslim Province has not had the honour of holding the meeting of the Working Committee. The Council may also be summoned. But at least the Working Committee should meet in Calcutta in this month.

I hope you will please consider this request.[1]

Yours most sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

[1]For Jinnah's reply, see No. 452.

436

Mamorandum by Joint Secretary, Chittagong Muslim League
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 137/37-8

CHITTAGONG,
15 July 1940

MUSLIMS AND MUSLIM LEAGUE

It is a matter of great shame and sorrow that the great stalwarts of the Muslim League are now showing signs of defection when they have been called upon by the All India Muslim League to face [*sic*] small sacrifice. In the name of the Muslim League they became MLAs and MLCs, they became ministers and chief ministers. Now for the attainment of a higher and a nobler object and for the assurance of the right of self-determination in future, if they have been called upon to stand firm and united, the Muslims must not waver. They have before them the ideal of the Hindu Congress, how at a moment's notice the Congress ministers gave up their power and positions and pleasure of dominating over Muslims. Do they not see how the highest authority in the land is flattering and cajoling the Congress high command to take up power in the seven provinces? Because the Hindu Congress is united and disciplined and is committed to the high command, it is so powerful. But when the Muslim [League] high command passed an order, after a long and serious deliberation, it is ignored and set at naught by its votaries. Why the Muslims should be looked up to and why the Muslim League should carry weight with the British authorities under such circumstances? If the Muslims go on in this undisciplined and uncontrolled manner, they would become pariahs in India and meet the fate of their brethren in Andalusia [Spain] where they ruled for seven hundred years.

Our quislings do not hesitate to destroy Muslim solidarity and strength in order to keep them[selves] in the good books of the British for the moment. They do not understand that owing to the lack of solidarity, firmness and self-sacrifice, they would be altogether ignored and left in the lurch when the time would come for solution of Indian constitutional problems. There is no doubt that if the Muslims in this small ordeal come out triumphant, showing unity, strength and determination by their allegiance to the

Muslim League, their demands would be conceded and there would be no occasion for them to non-co-operate in the war effort.

[SIGNATURE ILLEGIBLE]

437

M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Ismail

F. 304/25

BOMBAY,
16 July 1940

Dear Nawab Ismail,

I thank you for your letter of the 10th July.[1] What more can I say than the Resolution of the Working Committee itself. I regret that Lady Imam should have behaved like this. She must withdraw according to the Resolution, otherwise adequate disciplinary action must be taken against those who have acted in contravention of the instructions of the Working Committee, irrespective of their status and position.

I was very pleased to read the report that your Provincial Working Committee has approved of my reply[2] to Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, and also of the efforts you are making to organise the Muslim National Guards.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab Mohammad Ismail,
Ismail Manzil,
Patna City

[1]No. 417.
[2]No. 424.

438

M. A. Jinnah to Amir Haider Khan

F. 383/45

BOMBAY,
16 July 1940

My dear Nabbu,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 13th July,[1] and the matter referred to in your letter. I would rather discuss with Amir.[2] I wish you could come down to Bombay and the matter could be clarified. At present all I can say is that the Working Committee only banned the so-called War Committees.

You ask me if there is any possibility of understanding in the very near future between the Muslim League and the Govt. My answer is, I should certainly think so, because in the interest of the Govt. as well as of the Musalmans, an honourable understanding should be arrived at.

With love,

Yours affectionately,
M. A. JINNAH

Amir Haider Khan,
Cheena Park,
Naini Tal

[1]No. 429.
[2]Mohammad Amir Ahmad Khan, Raja of Mahmudabad.

439

Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman to M. A. Jinnah

F. 378/11-2

LUCKNOW,
16 July 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

This morning I received a phone message from the Secretary, Muslim League, Cawnpore, telling me that Moulana Hasrat Mohani has sent his resignation from the Presidentship of the City League.[1]

One of the reasons for the resignation is the offer of co-operation with the British Government without getting an assurance from them for Pakistan. The Secretary told me that he has not allowed the resignation to go to press and has persuaded the Moulana to wait for a few days before he makes it known to the public. The impression of the Secretary is that if you would send for him by wire and explain to him the position of the League, he might withdraw it. I do not think whether you will consider it desirable to take such step. Your long experience of his political views must have convinced you that it is very difficult for anyone to persuade him to modify his attitude, even in matters of detail. You are, however, possessed of such persuasive powers that you might succeed even with him. If you decide to have a talk with him, kindly send a wire to him as desired by the Secretary, Cawnpore League.[2]

Yours sincerely,
KHALIQ

[1]No. 431.
[2]No. 456.

440

Ahmad Nabi Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 378/14
[*Original in Urdu*]

CAWNPORE,
16 July 1940

Respected Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I am sorry for writing you about a matter which is important due to its nature but regrettable because of its timing. Moulana Hasrat Mohani has yesterday submitted his resignation from the Muslim League, a copy of which is attached.[1] During discussion with the Moulana it transpired that he differed with the Muslim League policy of deferring temporarily the demand for the division of India while the British Govt. is willing to grant dominion status to India after the War, if the Indians unanimously agree on the constitutional details. This is not only impracticable but also inadequate and against the stand of the Muslim League. In this

connection, Moulana Sahib had wired you at Simla to which no reply has been received by him.[2] This matter will adversely affect the ground conditions. If possible, you may discuss the Muslim League policy with Moulana Sahib. It might help in removing misunderstandings and he may reconsider his decision. I, therefore, request you to kindly fix a meeting with Moulana Hasrat Mohani and inform me[3] at an early date.

Yours obediently,
AHMAD NABI KHAN
Secretary, Cawnpore City Muslim League

[1]See No. 431.
[2]For Jinnah's reply see No. 456.
[3]No. 455.

441

S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

F. 304/23-4

ISMAIL MANZIL,
PATNA CITY,
16 July 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

In continuation of my letter dated 9th [10th] July,[1] I am to forward you herewith true copy of the resolution passed at a meeting of the Provincial Muslim League Working Committee, Bihar, held on Sunday, the 14th July 1940:

RESOLUTION

The Working Committee discussed at length and passed the following resolution:

> The Committee fully endorsed all the press statements issued by the President of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League from time to time to the press during June and July, fully explaining the implications of the Resolution passed as No. II by the All India Muslim League Working Committee held on the 15th and 16th June 1940.[2] The Committee authorised the Provincial President to take such action as he thought fit against all the offending members who fail to resign from the War Committees by the 30th July 1940. The Committee also

endorsed the letter which the Provincial President had addressed to Mr. M. A. Jinnah.

A very grave responsibility is left on me alone and as fully explained in my letter to you in reply to your kind letter, dated 25th June,[3] it is a matter of very grave and serious responsibility. There are individuals, prominent and insignificant, who are still hesitating. We had first given them time till the 12th July. The result has been encouraging so far. Even some members who had not resigned by the 12th July had resigned on the morning of the 14th. In order to be more reasonable before taking any serious action, the Committee had given them further time till the 30th July. I, therefore, seek your help and guidance to instruct what definite action should I take against all those who disobey, for to leave them would be a bad example and a disappointment to those who have implicitly obeyed. I hesitate to take action without your advice though personally I am inclined to suggest that their names should be removed from the membership of the League. And as you have stated yourself in your letter, dated the 25th June that "the time has come when the League should be purified and the matter is receiving your [my] consideration". My responsibility as Provincial President is very grave and as my Committee is meeting again on the 4th August, I am bound to take some action before the end of this month. I am answerable to my Committee. I, therefore, seek your guidance. I have no desire unnecessarily to tax on your patience and to embarrass you in the midst of your engagements. If, however, I frequent you with requests, let it be understood that during the few remaining months of my office I want to leave a good legacy to my successor. I may or may not be elected. If they elect me, I shall ungrudgingly discharge the duties. If they will not appreciate my services I shall not grudge and shall have no ill-will towards the Muslim League and any member.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
ISMAIL

[1]No. 417.
[2]See No. 323.
[3]No. 360.

442

Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 215/47-8

19 TEMPLE ROAD,
LAHORE,
16 July 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wrote to you from Dalhousie that the Nawab of Mamdot had convened another meeting[1] of the Working Committee for Sunday, the 14th July 1940, at 9 a.m. The agenda mentioned in the notice was "to consider the question of participation in the War Boards or its Committees by the members of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League and its affiliated branches." Nawab Muzaffar Khan, cousin of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Syed Amjad Ali, his private secretary, Raja Ghazanfar Ali, Parliamentary Secretary, Dr. Mohammad Alam, Sh. Sadiq Hassan from Amritsar, and Mr. Rabb Nawaz Khan from Ferozepore attended. Sh. Sadiq Hassan and Mr. Rabb Nawaz Khan did their best to press for compliance with the Working Committee's mandate. But as the Nawab was definitely on the side of the Unionists, a resolution was passed to the effect that a deputation consisting of the Nawab and two of his nominees should wait on you to explain to you, what is called the peculiar position of the Punjab, and to request you to reconsider the Resolution banning participation in the War Boards and their Sub-Committees. I really cannot understand this stupid resolution. The object, apparently, is to prolong discussion and thereby stave off evil day. It is not for me to suggest what your reply should be. Your statement has already made the position as clear as midday noon [*sic*]. But these people, like a bat, refuse to face the sun. If I may be permitted to make a suggestion in all humility, may I say that you kindly reply to this resolution and the request contained therein by means of a statement issued to the public from Bombay, so that everybody in the Punjab may know that this deliberate attempt at representing that the matter can be reconsidered is absurd and is summarily rejected, and calling upon the Nawab and those who have joined the War Boards and their Sub-Committees to resign forthwith on pain of severe disciplinary action. I know that the

matter is receiving your serious attention. I am only writing this to keep you in touch with the developments.

With my best regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. BARKAT ALI

Note. I came down from Dalhousie on the 14th to attend the secret session, and am leaving tonight again for Dalhousie where my address is: Melrose, Dalhousie.

[1]See Enclosure to No. 460.

443

M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow

F. 95/107

BOMBAY,
17 July 1940

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 6th July 1940,[1] and thank you for it.

I am glad that you have noted the points contained in paragraph 1 of my memorandum, and also the first sentence in paragraph 2. I may point out that after the first sentence in paragraph 2 the second sentence beginning with—"in view of the rapid developments..." should have been marked paragraph 3, and paragraph 3 should have been marked paragraph 4.

As regards the constitutional and legal position that you have been good enough to point out to me in connection with the expansion of the Executive Council, and also with regard to the appointment of advisers to the Governor and the position of the Governor, working under Section 93 (administration) I fully appreciate it. I am glad that the idea of constituting a War Council, in your opinion, is well worthwhile considering. No doubt the details would have to be worked out. But I do not think there is anything in my memorandum which cannot be given effect to by way of convention and if the Secretary of State and yourself meet us in the spirit of trust and cooperation, the legal and constitutional formalities can be met and complied with. What is required is the spirit of complete

understanding.

I am, however, grateful to you for your assurance in paragraph 5 of your letter, with regard to the choice of Muslim gentlemen to be appointed to the Executive Council or as non-official advisers, which runs as follows: "but in the contingency envisaged you need not fear that any suggestion you may put forward would not receive full consideration." On my part, I hope that I shall meet you in every reasonable way possible.

In the conclusion, I should like to impress upon you that the Muslim public is very anxious to know what has been the result. The Congress propaganda is going on vigorously with its work whereas I have not yet given any idea of negotiations or the talk I had with you to the public. I wonder whether you will agree that I should place before the public at least my memorandum which I had sent to you, with the corrections that I have already pointed out, which are merely a matter of arrangement of paragraphs.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Lord Linlithgow,
Viceregal Lodge,
Simla

[1]No. 399.

444

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 335/82-5

CHARLEVILLE HOTEL,
MUSSOORIE,
17 July 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have today received a requisition for a special meeting of the Council signed by thirty-five members of the Council from the Punjab. All of them are Sikander's henchmen and are members of the Punjab Assembly. The signatories include the two Muslim Ministers, viz. Abdul Haye and Khizar Hayat Khan. I have today sent the enclosed reply[1] to Mohammad Ameen who is one of the signatories to the requisition and whose name is the first in the list. I received a telegram also from this gentleman in this connection. I suppose you

also must have received a similar requisition. Under the constitution, it is not obligatory on me to convene a meeting. The word used in rule No. 20 of the constitution is "may" and not "shall". To me it seems that there is a mischievous move behind it. However, I am sure we shall be able to deal with it satisfactorily. I should like to know what are your views about convening a special meeting of the Council? If you decide to call the Council then I suggest that we convene an ordinary meeting and at some place in the U.P. or at Delhi. However, I shall await your instructions in the matter. I hope you will approve of the reply[2] that I have sent to Mr. Ameen. I hope you are keeping fit.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf,

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See No. 451.

445

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 335/87-90

CHARLEVILLE HOTEL,
MUSSOORIE,
18 July 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I sent you a letter yesterday[1] which will reach you tomorrow. I do not know what your programme is. Are you going to Quetta and if so when?

Your reply to Abul Kalam[2] has been condemned by the Congressite Muslims in very strong language. I have today sent to the press a statement regarding this matter. I hope you will approve of this action of mine. My first instinct was to ignore these statements of Asaf Ali and Co. completely but on account of the ignorance of the people and their credulity, I thought it would be better to say something.

I am herewith enclosing a copy of the press statement[3] for your perusal. Raja of Mahmudabad was here for about three days. We

had long talks. He is going round organizing the Muslim National Guards. He seems to be alright and very keen on working for the League. I was very glad to see that he had once again put his heart into our movement. He can do such a lot of good if he would only not get these fits of inactivity. The Viceroy seems to have gone to sleep once again.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

PS. Raja of Mahmudabad suggested that if we decide to have a meeting of the Council in the U.P., it should be held at Allahabad. Delhi also he thinks will be quite suitable for the meeting.

[1]No. 444.
[2]No. 424.
[3]Not traceable.

446

Naseem Adil Jinnah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 509/5-9

KILLA,
BAREILLY, U.P.,
18 July 1940

My worthy and beloved Quaid-i-Azam,

I have been authorised by the executive of the "Jinnah Youth"—of which you were pleased to accept the patronage—to endorse the befitting reply which your honour have sent to the Muslim show-boy, Congress President.

Indeed these traitors should be dealt with in the same way in which you have treated the man who poses to hold the portfolio of Islam in the Congress Working Committee. In this connection, you might have noticed that no genuine Congressman has come to the rescue of this banished *Imam* but only hired politicians have rushed to the press like rainy season frogs to get cheap prominence.

I may bring to your notice without any tinge of flattery that more than 99% of the Musalmans of Bareilly have welcomed your reply. The Bareilly League called a public meeting the other day on this issue where Moulvi Aziz Ahmad Khan, M.L.A., explained the

telegrams and their implications wherein [*sic*] the meeting endorsed your views unanimously. The meeting was attended by more than 3,000 persons.

Long live the Quaid-i-Azam!

Your seasoned loyalist,
NASEEM ADIL JINNAH
B.A.

447

Sayed M. F. Peerzade to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/491-2

ANKOLA,
DIST. N. KANARA,
18 July 1940

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I had written you before this a lengthy letter[1] to express my humble thoughts in regard to the urgent and important problems which, I think, the Muslim League should immediately tackle satisfactorily with a view to inviting the different groups of Muslims under its banner and ameliorating their general condition. Bigger and more urgent problems have now been occupying your attention and you do not perhaps find time to consider the matters referred to in the letter. However, I earnestly request you to kindly see at your leisure whether it would be worthwhile for the League to act on the lines suggested in it.

Your latest reply[2] to Moulana Azad has evoked considerable criticism, in part very bitter, for its personal note and rather strong, almost harsh language. Every well-wisher of the Muslim community will agree that of all the persons he is the one who has done the greatest possible harm to the Muslim cause by blindly following and supporting, in and out of season, the Congress high command in its injurious policy and programme with regard to the Muslims. Nevertheless, could your telegram not have been differently worded with less offence but greater effect?

If national government is not to mean merely party government as Moulana Azad is trying to interpret, it will mean a coalition or composite government. If this be in fact the case, can the League have any

serious objection to it? I quite realise however that this move on the part of the Congress may be simply a ruse to take in the League. It may also be that in your opinion it will not be in the interest of the Muslim community to enter into any temporary arrangement with the Congress before a Hindu-Muslim settlement is effected on a sound and lasting basis. Or it may ever be your belief that nothing short of a partition scheme will effectively afford the much-needed protection and strength to the Muslims of India.

Be that as it may, great misunderstanding prevails in the mind of the public about the attitude of the League to the latest move of the Congress respecting the demand for independence and establishment of a national government at the centre. The situation has become still more confused as a result of the recent activities of Muslim Leaguers like Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Moulvi Fazlul Huq, etc. Your very brief statement on the latest resolution of the Congress Working Committee does not carry us any further. It would be much better therefore if you can issue a detailed and comprehensive statement[3] clarifying the position of the League *vis-a-vis* those Muslim Leaguers such as Sir Sikander on the one hand and the situation now created by the Congress Resolution on the other. Besides, it would be in the best interests of the League itself if immediate steps are taken to purge the League of its undesirable elements and to adopt and execute a comprehensive programme with the object of bettering the lot of Muslims.

One more thing before I finish with this. Will it not be far better to allow all the Muslims to join the Indian war effort than to be a witness to the sorry spectacle of the League being unable to prevent some of its own members, much less other Muslims, from joining the War Committees?

I shall be highly obliged if you will kindly favour me with a reply.

With humble regards to yourself,

Yours humble brother-in-Islam,
SAYED M. F. PEERZADE
Pleader

[1]See No. 204.
[2]See No. 424.
[3]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 41.

448

Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/90-4

PESHAWAR,
18 July 1940

Dear Sir,

I have received your last kind letter[1] which gives me the idea that I can make my submissions to you without any reserve and there will be no chance of my being misunderstood.

You have very kindly inquired as to what Sir Sikander and Mr. Fazlul Huq are driving at and to this query I will make reply a bit later. Let me at the outset submit that you are most upright, selfless and devoted to the good of your nation, and you naturally judge people by your standards and the world is differently constituted.

Messrs Sikander and Huq are differently situated and constituted. With permission I will analyse their situation. They joined the League at Lucknow with the double motive of serving themselves first and the community afterwards, and they are in fact honest in this double design except that they place [them]selves first. This is human and this is the mentality of the majority of these people, and being Muslims you accepted them with this limitation.

Secondly, they are Premiers with precarious majorities. One has got the millstone of Unionism round his neck and the other has got the European Group, and it is not with any idea to sell their community that they hobnob with the Congressites or Mr. Savarkar or Sikhs or Europeans but to retain themselves through them in their saddles. Bengal and Punjab both are terribly League-minded and they dare not leave the League, but be gracious to give them a long rope to play double dealings with non-Muslims or Congressite Muslims for the time being.

Sir Sikander is hobnobbing with Congress or Abul Kalam or Gandhi to get their generous gestures in his provincial entanglements and so is Mr. Huq. Sir Sikander had his Khaksar and Socialist arrests to secure when he met twice [with] Abul Kalam and company, otherwise he hates Congressites as much as you do. Then he is a free-lance everywhere and unlike yourself he does not stand on ceremonies. His old master, the good old Sir Fazle Hussain, too hobnobbed

with [Madan Mohan] Maliviya and Patel and Parmanand but your school of thought is absolutely distinct and on a different footing. Therefore, I will beg of you to give them a long rope and kindly do not strain their loyalty too much. Don't issue graciously any disclaimer or contradictions. Everybody knows, even the Congress and the Govt., that they cannot deliver the goods.

Now to the Punjab as a whole. I herewith enclose[2] two cuttings from *Shahbaz* and *Ehsan*. A meeting was held at Mamdot [Villa] to approach you through a deputation of three, Sir Shah Nawaz, Raja Ghanzafar Ali and Dr. Alam, to request [you] to reconsider your last decision or to relax it in favour of the majority provinces.

I do not know much about Bengal but the Punjab is a land of toadies and flunkeys. Analyse your stalwart, M. Barkat Ali. If you make his son an Extra Assistant Commissioner, he is with Unionists, otherwise not. Dr. Alam dies for ministership. Raja Ghanzafar became Unionist for Secretaryship.

Nawab Mamdot is a capitalist and a genuine fellow but analyse his stake. He was Deputy Superintendent of Police in Hyderabad and it was through Sir Fazle Hussain and his party that he became Nawab of Mamdot. So, Punjab is obviously an official-ridden Province. Fifty per cent of the Muslim MLAs are either retired officers or *jagirdars* or title-holders. Then, in fact the Punjab is a sword-arm of India and especially Muslim India. Circumstanced as they are, they must be with the Army and War Committees. This is on fact side [*sic*].

Now pray allow me to submit from our resolutions.

Your statement of 27th June[3] said that you have allowed full co-operation of your Leaguers to the Govt. in the provinces where Muslim voice is dominant ever since August 1939. This being the corner-stone of your policy in regard to the War, you further allowed ministers to offer co-operation consistent with the above policy. Now, in a democratic govt., mere and bare ministers mean nothing if they have not got the co-operation of their ministerial group. Then, the Punjab is a border Province and the heart of Muslim India and a hotbed of seditious activities.

Either we will have an abrupt departure from our previously chalked out programme or you will be good enough to find a way out of the fix to accommodate the Punjab people. Now, ministry provinces must and can carry out the Resolution of the Working Committee in letter and spirit but the ministry provinces find it impossible to reconcile these conflicting loyalties. I submit this for favour of kind consideration unless H. E. the Viceroy makes an early

announcement. The hearts of Huq and Sikander are sound but you have to graciously cheer them up.

Madras League is doing splendidly but Mr. Abdul Hameed is for prompt co-operation. Events are moving with lightning speed and Congress has tremendously climbed down. It is for the boss to take note of it and order us accordingly.

In N.W.F.P., people are praying for an honourable settlement for the Khaksars through you. You are seized of it now, and we pray that you may succeed by the grace of *Allah*.

Mr. Arthur Moore[4] is getting hostile towards us. Times are strange. British policy is obscure. British mind is exasperated and desperate and it behoves Musalmans to be more generous towards the Govt. You have to lead us.

In N.W.F.P. nobody is anxious about War Committees but in the Punjab and Bengal the position is fundamentally different. The ministers have to carry out Government orders twenty-four hours and when there is a conflict in authority, Messrs Huq and Sikander get non-plussed and nervous.

More when we meet in Baluchistan. I do not presume that my views are correct but I must submit [them] to give you an idea, however imperfect, of what is going on in ministry provinces.

With affectionate regards,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

PS. Otherwise, it is for you to command and for us to obey. When Congress is making a complete *volte face*, will it not be possible for the League to relax a bit?

[1]See No. 425.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]Aurangzeb Khan apparently misinterpreted Jinnah's statement. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 32.
[4]Managing Editor, the *Stateman* (Calcutta), 1933-42.

449

Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 215/53

MELROSE,
DALHOUSIE,
18 July 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I came up here yesterday. While leaving Lahore, a friend who came to see me at the station gave information that Sir Sikander was getting signatures of members of the Council of the All India Muslim League (who of course belonged to his party) to a requisition for summoning a meeting of the Council to reconsider the Resolution about non-participation in War Boards etc. It is necessary to give you this information. Hence this letter.

With all regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. BARKAT ALI

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Mian Enaet Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 883/71

PATHANTOOLY ROAD,
CHITTAGONG,
18 July 1940

Dear *Huzoor*,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I beg to draw your kind attention to the fact that a resolution of condemnation has been passed by the Chittagong District and City Muslim League against those members of the Chittagong Muslim League who joined the Chittagong War Committee, in defiance of the Resolution of the All India Muslim League and to the utter surprise of the Muslim public here whose faith in the stability and solidarity of the League, we apprehend, will be shaken unless and until adequate steps are taken against those transgressors. There will be no loss to the League here if any drastic action is taken against them by the All India Muslim League.

Members of the War Committee:
Khan Bahadur Fazlul Quader, MLA
Khan Bahadur Abdul Haque Dubash
Khan Bahadur Hajee Badi Ahmed Chowdhury
Khan Bahadur Abdus Sattar, B.L.
Moulvi Abdul Latif, B.L.
Moulvi A.S.M. Mafakker, B.L.
Moulvi Sultan Ahmed, Contractor
Khan Sahib Hajee Meah Khan
Khan Sahib Ahmedar Rahman Seth
Munshi Nazir Ahmed, Contractor
Munshi Mahammad Nasir
Moulvi Badrul Haque Khan, B.L.
Moulvi A.K.M. Bazlur Rahaman, B.L.

Sincerely yours,
ENAET ALI
General Secretary,
Chittagong City Muslim League

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M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 335/86

BOMBAY,
19 July 1940

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 17th July[1] and I think your reply is quite correct, because a special meeting of the Council can only be called for a definite business of public importance or interest.

I am extremely sorry to say that for the last few days I am indisposed and have a very bad chill, but I am better now, but [*sic* for though] still I do not think I shall be able to undertake the journey to Baluchistan, which I had hitherto intended. It will be much greater disappointment to me than to those kind people who very kindly invited me and were looking forward to my visit to their Province. It is rather unfortunate. I cannot say more.

However, I feel quite confident that under your presidentship the conference will be a great success.

With kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself to both of you and our love to Ashraf,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 444.

452

M. A. Jinnah to Raghib Ahsan

F. 204/85

BOMBAY,
19 July 1940

Dear Mr. Raghib Ahsan,

Very many thanks for your letter of the 18th [15th] July.[1] I am glad things are going on strong in Bengal, so far as the League is concerned.

With regard to your suggestion that the next meeting of the Working Committee should be in Calcutta, I wish to inform you that I shall bear it in mind, and also your other suggestions as they are very valuable indeed and of great help to me.

I hope you will continue to keep me in touch with the affairs of Bengal.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 435..

453

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 305/60-2

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
20 July 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Your telegram[1] to Abul Kalam Azad in reply to his simple looking but highly mischievous enquiry[2] has caused a flutter in the

dovecotes and given some others opportunity to take unnecessary advantage of the language used by you. You will have seen, before the receipt of this letter, that Abdur Rahman has justified your action in a statement to the press.

It seems that Sir Sikander Hyat is attempting to take advantage of the situation that has arisen. We are advised that he has requested you to call a meeting of the All India Muslim League Council to consider various matters. I see in this move of Sikander Hyat an attempt to bid for the leadership of the League and break up the organisation into two and an inspired leading article in the *Statesman* supports the idea. This attempt must be frustrated or crushed in such a manner that it will be a lesson to those of his way of thinking. If you are calling a meeting of the Council in response to this requisition, you should select a place that you think most suitable and give us all an opportunity to marshal our forces in support of the existing Working Committee and the President. I assure you here and now that so far as Bengal is concerned, those of us who are loyal to you to the core will leave no stone unturned to see that every supporter of yours attends such a meeting.

It was a pity that you agreed to permit Sir Sikander Hyat to negotiate with the Congress President in regard to Punjab affairs. That would give Fazlul Huq also a chance to negotiate for Bengal and that is exactly what the League Working Committee should avoid.

You are aware of the turn the Holwell Monument agitation has taken. Muslim students are very much agitated. You are also aware that Mr. Fazlul Huq's strongest pillar of support throughout his political career has been the Muslim student community. Signs of revolt are now patent. Government are taking rigid steps to crush the *Satyagraha* movement in more than one way. Ordinances are the order of the day and such activities instead of smoothening [*sic* for smoothing] matters are increasing the bitterness amongst the student community with the result that, as if by an act of God, Mr. Fazlul Huq, the idol of the students of Bengal, is being shown up to those very students as having feet of clay! I need hardly mention that Mr. Fazlul Huq is very much worried over this sudden and unexpected popularity with the result that he is blaming me for being responsible for turning the students against him. I may inform you that I have no hand in the matter and the allegation of Mr. Fazlul Huq is absolutely baseless and malicious.

We have noted with great pleasure that you are actively negotiating to bring about a settlement in the existing disputes between the

Khaksars and the Punjab Government. I hope you will bring this affair to a successful conclusion. In my opinion, God has given you a wonderful weapon to strike Sir Sikander down with. It is of course for you to decide whether you will use it or not. I may, however, mention that Muslim sentiment in this Province seems to be definitely in favour of the Khaksars and opposed to the bureaucratic manner in which Sir Sikander is handling the whole affair.

There are whisperings here that your last interview with the Viceroy[3] failed because you insisted on Liaquat being the representative of the League in his expanded Council. Needless to say, such mischievous rumours are set afloat by people to serve their own ends. They want to impress upon the simpletons that the agreement failed because of your obstinate stand for a person who is considered unfit to represent the League on the Viceroy's Council. This too is for your information.

I hope you are enjoying the best of health.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]No. 424.
[2]No. 423.
[3]Held on 30 June 1940. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 35.

454

Bahadur Yar Jung to M. A. Jinnah

F. 319/36

HYDERABAD DECCAN,
20 July 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

My visit to Bombay proved futile on account of your sudden illness. I pray for your immediate recovery. It will, I trust, be advisable if you come down to Hyderabad as my guest to spend a few quiet days for a change of climate. The season here is excellently pleasant and it will react [*sic*], I am sure, a soothing effect on your health.

The matter, I explained to you personally, is of supreme importance. I have decided not to submit anything in writing either to our own

Government or the Resident unless a memorandum is skilfully designed on treaties and legal basis. I have left with you three drafts envisaging our demands. Your own draft is all that I wish for, in case of your good health. As I regard it an enterprise no one else could do it but you alone.

Please convey my best wishes to Miss Jinnah. I hope she will accompany you if my invitation is accepted.

A prompt reply, consisting [*sic*] details of your health, is solicited.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
BAHADUR YAR JUNG

455

M. A. Jinnah to Ahmad Nabi Khan

F. 378/13

BOMBAY,
20 July 1940

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th July[1] enclosing a copy of the resignation of Moulana Hasrat Mohani. I shall be glad to see him.

Yes, I received a telegram from him while I was at Simla, and I hope to convince him that the point he emphasised is always in front of me. I am sorry to say that after my Simla tour I was not well, and so I was not able to reply to him before now. I am now writing to him[2] direct asking him to come down to Bombay, if he can conveniently, and I shall explain to him the situation.

Yours truly,
M. A. JINNAH

Ahmad Nabi Khan,
Secretary,
Cawnpore Muslim League

[1]No. 440.
[2]No. 456.

456

M. A. Jinnah to Moulana Hasrat Mohani

F. 378/15

BOMBAY,
20 July 1940

Dear Moulana Sahib,

I received your telegram[1] when I was at Simla and after my return from there I was and still am not well. I, therefore, could not acknowledge the receipt of it.

Let me assure you that the point raised in your telegram is always in front of me, as you must have observed from my statements given to the press recently. I hope I shall be able to convince you that as far as I am concerned I fully realise that the Lahore Resolution is a matter of life and death for Muslim India.

Please let me know when you can come to Bombay conveniently, and I shall be glad to see you.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Maulana Hasrat Mohani Sahib,
Cawnpore

[1]Not traceable.

457

Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 302/42

QUETTA,
20 July 1940

All arrangements made. You cannot disappoint please. Definitely come please. Wire.[1]

ISA

[1]See Annex.

Annex to No. 457
M. A. Jinnah to Qazi Mohammad Isa
Telegram, F. 302/42

Extremely sorry. Laid up with fever. Impossible undertake journey Baluchistan. I feel deeply disappointed that I am unable accept honour invitation inaugurate conference. Please convey my grateful thanks Baluchistan Muslims for their regard and affection for me. I wish conference every success. Organise, unite, stand by the policy of the All India Muslim League like a block of steel and we shall succeed and realise our goal.

[M. A. JINNAH]

458

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 199/23-4

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
21 July 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am now back in the University from Cawnpore. Congressite agents under inspiration from the Congress high command have again started their nefarious activities. The other day they got a report published in the *Hindustan Times* that a meeting of nationalist Muslim students was held and your reply to Moulana Azad was condemned. No such meeting was held and it is an absolutely bogus report. We are going to hold a big demonstration tomorrow when the world will know as to what Aligarh thinks of Moulana Azad.

You will be glad to know that our League has adopted as its organ a monthly journal—*Iqbal*—,which a friend of ours had started. It is a politico-literary journal and is to be devoted to the propagation of the aims and ideals for which the League stands. I am sending you two specimen numbers for your kind perusal and opinion. May I also request you to send an appropriate message for publication in the journal? I hope you will very kindly send the message soon.

I have not yet heard from you about the article on the Lahore Resolution which I sent you from Cawnpore. I know you must be pressed for time. But I hope you will see to its publication as soon as possible. The sooner it is published the better.

We are all anxiously awaiting the result of your negotiations with the Viceroy. We do hope and pray that they may result in promoting the interests of the Musalmans of India!

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

PS. I am also sending you copy of the pamphlet, *Is India one Nation?*, which you had asked for.

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S.M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

F. 304/26-8

ISMAIL MANZIL,
PATNA CITY,
21 July 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter dated the 16th July[1] in reply to my letter dated 9th/10 July[2] in which I had made reference regarding certain Muslim Leaguers who have joined the War Committee, including Lady Anis Imam, and who are in spite of my repeated warnings not yet withdrawing from the War Committees nor resigning from the League. It is for the first time in the history of the Provincial League and perhaps in the history of the All India Muslim League that discipline is trying [*sic*] to be being maintained.

Yes, I am more than aware of the Resolution No. II as passed by the All India Muslim League Working Committee. [Since] long before that Resolution was passed [and] after your first statement [was] published on the 10th of June, I have been warning people and taking steps. I have amply and repeatedly justified your action by writing a series of articles in the newspapers explaining the implications of your Working Committee's Resolution. I have given wide publicity as to my intention to enforce discipline. I had not referred to you the [specific] cases because I was in a way incapable of taking action, but simply out of love and respect for you I had referred the cases in order to know as to what step should be taken against those who have acted in contravention and also to know if possible what actions other provinces are likely to take. However, I

thank you for your reply. My second letter dated 16th July[3] was in continuation of my previous letter and also forwarding copy of the main Resolution passed by the Working Committee meeting held on the 14th instant.[4] I am however glad you have read the newspaper account of our meeting since you have referred to two other resolutions. The only reason why I have been referring to you so often is because the Working Committee's Resolution has not suggested any action against those who had in contravention acted against [*sic*] it. The Resolution suggested and your subsequent statement supported that Muslims in general and Muslim Leaguers in particular are asked not to join or serve on the War Committees. Of course, to any intelligent mind the consequential effect of failure to comply is to pay penalty and suffer indignation. It is understood, but since Punjab and Bengal have behaved and the Punjab is still behaving against the spirit and the letter of your Working Committee's Resolution and of your intention, it was therefore that some eminent Muslim Leaguers in Bihar were encouraged in defying the League's authority, though I have been repeatedly warning them. I however inform you that after the 30th I shall take action and remove the names of all such members who will not till then withdraw. Those whose names will be removed will not be eligible for membership of the League for a period of two years. My further reason for keeping you informed was with a view to hav[ing] your sanction and not because I do not know my business.

I apologize to you for this long length [*sic*] of my letter.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. ISMAIL

[1]No. 437.
[2]No. 417.
[3&4]No. 441.

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Shah Nawaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 97/20-4

MAMDOT VILLA, DAVIES ROAD,
LAHORE,
21 July 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

A meeting of the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League was held on the 4th July 1940 to consider various aspects of the situation in the Punjab which has arisen out of the Resolution passed by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League at Bombay on 17th June last, and in order to give effect to the instructions contained therein, it was decided to direct all the affiliated branches of the Punjab League to issue instructions to the members to refrain from taking part in the deliberations of the War Board and its Committees until such time as further instructions be issued to them in this respect.

2. As the attendance of the members of the Working Committee was very poor in the meeting of the 4th July, therefore, another meeting was called on the 14th and I placed before them the correspondence that had passed between you and myself. The situation was discussed at length. The copies of the resolutions passed are enclosed herewith for your perusal.

3. Resolution No. 1 deals with the War Board and its Committees and the chief points discussed at the meeting are mentioned below, which I take the liberty to bring to your notice before you receive the deputation.

a. The members of the Working Committee noted with regret that such intricacies should have arisen in the case of the Punjab. It was very unfortunate that the meetings of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League and nominations on the War Board Committees were being held almost simultaneously. Several hundred members of the Punjab Muslim League had agreed to work on the Committees under the circumstances mentioned in my letter of 24th June, 1940[1] long before the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League passed its Resolution in this respect. The invitations from H.E. the Governor were received on 5th June, 1940 and the Muslim

Leaguers consented to work on them, as in view of your press statement of 27th May 1940 they thought that the provinces where the Muslim League had dominant voice had been left free. The Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League seriously considered that in the present case, the conditions in the Punjab being very different from those in other provinces, certain ultra-untoward incidents having supervened, the Muslim interests are bound to suffer and suffer grievously unless the situation is handled by you tactfully both prospectively and retrospectively. The manifestation of fissiparous tendencies in League circles is highly disconcerting and it is up to the League high command to seriously think about devising ways and means which could ensure an effective solution of the difficulties in the Punjab.

b. In the Punjab, as the League high command know, in the ministerial party the strength of the Muslim members is nearly 70 per cent who are one and all Muslim Leaguers according to the pact made at Lucknow, and Sir Sikander is the leader of this party in the Punjab Legislative Assembly. According to Sir Sikander's own statement and the statements of Sir Nazimuddin and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, the Muslim Ministers in the Punjab were exempted from the operation of the Resolution passed by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League on the 17th June 1940. To have exempted the Ministers in the Punjab, and not their followers in the Assembly, spells an anomaly which the League high command alone may be able to solve. Besides, during the last winter session of the Assembly all the Muslim Leaguers of the ministerial party in the Assembly had supported a motion relating to the inauguration of Civic Guards and other efforts of the Government connected with the internal safety of the Province, and now at this juncture to refuse to fall in line with the Provincial Government of their own party, would be undoubtedly against the general policy of the Muslim League. To countenance the unseemly exhibition of a tug of war between the Ministry and its followers, as between two contending parties, cannot but prove irksome to both, and highly injurious to the cause they are expected to advance. The sequel might be disastrous both to the Muslim Ministry and the Punjab Muslim League, a result which the League high command certainly cannot envisage with

equanimity. This is another veritable quandary which faces the Punjab Muslim Leaguers and demands very careful consideration by yourself and the League high command.

c. Later on, a very large representative meeting of the Punjab Muslims was convened to consider the day-to-day situation arising out of the activities of the non-Muslims in the Province. In this meeting the number of Muslim Leaguers was much larger than those who are not enlisted members of the League. In view of the grave situation facing the Muslims in the Punjab, a resolution was passed to urge upon the Government to make all efforts to maintain the peace and tranquillity of the Province, and to raise Civic Guards to cope with internal disturbances, and also that the strength of the Muslim community on these corps should in no case be less than 57 per cent. Now, that the Civic Guards are being enlisted, if the Musalmans are told not to enlist themselves, the results will obviously be very disastrous as the Musalmans would be left unprotected and after some time will have to fall on their knees and seek protection of the same Government with which they are today refusing to cooperate. Muslim League National Guards may be helpful to a certain extent in other provinces but in the Punjab, as long as there is ban on all kinds of activities of such organisations, nothing more can be done at present beyond enrolling members of the League National Guards, but they must of necessity remain inactive, and for all practical purposes a useless lot. One of the mandatory directions contained in the relevant Resolution, i.e. "A guardsman shall not be a member of any other political organization except the Muslim League or of any volunteer corps", surely does not make things any easier. On the other hand it was realized that if the Government Civic Guards were allowed to be composed of solely non-Muslims, the Muslim masses in the Punjab, where communal tension is at its highest pitch, could hardly expect a sympathetic treatment and protection at their hands.

d. You know well that Sikhs are the greatest menace to the Punjab Muslims. There are five fairly large Sikh Indian States on the southern border of the Punjab. These conditions do not exist in any of the other provinces and the Sikhs unfortunately appear to be determined to take their chance of establishing Sikh *raj* in this Province and for this purpose they have distributed the

country in twelve divisions, where Sikhs are being recruited steadily, and in addition to the arms and ammunition being manufactured locally, it is being imported in large quantities from the bordering Sikh States. Troubles have already started, and at four different places serious clashes have occurred between the Sikhs and the Muslims in which the former have been aggressive.

4. These, in brief, are the difficulties in the Punjab which are neither fanciful nor sentimental by any means and require very sympathetic consideration. Unfortunately, a stage appears to have been reached where an open rupture between the League and the Provincial Government must be seriously taken into consideration, unless indeed sufficient statesmanship is shown to compose the divergent viewpoints in the higher interests of the Muslim community. I had suggested a way on page three of my letter dated 24th of June, which you may kindly reconsider. This will carry with it also the merit of being in consonance with the League policy as enunciated in your press statement of the 27th May, which was also endorsed by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. The position of the Punjab Muslim Leaguers is unenviable in the extreme. We want to be an asset and not a liability to the League, and are anxious to prove ourselves as representatives of one of the Muslim majority provinces to be a source of undiluted strength to the All India Muslim League. But the peculiar conditions prevailing in the Punjab need due appreciation. We have confidence in you and your capable lead, and refuse to be dismayed by our troubles and cling to the hope that we may yet be able to steer clear of the stormy waters.

5. I have briefly narrated the above facts for your kind consideration and in order to give effect to the resolution of the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League request you to kindly let me know the date on which it would be convenient to you to receive the deputation.[2]

Yours sincerely,
SHAH NAWAZ KHAN

[1]No. 356.

[2]Jinnah received the deputation of the Punjab Muslim League on 10 August 1940. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 44.

Enclosure to No. 460

F. 97/25-6

PROCEEDINGS OF PUNJAB MUSLIM LEAGUE WORKING COMMITTEE

The following gentlemen were present:

1. Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan
2. Begum Shah Nawaz
3. Nawab Muzaffar Khan
4. K.S.Mian Amiruddin
5. Saiyid Mohammad Ali Jafari
6. Sufi Abdul Hamid
7. Sh. Sadiq Hasan
8. Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah Gilani
9. Syed Amjad Ali
10. Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan
11. Dr. Mohammad Alam
12. Khan Rabb Nawaz Khan
13. Sh. Karamat Ali
14 Ch. Rahmat Ali

Nawab Sir Shah Nawaz Khan presided.

The minutes of the last meeting were read out and confirmed. Correspondence that passed between the President of the All India Muslim League and the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League was laid before the meeting.

The following resolution was moved by Dr. Mohammad Alam, seconded by Sh. Karamat Ali, and after lengthy discussion, passed by 13 votes against one:

1. Resolved that the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League be requested to form a deputation along with two other members of this Working Committee to be nominated by himself to wait upon the President of the All India Muslim League to explain the peculiar conditions prevailing in the Punjab at present, particularly in the light of the recent occurrences, and to request him to place their views before the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League asking them to reconsider the question of participation of the Punjab Muslims in the War Committees.

The President thereon nominated (1) Dr. Mohammad Alam [and] (2) Nawab Muzaffar Khan or Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan to accompany him and wait upon the President of the All India Muslim League in compliance with the above resolution.

2. The following resolution was moved by Syed Ghulam Mustafa Shah Gilani, seconded by Sh. Sadiq Hasan and passed *nem.con.*:

> The Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League strongly condemn the alarming lawless activities of certain sections of population which are detrimental to the peace and tranquillity of the Province and request the Punjab Government to take necessary steps to put a stop to these dangerous activities. The President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League be requested to approach the Premier of the Province personally and discuss these matters.

3. The following resolution was moved by Nawab Muzaffar Khan, seconded by Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, and passed *nem.con.*:

> This meeting of the Working Committee of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League hereby appoint a committee consisting of Dr. Mohammad Alam, MLA, and Ch. Rahmat Ali Nagra to visit Sargodha and investigate and report on the causes of the recent occurrences and the communal tension prevailing at Sargodha.

With a vote of thanks to the Chair, the proceedings of the meeting came to a close at 12 noon.

MOHAMMAD ALI JAFARI
Organising Secretary,
for the General Secretary

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Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/86-90

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,
CALCUTTA,
22 July 1940

Thanks for your kind letter of the 19th July 1940.[1] The War Committee in Bengal has in fact been completely paralysed. I believe the meeting of the League Working Committee in Calcutta will serve more than [one] purpose. It will afford Calcutta and Bengal an opportunity to accord you a right royal reception and give the lie direct to all the pernicious propaganda against the present leadership of the League. It will produce a tremendous effect. I will organize it myself.

I had been invited by the Asansol Muslim League. Meetings were held under my presidency. Asansol, on the Bihar-Bengal border, is the most important industrial and coal-field area in Bengal. I had to work here for two days and nights. The Muslim League here was reorganized and reunited. You will be glad to know that in the whole of Asansol there is only one Congressite Muslim. There are no Khaksars there. National Guards are being recruited in hundreds. There is great enthusiasm.

The debate in the Bengal Assembly on a Congressite's motion demanding a Constituent Assembly has demonstrated that Muslim Bengal is still firmly with the League. The debate will be concluded on a later date when Mr. Fazlul Huq and Mr. A. R. Siddiqi will also speak.

Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi has done a very good thing. He issued a long statement in support of your reply to the arch-rebel of Muslim India—Abul Kalam [Azad]. It was published in full in the *Star of India*, but the *Statesman*, the semi-official organ of the British Govt., published only four lines although it published the full statements of Sir Rafiuddin, Dr. Syed Mahmud, Asaf Ali and others. I have sent a strong protest to Viceroy against the *Statesman's* attacks on you and the League.

Mr. S. Salahuddin Tyebji, Member of the House of Representatives, Burma, was here in Calcutta for a few days. We had a long talk on the need of a first-class Muslim daily. He said the first thing to do was to collect at least Rs. 10 lakh and then to procure good managers and technicians. He has got experience of daily papers. I found him sympathetic towards the League. He asked me whether there was any prospect for a non-partisan independent paper. My answer was that Muslims would completely boycott a non-League Muslim English daily. If possible, take help of this man for your plan of a paper. He may be approached through Mr. M.A.Ispahani. Never was its need more imperative. At present Muslim India is voiceless and tongueless. There is not a single Muslim daily in English. The *Star of India* has been stifled. It is being published without leaders. The entire future of our movement and mission depends on a good and strong press.

I have been in correspondence with Moulvi Ghulam Rasul Meher, Editor, *Inqilab* of Lahore, Moulvi Qarshi of Seerat Committee, and Editor, the *Iman*, the two best propagandists in the Punjab and India. I am urging them to exert their influence and power for League and National Guards. I have also written to other friends in the Punjab

for the same purpose.

Moulana Qarshi and his papers, the *Iman* and *Khutbate Juma*, have accepted my plan and begun to work for League propaganda. They have put Mr. Hamid Anwar, Secretary of Tarantaran League, in charge of the papers. These papers have got very extensive circulation all over India. Moulana Meher of the *Inqilab* has also agreed to work for League with a new zeal but it appears that he is very depressed in mind because you have selected Malik Barkat Ali for the League Executive and for some other grievances [*sic*]. I have today sent him a long letter refuting his charges and exhorting him to work for League soaring high above personal considerations. Moulana Nazir Ahmad Kashmiri, a friend of Meher, is also working for the same object. Meher is a great power. He is the best leader-writer and journalist in Urdu. His weakness is that he is very sensitive and sometimes takes small things to his heart. I think you should try to placate and humour him through Sir Abdoola Haroon, and by praising his work utilize his great powers for the League. If he takes interest and works with zeal he can transform the whole of the Punjab through his paper, the *Inqilab*. He is very attached to Sir Sikander. But Meher is wholly for partition and the League plan.

I still submit that you should fix some date for celebration of the all-India day of prayer for the independence and unity of Muslim India and Muslim world.

The programme should include (1) prayers, (2) meetings, (3), processions without music, (4) National Guards' parades, (5) League banner—salutations and hoisting it on all buildings and shops [and] (6) resolutions affirming Muslim resolve to abide by League resolutions and faith in Mr. Jinnah.

You should declare the day and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan should issue the programme. Nawabzada should particularly request the branches to refute the insinuations of the *Statesman* and other papers regarding the League leadership and emphasize the supreme need of the slogan—one leader—one flag—one ideal.

You have not made our position clear regarding the Khaksars. Can or cannot a Leaguer enrol himself as a member of the Khaksars?

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN
General Secretary,
Calcutta District Muslim League

[1]No. 452.

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N. Mohammed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 769/101-2

MALABAR CHRISTIAN COLLEGE,
CALICUT,
23 July 1940

Our revered leader,

We, the students of Malabar, are left without information as to what means we should adopt to face this crisis. What we should do for the uplift of our country, for the welfare of our fellow-men, and for the progress of our community. I was thinking and thinking, but came to no definite conclusion. As there are certain limitations for a student to indulge in politics I don't know how far I should proceed.

We thought we could get a personal answer for the above question from you earlier as our leaders of Malabar had promised more than once to invite you to Malabar. But we don't know whether their not inviting you, or your inconvenience to come over here, has become an obstacle to your tour to Malabar. We are anxious to see you as early as possible and we shall be thankful if you would kindly make up your mind to come over to Malabar this year.

I should like to know what is your attitude towards a Central National Government. Should the Muslims accept it? Do you want to work out Pakistan now itself [*sic*]. What attitude we the Muslims should adopt towards Britian and the War. What kind of Hindu-Muslim unity should be accepted by us? How should the Muslim students work at this time?

I shall be thankful if you would kindly reply [to] me. I shall take it [as] an honour if you will accept this letter and my best wishes to you and your people.

May *Allah* shower His blessings upon you and may He give you long life to lead us to the goal.

Yours most sincerely,
N. MOHAMMED
A student

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Syed Hasan Mian to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/279-80

TISSA HOUSE,
MUZAFFARNAGAR,
23 July 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

Three years ago, when the Muslims were losing ground in the Indian politics, God gave us the best leader in you. We then needed courageous leadership, and we had it. Now we are organised and united. We now feel stronger than ever. We now naturally expect bold decisions from our national assembly, namely the All India Working Committee. Sir Sikander's jugglery has confounded us.

Your silence[1] over it disheartens us. The All India Working Committee feels shy in taking any action against "the bully". You seem to think Sikander is an influential man in the Punjab, and we might lose ground in the Punjab by kicking him out. But, as you know, the League is stronger than Sikander. It is even stronger than our Quaid. It is better not to have any League in the Punjab than to have Sikander's League. We cannot tolerate such men who are out to defy our Quaid-i-Azam. It may be a question of policy with you. But I am clear it will spoil our morale. We are impatient and think his expulsion is overdue

Please turn him out and we shall see the League established in the Punjab on firmer basis. It is high time now. Please issue orders to the workers of the U.P. and we shall invade Punjab under the direct command of Raja Saḥib of Mahmudabad with the Muslim League banner in our hands. We shall send waves after waves of our workers to the Punjab to establish direct contact with the masses there and, if God willing, we shall come out victorious. We are awaiting your call.

Your courageous reply to the Muslim show-boy emboldened us. Abul Kalam [Azad] deserved it. People think it was only meant for Abul Kalam. I think it was a serious warning to defiant Leaguers (such as Sikander and Fazlul Huq) who dare to talk to Congress leaders over the head of the Working Committee.

You will be pleased to know that we have all resigned here from the War Committee to make your hands strong. Now let us, soon, settle account with the British. We are prepared to undergo suffering. We

are taught to fear God and none else.

Please put your followers to test and you will find us firm and resolute. Let your call come and we shall put everything at your feet.

Please acknowledge the receipt of this, if you have time.

Yours very sincerely,
HASAN MIAN
B.A., LL.B., *Pleader*
Salar District and Member, UP ML

[1]Jinnah clarified the position by issuing a statement in the matter. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 32.

464

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 204/91-2

8 ZAKARIAH STREET,
CALCUTTA,
23 July 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

The most disquieting and alarming factor in the Muslim Indian situation is the want of a first-class Muslim English daily. The result is that even the Anglo-Indian press is fast being 'Shuddhised' and the Muslim League point of view and the Muslim case is going by default. The Urdu press of the Punjab is completely demoralized, terrorized and paralyzed. The *Al-aman* and *Wahdat* of Delhi are in trouble. The *Huque* of Lucknow is sinking. The *Khilafat* of Bombay is undermining League. The *Asre-Jadid* of Calcutta is wholly for the League but it is not a first-class daily. The *Star* has been Anglicized.

In short, Muslim India is literally tongueless and voiceless. How can we live and work in India without a press. It is a matter of disgrace for the community.

The two new developments in Bengal politics have in fact proved a godsend for the League. Mr. Fazlul Huq was conspiring with the Congress party in the Bengal Assembly to form a coalition cabinet and kick the League aside. He made a pact with Sarat Chandra Bose.

God has upset his plans. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose launched *satyagraha* against the Black Hole Monument.[1] Governor ordered Bose's arrest. There was a storm in Bengal. This frustrated Huq-Congress

negotiations.

The Bengal Muslim Students' League was the blind army of Mr. Huq. Now this army is in revolt against Mr. Huq. This has weakened Mr. Huq's position and is embarrassing him a great deal. The agitation is growing in strength.

Mr. Huq has thus been thrown on the resources of the League which is now his only haven of safety. The heart and mind of Bengal is with the League. Even Mr. Huq cannot defeat it.

Yours sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN

[1]The Holwell Monument in Calcutta. See No. 383, note 2.

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Iqbal to M. A. Jinnah & Others

F. 976/25

MEERUT,
23 July 1940

RESOLUTION

The Working Committee of the Meerut Muslim Students' Federation, in its meeting held on 23 July 1940, reiterated its confidence in Quaid-i-Azam Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the accredited leader of Indian Musalmans and the President of All India Muslim League, and congratulated him on the bold, courageous and Islamic stand he took in replying [to] Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Muslim show-boy, President of the so-called Indian National Congress.

The Working Committee were of the opinion that adequate disciplinary action must be taken against those who acted in contravention of the Resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League by joining War Committees, irrespective of their position and status.

IQBAL

466

Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah

F. 95/108

VICEREGAL LODGE,
SIMLA,
24 July 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your letter of the 17th July,[1] in reply to mine of the 6th July.[2] I note and have read with interest what you say in it.

2. I appreciate the importance to you of the point taken in the last paragraph of your letter. I should, of course, see no objection whatever to your informing your Committee confidentially of what passed between us at our conversation (I may, incidentally, remark that I asked Mr. Gandhi, after my talk with him, to regard our conversation as confidential, but told him that I had no objection to his informing the Congress Working Committee in confidence of what had passed during it—a course which he has, I gather, adopted). I cannot help feeling, though that must be a point for your consideration in the first instance, that to give publicity to your private and personal memorandum of your 'Tentative proposal' might give rise to some misunderstanding as to the position in relation to the considerations mentioned in my letter to you of the 6th July. But I am naturally anxious to give you any assistance I can; though I venture to think that the suggestion I have made might prove the most convenient method of dealing with the position.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

[1]No. 443.
[2]No. 399.

467

M. A. Jinnah to Khwaja Nazimuddin

F. 392/22-3

BOMBAY,
24 July 1940

Dear Sir Nazimuddin,

With reference to your letter of the 14th July[1] I can only repeat that it was incorrect on your part to say that the ministers were exempted. After the Resolution was passed by the Working Committee the conversation was no more than my having stated what the constitutional and legal position of the ministers was so long as they continued in office.

I thank you for your drawing my attention to the report of the United Press of India purporting to be an interview given by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. I cannot say whether that is a correct report. There has been no misunderstanding. The position was made quite clear that if the ministers were forced by virtue of their duty which they have to perform under the Govt. of India Act, the question whether they have to resign will have to be considered later.

I have the utmost respect and regard for you personally and that is the very reason why I say in my letter to Ispahani that my only regret is that Sir Nazimuddin according to press report should have said that the ministers were exempted. I quite believe you that you carried that impression; but where was the necessity for you to come out in the press immediately after Sir Sikander had given garble[d] versions of the casual conversation after the Resolution was passed.

As to your complaint that I should have written to Hassan, I am sorry if you think it was wrong but I was bound to give correct information when asked by the leading members of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League.

Nobody would doubt you when you say that you have tried to loyally follow the mandates of the League. That is how it should be; and I appreciate very much the spirit.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 434.

468

Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait to M. A. Jinnah

F. 447/31-2

TELLICHERRY,
24 July 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

The position as regards the number of Muslim Leaguers in my Province who have accepted membership of War Committees is comparatively more satisfactory than in other provinces. Excepting those four or five who have deliberately accepted the membership of the Provincial War Committees, most of those whose names have been announced as members of the District War Committees are those who never consented to serve on these Committees. Letters were sent to them asking for their consent. Some refused, while a great number ignored those letters. These latter have been included among the members by the District Collectors. Some of them at least in my district are now writing to the Collector declining to serve on the District War Committees and objecting to their unwarranted inclusion. It is a matter of very great pleasure that Sultan Abdul Rahiman Ali Rajah, Raja of Connanore, who received *malikhan* from the Government, refused to serve on the Committee giving the League Working Committee's Resolution as the reason for such refusal.

The Madras Provincial League has granted time up to the end of this month for such Leaguers as are members of the different War Committees to resign from such Committees. I enclose a copy of that resolution. After the 31st of July, disciplinary action is to be taken against those who have not complied with the demand. For the sake of uniformity of action, and also in view of the present state of the negotiation between yourself and the Viceroy, which you alone know, I think it will be useful for you to throw a suggestion as to what punishment may be given to these erring people. I find that many Provincial Leagues have given time up to the end of this month and therefore your suggestion with regard to the punishment must be issued before the end of this month. That will also help induce some more of the erring people to resign when they know what fate

is awaiting them. I hope you will consider this suggestion seriously.
I hope this finds you happy and well,

Yours sincerely,
H. A. S. H. ESSAK
MLA
Municipal Councillor,
Secretary, Kerala Muslim Majlis

Enclosure to No. 468

F. 447/30

2/14 THAMBU CHETTY STREET,
MADRAS,
15 July 1940

CIRCULAR

Dear Sir,

A copy of the proceedings of the meeting of the Council of the Madras Presidency Muslim League held on 13-7-1940 is herewith enclosed. We invite your special attention to resolution No. I regarding membership of War Committees and request immediate compliance thereof [*sic* for therewith]. We would also like you to please send copies of this resolution to the League members in your locality who have accepted membership of War Committees.

We also commend resolution No. II regarding the Urdu daily paper *Musalman* for necessary action. We need hardly emphasise the necessity and importance of the co-operation of the press in carrying out our propaganda. As the League has no organ of its own at present, we have no doubt you will do all you can to popularise the *Musalman* among members of the League as well as among other Musalmans.

B. POCKER
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN
K. T. M. AHMAD IBRAHIM
Hony. Secretaries

RESOLUTIONS

At the meeting of the Council of the Madras Presidency Muslim League held on 13-7-1940 under the presidentship of Moulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib, M.L.A. (Central), the Vice-President of the League, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:

I (a) This meeting of the Council of the Madras Presidency Muslim

League, while expressing no opinion adverse to the war-effort in the country, takes a very serious view of the highly objectionable action of certain office-bearers and members of the Muslim League in the Province in having accepted membership of War Committees and in continuing to be the members thereof in flagrant violation of the clear and unequivocal decision of the President and Working Committee of the All India Muslim League and calls upon them to resign their membership of the War Committees and to communicate [accordingly] to the Secretaries of the Madras Presidency Muslim League on or before the 31st of July 1940, failing which the Council of the Madras Presidency Muslim League will be compelled to take disciplinary action against such members.

(b) All the District and Primary Leagues are requested to furnish the Secretaries of the Madras Presidency Muslim League immediately with the names of all such office-bearers and members of the Muslim League as have become members of War Committees and also to report to the said Secretaries immediately on the expiry of the current month the names of such members as have not resigned their membership of the War Committees in accordance with this resolution.

II. This Council authorises the Secretaries to request the District and Primary Leagues to support the Urdu paper, *Musalman*, Madras by subscribing to the paper and getting subscribers.

469

Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah

F. 498/24

24 July 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your letter of 16 July[1] about the Khaksar movement. I have read it with much interest, but I do not see how I can intervene in this matter, which is primarily one for the Punjab Government. I now understand that Sir Sikander Hyat Khan has published the conditions on which he would be prepared to revoke the order which makes the Khaksar movement an unlawful association.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

[1]Jinnah had inquired if the Viceroy would take up the Khaksar issue with the Punjab Govt. See F. 18/19, *QAP*. Not printed.

470

M. A. Jinnah to S. M. Ismail

F. 304/29

BOMBAY,
24 July 1940

Dear Nawab Mohammad Ismail,

I am in receipt of your letters of the 16th[1] and 21st July[2] and I thank you for them.

With regard to the members of the Muslim League who have acted contrary to the instructions of the Working Committee I should say that it is up to the Working Committee of your Provincial Muslim League to take disciplinary action in any manner they may consider proper, and I do not think that my sanction in the matter is necessary.

I, however, thank you for keeping me in touch with the affairs of your Province.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawab S. Moh[amma]d Ismail,
Ismail Manzil,
Patna City

[1]No. 441.
[2]No. 459.

471

Minutes of Meeting of Working Committee of Mysore State Muslim League

F. 572/15-6

BANGALORE,
25 July 1940

At a meeting of the Working Committee of the Mysore State Muslim League held on the 25th of July 1940 in its office in the City of Bangalore, the following resolutions were adopted:

RESOLUTIONS

1. That this Committee wholeheartedly supports the views of the President of the All India Muslim League as expressed in his well-considered reply to the President of the Indian National Congress and confirms the opinion that Moulana Abul Kalam Azad is guilty of treason for having betrayed the cause of Islam for his selfish ends and played as a toy in the hands of his Congress masters. It is to be regretted that in spite of the fact that he was publicly treated with indignity in not being permitted to lead the *'Id* prayers in Calcutta by the multitude of Muslim populace, on account of his unholy allegiance [*sic* for alliance] with the Congress to the utter detriment of Muslims, he has not retraced his steps and felt repentance for his deeds.
2. That this Committee has read with great indignation the observations made by Mr. Gandhi about the Chief Justice of the Mysore High Court. Mr. Gandhi may kindly note that his uncalled-for interference in the affairs of Mysore is most unwelcome and anything said or done by him to discredit the administration or its officers is treated by the Mysore public with utmost contempt and scorn, as already evidenced from the speeches made by the chosen representatives of the people at the recent sessions of the Legislative Council and the Representative Assembly. The Chief Justice of the Mysore High Court, Sir D'Arcy Reilly, is a gentleman of very high talents, an eminent jurist, a discipliner [*sic* for disciplinarian] of high order and is known throughout India for his independent judgment and character. The criticism of Mr. Gandhi is unworthy of his position and has tended to lower him in public estimation.

   Mr. Gandhi's remarks against Justice Mr. A. R. Nageswara Iyer whose judicial disposition, integrity, uprightness in character and independence of judgment are acknowledged all over southern India, are equally unworthy and have caused indignation in the minds of the Mysore public. Mr. Justice A. R. Nageswara Iyer is a worthy colleague of a worthy Chief Justice and any attempt to scandalize them by any person, however high he may be, would fall flat to the ground.
3. That this Committee supports in emphatic terms the Pakistan scheme of the President of the Muslim League which in its opinion is the only redeeming feature for the protection and

safety of Indian Muslims.

4. Resolved further that copies of this resolution be sent to Mr. Gandhi, the Presidents of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, and newspapers.

M. ABDUL RAHMAN FAIZI

472

Ali Muhammed Rashdi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 427/3

C/O FAZALBHOY LTD, THE MALL,
LAHORE,
25 July 1940

My dear Sir,

I have arrived in Lahore after completing the work of the Court of Inquiry into the Sukkur riots. I waited for your reply regarding your visit to Sind but it did not come.

There are rumours here that a requisition has been sent by some Punjab League Council Members for a meeting of the Council being called to reconsider the recent Working Committee Resolutions. I am told Fazlul Huq of Bengal is behind this move, although I cannot vouchsafe accuracy of this statement. If he and his friends fail in this move, then, so the rumour goes, they will secede from this League and have a separate League of their own. Nawab Mamdot told me that proxies were being taken for that meeting. It is noteworthy that Bengal and Punjab supply 190 members of the League Council.

In my humble opinion it would be fair if you call[ed] this meeting at Lucknow, as we have had all previous meetings of the Council at Delhi and we have just had our full session in the north [Lahore].

Perhaps, rumours about Nawabzada's appointment have some thing to do with this state of disappointment.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
ALI MUHAMMED H. RASHDI
General Secretary,
Sind Provincial Muslim League

473

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 199/25

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
25 July 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have already written to you.[1] I am waiting for a message to the magazine, *Iqbal,* which we are issuing. Specimen copies of the magazine have been sent to you. I have also sent you a copy of the pamphlet, *Is India one Nation*?, which you had asked for.

I am enclosing[2] herewith copies of the resolutions passed unanimously at a largely attended meeting of the Muslim University Muslim League. How strong the feeling against Mr. Abul Kalam Azad is will be obvious from the fact that the meeting insisted on dropping the prefix Moulana from his name. I would also like to know as to what you think of the second resolution. The reply will be treated as confidential if you so desire.[3]

May I also request you to let me know as to what steps you are taking to get my article published?

With respects,

Yours very sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]See No. 458.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]See No. 486.

474

M. Ahmad Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 915/14

18 ZAKARIAH STREET,
CALCUTTA,
26 July 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah Sahib,

The enclosed is a copy of the statement which I have issued to the

press according to the instructions of Dr. Mohammad Ismail Nami Bahadur, present head of the Khaksar Movement. He hopes that you will try your best to make an honourable peace between the Khaksars and the Punjab Government before August 10.

Yours sincerely,
M. AHMAD SHAH

Enclosure to No. 474
M. Ahmad Shah to the United Press, Calcutta

F. 915/13

CALCUTTA,
26 July 1940

I have received orders from Dr. Mohammad Ismail Nami Bahadur, present head of the Khaksar Movement, to the effect that he has not so far heard from Mr. Jinnah about the result of his peace efforts with the Punjab Government. He, therefore, orders extension of the suspension of the Khaksar activities in the Punjab till August 10. The *Salar-e-Khas* Hind should take immediate steps that the Khaksar activities remain suspended.

M. AHMAD SHAH
Bar-at-Law
Chief Officer of Bengal Khaksars

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M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Ismail Nami

F. 873/525

BOMBAY,
26 July 1940

Dear Sir,

As a result of my correspondence with you, I drew the attention of His Excellency the Viceroy to the position about the Khaksar situation in the Punjab and requested him to take up the matter. I have now received the reply from His Excellency, a copy of which is enclosed herewith.[1]

I have not yet got a copy of the conditions published by Sir Sikander

Hyat on which he would be prepared to revoke the order which declared the Khaksar Movement an unlawful association. But I would advise you to get in touch with Sir Sikander Hyat and ascertain what those conditions are.

Yours faithfully,
M. A. JINNAH

Dr. Mohammad Ismail Nami,
18 Zakariah Street,
Calcutta

[1]No. 469.

476

H. Abdoola Haroon to M. A. Jinnah

F. 274/115

NAPIER ROAD,
KARACHI,
27 July 1940

My dear Jinnah,

I enclose a copy of the telegram I have sent to Mr. Ali Mahommed Rashdi.

I am absolutely in [the] dark and unaware of how things are moving. If you have time, kindly write to me as to the development.

I fully subscribe to your present policy, which I gather from newspapers now and then. My services are at your disposal whenever you require it [*sic*].

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
H. A. HAROON
MLA

Enclosure to No. 476
H. Abdoola Haroon to Ali Mahommed Rashdi

Telegram, F. 274/116

KARACHI,
27 July 1940

Receiving your letters regularly. Doing personally utmost. Nothing important to write except newspapers. When are you coming. Convey Nawab Mamdot my regards and appeal him do not break solidarity of Musalmans because our cherished idea will die away for long time.

[H. ABDOOLA] HAROON

477

Jamil Uddin Faridi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/286-7

NAFIS MANZIL,
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY,
ALIGARH,
27 July 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I was shocked to see a wrong and baseless report which appeared in the columns of the *Hindustan Times* dated the 19th July 1940. The report runs as follows:

> A meeting of nationalist Muslim students of Aligarh University was held and condemned Mr. Jinnah on his recent telegram[1] to Moulana Azad.

Sir, I was in Aligarh and living with Mr. Kadri, the Vice-President of the Union, and no such meeting was held in the University. This is a quite wrong and baseless report. If it would have been held, it would have [been] held in the Union [office]. To contradict this, a meeting was held on 22-7-40 in the Rampur Hamid Hall under the chairmanship of Dr. Abid [Ahmad Ali], President Muslim League, and a resolution was passed declaring unflinching faith in you and condemning that report. The other meeting of the Union was held on 23-7-40 under the chairmanship of Mr. [Afzal Husain] Qadri, Vice-President, and the same resolution was passed. You

will get the report in due course. I am going to Poona; if I get time I will see you in Bombay.

Sir, the entire Aligarh student community is behind you with the exception of a very few Communists and Socialists, but nobody has the courage to speak anything against you.

With apologies,

Yours sincerely,
JAMIL UDDIN FARIDI
Propaganda Secretary,
All India Muslim Students' Federation

[1]No. 424.

478

Huseini Darukhanavala to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/288-90

BEGUMPURA,
SURAT,
28 July 1940

Dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am totally unsuited [*sic*] to write [to] you, a politician of peculiar reputation whose schemes and policies, really first-class, are criticized baselessly and on no ground by communal Congress leaders. First of all, I must congratulate you on your brilliant reply[1] to the confidential telegram[2] of the Congress 'show-boy, Moulana Azad, who these days is playing a political game to break the solidarity of the Muslim League, which is also the object of criticism of the Congress leaders, especially Congress Muslims who, to-day, boastfully claim to be perfect embodiments of Islamic culture and traditions. No doubt, we must congratulate the Moulana on his bravery of taking the risk to break the well-hatched [*sic*] solidarity of our League, the only representative body of Indian Muslims.

No doubt, Moulana Azad is true to his salt. He has rendered a great service by making the fantastic plan of the Congress to establish a Hindu *raj* a reality. But he does not know that by doing so he has done great damage to the noble cause of Indian Muslims. But he has failed and will fail. When this satan realised that the Muslim League would never be throttled by his political trump-card as carved out

by his masters, he entrapped Sir Sikander and Sir Fazlul Huq, two of our important leaders, no doubt, who, Moulana Azad knows, have no right to speak on behalf of Indian Muslims except its President and the Working Committee as a whole [*sic*]. This devilish policy of Moulana Azad has created a grave and serious situation among the Muslims. Now it is for the President of the Muslim League and its Working Committee to save the Muslims form this situation. The Working Committee should take steps on [*sic* for against] these two disobedient Muslim League leaders and this is the only solution to end the present catastrophe [*sic*] in the Muslim League. No doubt, I have exaggerated the seriousness of the situation but if the Working Committee remains idle [*sic*] at this critical juncture, then the League [will] collapse. It will be fatal to Muslims. The dream of the Congress to establish a Hindu *raj* and put the [Muslims under the] yoke of injustice and terrible oppression humanity has ever seen, will turn into a reality.

Therefore, I earnestly request you to purify the Muslim League in the shortest time.

With this letter I have sent you a propaganda card.

Greetings to Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah. Pakistan *Zindabad.*

Yours faithfully,
HUSEINI DARUKHANAVALA

[1]No. 424.
[2]No. 423.

479

Muhammad Amir Ahmad Khan to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (128)

LUCKNOW,
28 July 1940

My dear uncle,

I am writing this letter when Lucknow Hindus are preparing for a campaign against the Resolution of the League concerning the formation of an Islamic state within India. I am personally of the opinion that these efforts on the part of our opponents will never prove successful and on the other hand, they will bias the Muslim views more in our favour. There is coming a day when no Muslim, whether in or outside

the League, will have the courage to say a word against our proposed scheme. We have only to be careful in expressing our views about the proposed scheme. If these views will, in anyway, be alien or contradictory to the contemplated system of government in Islam then there will be many to oppose them tooth and nail. But if we can manage to express our opinions in strict co-ordination [*sic*] with the Islamic conception of state then there will be an ideal, substantial and dynamic enough to take the greatest amount of sacrifice from us. When I say Islamic state I do not mean a Muslim state. The Hindu and other sects are really afraid of the repetition of another [Shahabuddin] Ghori, [Mahmud] Ghaznavi, or a Moghal empire and they are perfectly justified in holding these suspicions against all Muslim domination. Their past experiences—as well as ours—have shown that a Muslim power may not necessarily be an Islamic one. A glance at the Indian Muslim history will only show that our great (?) Muslim kings, emperors, and potentates were not even acquainted with our doctrines of faith to which they were supposed to be so attached that they left their dear homes to propagate Islam in a country of infidels. Not at all. They never believed in the faith. They only exploited it to their own purpose. They were no better than any Mongolian marauder who plundered for the sake of plundering. They hardly contributed to the propagation of the faith. The nine crores of Muslims that we see in India today owe their existence to the thousands of *faqirs* and saints that [*sic*] came here, faced death, treachery, and other dangers and preached Islam. They are no more but millions still pay their yearly homage to them. Their empire is in the hearts of millions. They worked noiselessly, and without hubbub. What I have said is just to illustrate the difference among the conquerors. One plundering and looting; the other giving protection. So we have to choose now and chalk out, in skeleton, the future programme that our state shall have. Whether it will be Quranic or not? It is a difficult question but it has to be solved. What I am afraid of, Sir, is the growing number of position seekers and job hunters in the League. For example, could one expect such outrages from Bengal who had been all along supposed to be the right hand of our movement. Our fears are from such people and their domination. And then such people are not limited to Bengal alone, they are everywhere and at the top. With the ideal that we have before us such men will only be stumbling blocks in our way. It was time that a vigorous campaign was started under capable organizers to tour all district Leagues and find out the trend of the masses.

I went to Muzaffarnagar where they have suspended (not actually) the district constitution and appointed a dictator whose word is the law. Could not the same be done in other districts and at the centre. We have had enough of democratic yap-yapping. Only one man at the head can and does the work, the others usually just follow. Public has never decided anything for itself. It has always followed. Strong men with definite ideals lead. It is in the interest of the people to accept individual genius. Is it not surprising that even our thinking public is so apathetic and imbecile that when there is war, and everything is topsy-turvy, it invites and appoints dictators and in time of peace it again turns to democracy? A man who can steer the ship in a storm can do it more so in calm waters.

To educate our public and give them the right interpretation of our resolution about the Muslim state, it is essential that a propaganda committee be appointed or provisionally a weekly be published from Delhi. Whatever the procedure be adopted, something must be done to expound and explain the implications of the Resolution.

The Khaksar tangle must be solved, because you have taken it up. If Government of the Punjab is adamant in its attitude and no compromise can be reached, U.P. is prepared to march to the Punjab.

News has been received that the present Viceroy is going to be changed shortly. It is contained in a letter which a certain ruling prince wrote to another prince in the Rajputana agency. If the news is correct then the British Govt. is about to make some definite change in its policy as regards India. I wonder, who the next Viceroy will be?

Sikander and his Unionist Party are going to move three resolutions in the next meeting of the Council. They have already petitioned for it. The resolutions will be on the following lines: (1) That the Muslim League members be allowed to join the War Committees. (2) That a committee be appointed of five persons to negotiate with the Congress. (3) That coalition Ministries be formed.

This time, we want to invite the Council in Allahabad. Allahabad is a very centrally situated city and if we hold our Council meeting there, Bihar, C.P., U.P., and Bengal can attend with full force. I have already wired to Nawabzada.

There is another very urgent matter that I wanted to bring to your notice. I do not know about other provinces, but in U.P. the Congress is sending its trusted men in the League to work as fifth columnists.

The other 'friends' have already got their fifth columnists in Sir Sikander and his group. How are we to combat these activities is the question? If we could only get some of our own men inside our rival camps, we could counter-attack all their machinations. But how to do it? There is a false sense of security in many of us regarding the inclination of the Punjab masses. Some of us have begun to think that they are with us. This is a gross misinterpretation of their anti-Sikander manoeuvres. The masses in the Punjab are more with the Khaksars than with us. Mamdot and others are birds of the same feather. Their flock is the flock of Sikander. They fight each other, they curse each other but when it comes to arresting the progress of the League they are both one—inseparable. The Punjab can only be organized by non-Punjabis. There is no doubt it will take a heavy toll.

Some of our leaders are waiting greedily for a compromise between the Govt. and the League. One of them has actually begun promising increments and appointments as soon as he gets into power. We don't know but he may have borrowed some money even, to be repaid from the adviser's salary!

In the last Working Committee meeting, I had explained everything about the Muslim National Guards to Choudhri Khaliquzzaman Sahib, but I am sorry to note that the organization of the Guards has been entrusted to Provincial and District Leagues. This means that everywhere party politics will dominate the appointments of Guards. What we had contemplated was to have this organization under strict military discipline. But now it will not be possible. Now for example, take the case of uniform. There is a certain contractor who is ready to supply one shirt-coat, one pair of trousers, and one forage military cap at the cost of Rs. 2-15-0 only. The other firm, Muslim Daisi Stores, is ready to supply the same in hand-woven cloth which is not so strong at Rs. 5-15-0 per suit. Preference is being given to the latter. Some members have got shares in it; I being also one of the share-holders. Had the Muslim League Working Committee accepted my scheme, nothing of the sort would have happened. We would have called for tenders and the best would have been accepted. The organization of the Guards is progressing at a snail's pace. The Provincial Commander has to take the Committee's permission for even those things that should not be the concern of these chattering provincial politicians. To get first hand knowledge of the existing state of affairs yourself, a meeting of Provincial *Salars* will prove invaluable. If it is called with the Council

meeting, all the better. More in my next instalment.

We all pray to God for true guidance in these troublous times.

With respectful regards to you and *phophi* [aunt, Miss Fatima Jinnah, that is],

Yours,
AMIR

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Rabb Nawaz Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 833/79-80

THE DISTRICT MUSLIM LEAGUE,
FEROZEPORE,
28 July 1940

RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were unanimously passed at the meeting of the Working Committee of the District Muslim League, Ferozepore, held on 28-7-40.

a. This meeting of the Working Committee of the District Muslim League, Ferozepore, expresses complete faith in the lead given by Mr. Jinnah, the President of the All India Muslim League, prohibiting the Muslims of India, for the time being, from serving on the War Committees and it declares that the Muslim interests demand an immediate compliance of the Resolution, passed in this connection, by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League on 15-17 July 1940.

b. This meeting directs, in general, the members of the District Muslim League and its primary branches and in particular their office-bearers to refrain from participation in the War Committees for the time until due permission is issued by the All India Muslim League or Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, our Quaid-i-Azam.

c. This meeting very strongly condemns the conduct of all those Muslims who have agreed to work on the War Committees in defiance of the Resolution of the Working Committee, their sole representative organization i.e. the All India Muslim League and expects such Muslims to resign from such Committees at once.

d. This meeting supports and appreciates the answer given

by Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the sole representative of the Muslims of India, to Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, and condemns the so-called nationalist Muslims for picking up a row on this count.

RABB NAWAZ KHAN
B.A., LL.B.
Pleader

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K. Hyder to M. A. Jinnah

F. 901/58-9

UDIPI, S. INDIA,
28 July 1940

Dear Sir,

It is with feelings of sorrow that we inform you about the vilifying propaganda carried on against the Muslim history and culture in the Kanarese-speaking areas. In their zeal for the formation of the Karnatak province they mercilessly belittle the Muslim monarchs who opposed the Hindu kings of Vijayanagar Empire. To-day we are witnessing a ceaseless short-sighted propaganda both in the press and on platform. Even reputed Kaunda poets are writing inciting poems. Novelists leave no stone unturned in painting the Muslim kings and culture in the darkest dye. Nasty historical inaccuracies have crept in even into the school text books. If the present situation is not improved, it is very likely [that] the Muslims of Karnatak will have to pocket all sorts of insult.

With a view to creat[ing] a healthy opposition, some young Muslim writers from various parts of Karnatak have joined together and have formed the Muslim Literature Society. It is the desire of the Society to publish authoritative books on Muslim history and civilisation, to conduct [*sic*] daily or weekly publications to enlighten the Musalmans, to own a printing press, to publish studied [*sic*] books on social and economic condition of Muslims, to encourage deserving Muslim litterateurs [*sic* for literati] to conduct circulating libraries and to organise a school of fine arts.

The Muslims of this Province are mostly uneducated and poor. It is not possible to collect funds from them and to carry out the objects of the Society. However, our representatives are touring all over the

Kaunda-speaking areas collecting funds for the Society. I on behalf of the Society request you to bless our attempt and to contribute a considerably big sum towards the funds of the Society.

Yours sincerely,
K. HYDER
President,
The Muslim Literature Society

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Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 335/93

QUETTA,
29 July 1940

Conference great success.[1] Complete confidence in you [and] League policy. Great disappointment at your unavoidable absence. Best wishes from Baluchistan for good health [and] long life. Baluchistan looks forward to your visit some time.

LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]The Muslim League conference held at Quetta expressed complete confidence in Jinnah and unreservedly endorsed the League stand on the war, as well as Jinnah's reply to Abul Kalam Azad. Also it, appealed to Muslims to enrol as National Guards and recommended reforms in Baluchistan. See No. 495.

483

Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/104-5

URGENT

PESHAWAR,
29 July 1940

Dear Sir,

Baluchistan news shows that you are indisposed. It may be so as you have got so many worries. May you recover soon.

I am sending you three cuttings.

1. From the *Milap*, Lahore, (2) From the *Shahbaz*, Lahore, (3) From the *Star of India*, Calcutta.

First relates to a news from *Bombay Chronicle* about the interview which Azad has given—that he is in negotiation with Sir Sikander and Mr. Fazlul Huq. This is most significant, though *Milap* specials are never credited in northern India.

Second [states that] Mamdot's deputation is to see you on first August.

Third [is] a printed article by Mr. A. Hameed Khan of Madras.

ABOUT THE FIRST

It may be true. Are not Messrs Sikander and Huq playing somebody's game—Agha Khan's or their own foolish game? This is to be investigated.

ABOUT THE SECOND AND THIRD

I submit that the last para of Mr. A. Hameed Khan's statement mirrors the general temper of Muslim India. Therefore, I suggest, of course subject to your independent approval, that the Resolution may be relaxed, as Khaliquzzaman suggested at Bombay, but on one specific condition that through the entire [*sic*] League of the Punjab, Sir Sikander should give a solemn undertaking that he will never never go near A. Kalam or Gandhi or any Congressite.

I assure you that NWFP and Baluchistan will be solidly with you. This parleying with Congress by Sikander and Huq should be stopped at once. You must have an eye on them both. Mr. A. R. Siddiqi is doing well. Bengal Leaguers should be called upon informally through Sir Nazim, A. R. Siddiqi, Ispahani, Suhrawardy and other stalwarts to tighten up Mr. Huq and Mamdot. Dr. Alam, Raja Ghazanfar and other straight people should be asked to have an eye on Sikander. Nothing short of an undertaking [*sic*]. Sh. A. Majid of Sindh is a straight fellow—he should be called upon to have an eye on Mir Bundeh Ali.

The matter of negotiations is of paramount importance. It means the solidarity of Muslim India, and to my mind, War Committees are of secondary importance. Congress is climbing down too—we have reached a critical stage and Messrs Sikander and Huq should not be allowed to do anything with the Congress over the head of the League.

With prayers for your health and spirits,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB

484

S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

F. 304/30-1

PERSONAL

ISMAIL MANZIL,
PATNA CITY,
29 July 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Just a line in grateful appreciation of your prompt attention and helpful advice in reply to my two letters dated 16th[1] and 21st July,[2] respectively. The latter was in reply to your kind letter dated 16th July[3] received on the 20th July. This personal note is only to reaffirm that I am sincerely and devotedly attached to you and to the Muslim League. I am thankful to my community that they have confided full trust in me and gave me full authority to take actions against those who persist in defying Muslim League authority. You may rest assured that so far as poor Bihar is concerned, all Muslim Leaguers who number, without exaggeration, not less than 95 per cent of entire Muslim population stand as one solid well-disciplined body and obey your command; though we are poor yet we are aware [of] what discipline and solidarity mean. It was and is the attitude of the Punjab League which was and is still most distressing and objectionable. They have not stood the test well. However, I am concerned with my affairs. God willing, through His holy grace and divine mercies and through the blessings of *Hazrat Rasool-e-Khuda, Deen*, our twelve immaculate *Imams*, I hope to discharge my duties with unflinching devotion and loyalty towards you and you alone. I regret to inform you that Lady Imam refuses to leave War Committee. She also refuses to leave the League even if she is expelled. Herewith [is] true copy of her letter. Well, there is nothing to choose and I am determined to remove all such persons, regardless of their social status. I shall announce my decision on the 4th August before my Working Committee. This letter is only an acknowledgment of your kind letter dated 24th July 1940[4] and does not give you any trouble for reply. I know you are very busy, I appreciate when you suggest that it is up to Provincial Working Committee to take actions and your sanction is not necessary. I know that and I have never suggested that what I said in my personal letter dated 21st July was out of love and respect for you. I desire to

keep you informed so as to have your sanction to our proceedings and actions. This does not mean formal and legal sanction. However, I hope you will realise that the Punjab Muslim League's behaviour is resented by every Bihari Muslim and I do hope [and] trust that some thing shall be done to teach them a good moral lesson.

With apologies for letters and with sincere regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. ISMAIL

[1]No. 441.
[2]No. 459.
[3]No. 437.
[4]No. 470.

Enclosure to No. 484
Anis Imam to S. M. Ismail

F. 304/32-3

P.O. ANISABAD, PATNA,
28 July 1940

My dear Nawab Sahib,

1. I have been seriously and anxiously considering over [*sic*] the question of my participation in the War Committee and other war activities in this Province in face of the resolutions of the Working Committee of the All India and Bihar Muslim Leagues. Believe me, the conclusions which I have arrived at and which I shall tell you presently have been arrived at not in a hurry, not in the spirit of any personal obstinacy or personal consideration, but have been actuated by only one idea and that is the interest of my community. I have kept my God before me to whom alone I consider myself answerable for all my actions throughout my anxious deliberations.

2. I yield to no one in my admiration for the great work that is being done by the Muslim League under the inspiring leadership of Mr. M. A. Jinnah. Its creed and goal are unquestionable and the strength which it has shown within the last few years against heavy odds has been remarkable. I am, by conviction, a Muslim Leaguer and hope to remain so in the future; whether I am on its roll or not, is immaterial. I believe in it and its admirable work and shall continue to do so.

3. As regards the Muslim attitude towards the war, I hold a very

definite and clear view. The whole world of Islam is supporting the cause of the Allies (now mainly British). Muslim India, I am convinced, is also definitely of the same view. The Muslim League itself on previous occasions has condemned the totalitarian States in unequivocal terms. Here again my own conscience is perfectly clear on the point. It will be, in my opinion, in the best interest of Islam and the Musalmans of India if we support all the war activities of the Government.

4. I appreciate however that the decision of the Working Committee is there and must [be] respected. There is undoubtedly a conflict which my conscience alone must try to prevent. As I have already said, I am, by conviction, a Muslim Leaguer and hope to remain so. This position cannot be changed even if you expel me from the League. My adherence and respect to the Muslim League will continue. No action of the Working Committee of the League against me will in any way affect my love for the League, its admirable work or its ideals. If I had not joined the War Committee as the result of the dictates of my conscience, I would have severed my connection with them at once. If I had not the clear conviction that participation in all the war efforts is in the best interest of the Muslims of India, I would have resigned from them without the slightest hesitation. But holding the views that I do, I cannot. I must therefore leave it to you to decide what action should be taken.

Yours sincerely,
LADY ANIS IMAM

S. M. Ismail, MLC,
President, Bihar Provincial Muslim League,
Ismail Manzil,
Patna City

485

S. Sadiq Hasan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 279/1-2

AMRITSAR,
29 July 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

As you know, I am a genuine Muslim Leaguer and the proof of it

is that I am the only MLA in the Punjab who, according to your orders, has resigned from the War Board Committees. I find a great trouble is coming ahead and would request you to realise that if Sir Sikander Hyat leaves or is forced to leave the Punjab Muslim League then I dare say Muslim Leaguers in the Punjab Assembly will remain an insignificant minority.

In the cities we have got a fairly large number of inactive Muslim Leaguers, but in villages the Muslims are mostly ignorant of politics and are represented by members of Assembly who win seats on their own tickets and have got very little sympathy with any political party except land-owners' party. Such is the situation in the Punjab. I do not agree with the punitive measures suggested by Malik Barkat Ali because these will bring disruption in Muslim League ranks and instead of the majority in the Punjab, we will be reduced to minority. A statesman like you should rise above the occasion and try to effect a compromise which should not break the solidarity amongst us.[1]

Yours sincerely,
S. SADIQ HASAN
Barrister-at-Law
MLA

[1]Jinnah assured him that nothing would be done that might harm the interests of Muslim India. See F. 279/3, *QAP*. Not printed.

486

M. A. Jinnah to Jamilud Din Ahmad

F. 199/26

BOMBAY,
31 July 1940

Dear Mr. Jamilud Din,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 25th July.[1] I have not received the copies of *Iqbal*.

I thank you for your sending me the copies of the resolutions passed unanimously at a largely attended meeting of the Muslim University Muslim League.

With regard to your article, I was unfortunately not well, and

therefore was not able to proceed with its examination. I will do so as soon as I am better.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Jamilud Din Ahmad,
4 A Nazir Ahmad Road,
Aligarh

[1]No. 473.

487

M. A. Jinnah to Bahadur Yar Jung

F. 319/37

BOMBAY,
31 July 1940

Dear Bahadur Yar Jung,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th July,[1] and I am glad to inform you that I am much better now. I thank you for your very kind invitation to spend a few days with you but regret that I shall not be able to accept it, although, I know, that will be a good change for me and do me a lot of good.

With regard to the drafts left by you, I must say I am not well enough to concentrate my mind sufficiently to tackle the subject of that importance.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Bahadur Yar Jung,
Hyderabad Deccan

[1]No. 454.

488

M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 335/91-2

[*Undated*] *July 1940*

My dear Liaquat,

I have received your letter dated the 18th July.[1] I have already

posted a letter to you informing you of my regret at my inability to attend the Quetta Conference, owing to my indisposition. Your statement was really good. Every nation has the requisite means to deal with its traitors. India is a wonderful land. If the head of the Muslim organization declines to reciprocate the confidence of a renegade and name him as a traitor, he is guilty of using strong language, discourtesy, rudeness and what not, and finally he has offended against Islamic culture and good manners. Every word that I have said is absolutely true and the Congress leaders know it. His innocent-looking telegram was a pre-meditated move to compel the Muslim League to recognize him and negotiate with him the Hindu-Muslim question. You know how Gandhi tried his best in April 1938 in his correspondence with me and during the course of his interview with me in Bombay.

Ever since, the leaders and Moulana Abul Kalam Azad [have] known that the policy of the Muslim League, as laid down by the Working Committee, is that the Hindu-Muslim question cannot be discussed between a Muslim and a Muslim. Instead of giving it up they made him the President of the Congress this year with the blessing of Gandhi, and he flourished [*sic*] into the world that the President of the Congress is a Muslim divine. I wish this aspect, as I am putting up with, could be brought out. Personally I do not think I will stoop to say anything more at present.

Here, I may also draw your attention to the fact that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad sent a wire in October, when I was staying with you, saying that he wanted to meet me, and I told him clearly in my reply that I would not see him with regard to the Hindu-Muslim question.

I am glad that you met Amir at Mussoorie and that he is working with all his zeal. I know he can do a lot.

Yes, I have not heard further from the Viceroy of any definite character except that he discussed the constitutional aspect of my note and thanked me for it.

With regard to the next meeting of the Council I am waiting to hear from you as to the date.

With kind regards to you both and love to Ashraf from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 445.

489

Rashid Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 344/24-7

PRIVATE

CORSTORPHAN'S HOTEL,
SIMLA,
1 August 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I wanted to write to you earlier but, as you may have heard, my younger sister got married [and] I was extremely busy in making the wedding arrangements etc.

I believe a meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League is being requisitioned by some Punjab members which, so far as I know, has not yet been fixed by the Secretary, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. There is lot of intrigue going on here. I hope you will understand.

You are aware of the work I did for the League Session in Lahore and have been doing for the League since my return from England last year. You so kindly nominated me to the Subjects Committee during the last session at Lahore. I need hardly say that, as I [*sic* for you] know, I have been doing sincere work. I can rely on your goodwill and kind assistance, especially as you told me always that you will encourage young men.

I will be extremely obliged if you can kindly nominate me to the Subjects Committee or to the Council so that I can attend the meeting of the Council, if there is one going to be held in the near future. It is going to be an important meeting and I am anxious to be of some service to you there. I do trust you will afford me an opportunity of doing so.

With kind regards from my wife and myself and hoping you are keeping well,

Yours sincerely,
RASHID ALI KHAN
(NAWABZADA)
Barrister-at-Law

490

Sheikh Mohamed Yamin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/529

ALEXANDRA ROAD, AMBALA CANTT.,
1 August 1940

Sir,

I approach you very briefly in my personal capacity (although I am Secretary of the local Muslim League). I am sure that you are very busy these days deal[ing] with the problem pertaining to the Khaksar Movement in the Punjab. Now you are empowered to deal with the matter fluently [*sic*] with the Punjab Government.

It is time that speedy action is [*sic* for was] taken to achieve the point. Political prisoners (Khaksars) are in much trouble, especially in the Multan District Jail.

[All] eyes are towards you, craving that God may help you in relieving the Muslims from unforeseen trouble.

Muslims believe in you, as you are our proper guide. I presume that the best course of redressing the grievances and arriving at the decision regarding Khaksars could be achieved early if you could take the trouble to be in Simla or Lahore, where you could have every sort of assistance in settling the matter with the Punjab Government. If necessary, you could seek the help of the Central Government. Correspondence sometimes does not prove effective.

You understand the position better. Anyhow, early action is to be taken and oblige.

My best *Assalaamo 'Alaikum* to you and others there,

Yours ever sincerely,
M. YAMIN

491

M. A. Jinnah to Sikander Hyat Khan

F. 353/35-6

BOMBAY,
1 August 1940

Dear Sir Sikander Hyat Khan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 8th July 1940.[1] I was not able to

attend to it as I was not well, and, besides, I did not think that it was a matter of urgency.

In the first place, I must say that I find your letter to be a bundle of contradictions and self-condemnatory. Your telegram[2] and my reply[3] to you were released by me to the press representative when asked by him as to what I had to say after you had already waited on the Congress Working Committee at Delhi,[4] and your talks were reported to be in connection with the Hindu-Muslim question. Further, it has been so asserted by Mr. Abul Kalam Azad repeatedly ever since; and even in his interview that has appeared in the press today, he reiterates it. All this remained uncontradicted by you so far.

You know that on the 16th June the Working Committee[5] decided that no member of the Working Committee should have any discussion or negotiations with any Congress leaders without the permission of the President or the Working Committee. Your telegram was not marked 'confidential' and I released it and my reply along with my statement[6] purely in self-defence, as otherwise my silence would have conveyed the impression that you have been meeting the Congress leaders with my permission.

I am really amused when you say that it appears that the Hindu Congress leaders are shy of coming near me because they are not sure of the kind of welcome they would receive if they came to see me. Do you really, seriously believe this? You know that they have come to see me before on more than one occasion, and they were welcomed. Do you not think the real reason is that they have failed so far in their machinisations [*sic* for machination] to make me fall in with their pet demands and schemes which are not only far from realities but are highly detrimental to the vital interests of the Musalmans.

I am really astonished that you are impressed by what that famous old woman[7] told you about me. I wish you would use your own independent judgment, and I am sure you will realise

that your protest and accusations are entirely unwarranted and without justification.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Sir Sikander Hyat Khan,
Premier, Punjab Government,
Lahore

[1]No 404.
[2]Telegram, F. 353/30, *QAP*. Not printed.
[3]See note 1 above.
[4]On June 13, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, Dr Khan Sahib, Mir Bundeh Ali Khan, and Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi had informal talks with Abul Kalam Azad on the Hindu-Muslim problem. A. K. Fazlul Huq could not meet with Azad owing to his daughter's illness. See *Civil & Military Gazette*, 14 June 1940.
[5]See No. 323.
[6]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 36.
[7]Presumably Sarojini Naidu.

492

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 305/63

PERSONAL

51 EZRA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
1 August 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Night before last, I received a notice of an emergent meeting [of Bengal ML Working Committee] to be held last night, to consider the following agenda:

Resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League and the war efforts.[1]

Mr. Amjad Ali, MLA, the son of Maratab Ali, has come here from Lahore to canvass support for the Punjab. Our meeting was called merely with the object of giving Amjad Ali an opportunity to convince us here that the Punjab were really the aggrieved party and had to be supported in the stand[2] they have taken up.

You are aware that there are some fellows here who will be only too happy to join hands with Sikander and his company.

We heard Amjad and after dinner the Working Committee met to discuss the points raised. It was with much tact that another

catastrophe was averted and those who wanted to do the mischief were stayed from doing it. The Working Committee passed no resolution in support of sending a requisition on the lines of the Punjab. Some members pressed the view that Leaguers in their individual capacity, in exercise of their rights as laid down in the Constitution, may table a requisition on the lines of the Punjab. I objected and said that such a move would be suicidal to the wider Muslim interests and that we should see that none from Bengal followed the lead of the Punjab. By their doing so, they would throw this Province in the trap prepared by Sikander Hyat.

I must say that Sir Nazimuddin rose to the occasion and spoke in support. Briefly, by peaceful persuasion, we managed to keep the pro-Sikander party at bay. Fazlul Huq, at whose house this meeting was held, kept out of the room almost the whole time on the excuse of attending to the comforts of his guests. He was dragged into the room in the concluding stages of our deliberation. Between you and I, I feel that he and Shahabuddin (Nazimuddin's brother) with the tacit support of Shaheed [Suhrawardy] had engineered the whole show. They counted on a pro-Punjab feeling. It turned out otherwise.

However, we left with the feeling that you, as the constitutional head of the League, will fix a date for the meeting of the Council—a date that you think to be most suitable from every consideration. Of course, if, before then conditions demand calling of a meeting of your Working Committee, I am sure you will do so. It will be better if you do so.

[Abdur Rahman] Siddiqi is away in Madras. I missed him last night.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN

[1]No. 323.
[2]Refers to the demand made by the Punjab Provincial Muslim League for joining the War Committees. See Enclosure to No. 460.

493

M. Yaseen to Henry Joseph Twynam[1] *& Others*

(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 833/81-2

GOTEGAON,
CHINDWARA,
1 August 1940

RESOLUTIONS

Resolutions passed at a public meeting of the Musalmans of Gotegaon, Chindwara, held on 26-7-40 under the presidentship of Mr. Tajuddin, President, Town Muslim League, Gotegaon:

I. The meeting of the Musalmans of Gotegaon, Chindwara, condemns the anti-Muslim activities of the Municipal Committee, Gotegaon, Chindwara, because it commands Hindu majority. This meeting appeals to the local Government to institute an enquiry into the anti-Muslim activities of the said Municipal Committee and take immediate steps to redress the wrongs hitherto done towards Muslim interests. This meeting further states that if Muslim interests are not safeguarded at an early date, Musalmans will launch a no-tax campaign and will completely boycott the said Committee.

II. This public meeting of the Musalmans of Gotegaon, Chindwara, declares that it has noted with grave concern the communal feelings of the present S. D. M., Narsinghpur Sub-Division, displayed by him in siding with Hindus on more than one occasion. The said S. D. M. failed to take steps against those Hindus who were responsible for creating Hindu-Muslim ill-feelings and who openly worked against Musalmans, which activities are always since of break of piece [*sic*]. The S. D. M. has failed to safeguard Muslim interests and shown open sympathy with Hindu *goondas* and riff-raff.

III. This public meeting appeals to the local Government of C. P. to take steps to curb the communal zeal [*sic*] of the said S. D. M. and to safeguard Muslim interests, life and property.

M. YASEEN
Secretary,
Gotegaon Muslim League

[1]Governor, C. P. and Berar.

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M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow

SHC, Misc. I/6

BOMBAY,
2 August 1940

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 24th July 1940,[1] regarding the publication of my tentative proposals placed before you. Obviously I am awaiting your reply.

So far as the Working Committee is concerned, they have already got a fairly good idea of the points that were discussed between us. But the importance of the point is, as I am glad you appreciate it, that how long do you expect me to wait and not give any idea to the general Muslim public as to what are those proposals.

My stating to the press as to what were the suggestions that were made on behalf of the Muslim League to you and through Your Excellency to His Majesty's Government, cannot prejudice anybody or give rise to any misunderstanding with regard to your position.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Lord Linlithgow,
Poona

[1]No. 466.

495

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 335/97-107

CHARLEVILLE HOTEL,
MUSSOORIE,
2 August 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your two letters[1] in reply to mine[2] which I received on my arrival here yesterday from Quetta. Your Secretary had forgotten to write any address on the first letter with the result

that it went to various places including the dead letter office and reached here several days after it was posted. I was wondering why I had not received any reply from you, but it was through no fault of yours and was due to an oversight on the part of your Secretary. I was extremely sorry to learn of your illness and do hope that you are very much better now. Your unavoidable absence was greatly felt by the people of Baluchistan and there was general disappointment. They had made great preparations to give you a right royal welcome. I arrived at Quetta on the 26th July and left there on the 29th. The conference was a great success. There were large gatherings every night and people stayed on till 2 o'clock in the morning at every meeting. It was so encouraging to see what wonderful progress Baluchistan, a backward Province, has made in such a short time. Of course, the credit is due to the untiring zeal and enthusiasm of Isa. The work of the organization of the Muslim National Guards is going on very nicely. All the prominent people have joined the movement. The conference passed resolutions (1) of complete confidence in you and the League policy, (2) support for the League regarding its attitude towards the war, (3) support for the stand you took in replying to Abul Kalam Azad, (4) appealing to Musalmans to join the National Guards, (5) reforms for Baluchistan. The conference also offered prayers for your good health and long life. The Govt. officials do not look with favour on the organization of the Musalmans in Baluchistan and try to hinder the movement in different ways, which is rather deplorable. I suppose these local officials feel that their prestige will suffer if the people are organized and they will not be able to exploit their ignorance as they have been doing all this time. In spite of this, the people are showing good spirit. I am sure you would have been very pleased to see for yourself the awakening that has taken place. It is a pity that in spite of Isa's sending pressing invitations to various members of the Working Committee to attend the conference, no body turned up. I wish people would begin to take the same keen interest as the leaders of the Congress do. It would encourage the local workers a great deal.

I have not yet had a reply[3] to my letter[4] that I sent in answer to the requisition from the Punjab for a special meeting of the Council. I had sent you a copy of my reply asking them to state in a definite form as to the matters that they wanted the Council to consider. I learnt in Delhi that efforts are being made by the Punjab people and others to canvass members of the Council to support the attitude that the Punjab has adopted regarding the war. Efforts

will be made to secure proxies from those members who are not able to attend the meeting to support the attitude of Sikander and company regarding help in the war. I personally feel that amongst those members who will attend a meeting of the Council, when it is convened, we shall have a majority for the attitude that we have adopted regarding the war but I am not sure about the number of proxies that might come in. However, I am keeping a watch. But if we decide to have a meeting of the Council, we shall have to see that we are not caught napping. You might meet the Viceroy when he visits Bombay and perhaps be able to find out how the land lies. My idea is that we should not convene a meeting of the Council till we know what the attitude of the Viceroy definitely is. When we are more certain as to how the things are going to shape, we will be in a better position to meet the Council. Just at present when the things are still in a fluid state, it would not serve any purpose convening a meeting of the Council. It is a fortnight since I wrote to the requisitionists asking them to state in a definite form the matters that they wanted the Council to consider and no reply has come so far. They cannot accuse us of not convening a meeting of the Council and I am for marking time. No suggestion for a meeting has come from any other quarter except the henchmen of Sikander. I was asked by people in Baluchistan as to what steps you had taken regarding the Khaksar question. There is great feeling against the Punjab Govt. and the sympathies of the people are with the Khaksars. They feel rightly or wrongly that the action that has been taken by the Punjab Govt. is intended to destroy this movement of the Musalmans and they do not believe in the *bona fides* of the Punjab Govt. I do not suppose you could have attended to this matter on account of your indisposition. I hope you have completely recovered by this time.

With our kindest regards to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf,

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

PS. My Baluchistan presidential address will be published in the *Manshoor* of this week. I should like to have it read to you by your Secretary.

LAK

[1]Nos. 451 and 488.
[2]No. 445.
[3]For Jinnah's reply, see No. 451.
[4]No. 444.

496

M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow

F. 498/39

BOMBAY,
2 August 1940

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am in receipt of your letter about the Khaksar Movement dated the 24th July 1940.[1]

I moved in the matter, firstly because Your Excellency showed concern about the Khaksar situation in the Punjab in the course of our conversation on the 27th June; and, secondly, that in earlier stages Sir Sikander Hyat Khan, in the course of our correspondence indicated in the following words: "It may be necessary to consult the Govt. of India also, and consequently it will take some time before final decision can be taken." Lastly, I can cite more than one instance that the Viceroy and the Governor-General have found a way to intervene when it was considered necessary.

However, I am sorry if Your Excellency considers that in this case you do not see your way to intervene.

I am glad that Your Excellency informs me that Sir Sikander Hyat Khan has published the conditions on which he would be prepared to revoke the order which declares the Khaksars as unlawful association. I am not aware of those conditions but I have requested Dr. Nami[2] to obtain a copy of those conditions and get in direct touch with Sir Sikander Hyat Khan.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Lord Linlithgow,
Poona

[1]No. 469.
[2]No. 475.

497

P. Khalifullah to Jamal Mohammad[1]

F. 1098/294

KHALIF MAHAL,
TRICHINOPOLY,
2 August 1940

Sir,

On the strength of the earlier pronouncements of our Quaid-i-Azam *Janab* Mohammad Ali Jinnah Sahib that a Muslim Leaguer may co-operate with the British Government in war efforts, I made a definite commitment to His Excellency the Governor of Madras,[2] in that direction. But the subsequent ban that no Leaguer should serve on a War Committee has dumbfounded me. The question that now confronts me is whether I should resile from my solemn commitment or retire from the League. The provincial organization has attained its present height very largely due to my indefatigable endeavours in this Province. After very anxious consideration, I am constrained to choose the latter alternative on conscientious grounds that if I should decide the other way, it should have a deleterious effect upon the minds of my less literate and educated following and may possibly or through peradventure [*sic*] be calculated to foment active or passive opposition to the war efforts. Such a disaster would no right-minded person contemplate or view with equanimity.

I have decided, therefore, though with considerable pain and great reluctance, to resign from the League unless I am directed otherwise by our leader Mohammad Ali Jinnah Sahib who is the final authority. Let it not be assumed that the League would thereby lose my unstinted activities for the promotion of its aims and objects and my community all my endeavours for its economic and political advancement. I shall always do my utmost and make the most arduous struggle to the best of my lights for the successful achievement of those ends although I may happen to be nominally outside the League owing to an unfortunate circumstance. But none the less my faith in the leadership of our great leader remains unshaken.

Please therefore submit this letter to our Quaid-i-Azam for his orders.

Yours faithfully,
P. KHALIFULLAH

[1]President, Madras Provincial Muslim League.
[2]Arthur Oswald James Hope.

498

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 335/108-13

CHARLEVILLE HOTEL,
MUSSOORIE,
3 August 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have just sent a letter[1] to you by registered post. After the despatch of my letter to you, I have received a letter from the Punjab enclosing copies of resolutions that they want the Council to consider at a special meeting. These resolutions are signed by 16 members of the Council and only 8 out of these are those who had signed the requisition that was sent by 35 members on the 15th of July. The other 8 are new names. According to the rules the requisition must be signed by at least 15 members and in my letter to Mohammed Ameen in reply to the requisition, I have stated that the resolutions must be signed by at least 15 members from amongst those who had signed the requisition. I am inclined to think that this second letter sending the resolutions is not in order unless we treat it as a fresh requisition. But it cannot be considered as a requisition because these people themselves state that this communication is in connection with the requisition that was sent on the 15th July. I would like to know what you think about it. I am sending copies of the letter and the resolutions for your perusal.[2] You will notice that the resolutions are most mischievous and are intended to undo everything that we had done so far.

I am writing to [Raja of] Mahmudabad today asking him to get busy and secure written opinions against these resolutions from as many members all over India as possible so that if a meeting is held, we shall be armed with proper weapons to meet any situation that might arise. Mahmudabad suggested Allahabad as the place where we should hold a meeting if it is decided to convene one. What do you think about it? I am asking Mahmudabad to get as many people to attend the meeting as he possibly can.

I should like to have your views about all these matters.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]No. 495.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 460.

499

S. Zainulabadin to Liaquat Ali Khan

SHC (1228)

QADIAN,
3 August 1940

Dear Sir,

In reply to my letter of the 19.5.1940,[1] I have received a letter No. 6197 dated 4.6.1940,[2] bearing the signature of the Assistant Secretary, All India Muslim League, and have to remark as follows.

Considering the importance of the matter, the lengthy correspondence which has already taken place and the personal appeal which was made to yourself, it would, we consider, have been more proper that the reply should have been sent under your signature or that of an elected and responsible official of the League and not that of a paid subordinate official like the Assistant Secretary.

It has been stressed in the Assistant Secretary's letter once again that the Constitution of All India Muslim League has been revised and that persons who were formerly at the helm are no longer there. In this connection I must point out that paragraph 4 in the new Constitution is not a new provision which has been introduced for the first time. In fact the condition embodied in this rule that every candidate must be a Musalman has existed in the Muslim League Constitution from the very beginning. It was in fact on the basis of this very provision that a group of Lahore Leaguers raised the cry in 1936, of the ineligibility of Ahmadis for the membership of the Muslim League because they contended that Ahmadis were not Muslims. You may thus readily perceive that the word Muslim cannot help in this case unless it is so defined as to exclude the possibility of any misguided officials or member of the League shutting the door of the Muslim League on any section of the Muslim community. Anyhow the new Constitution gives us no

better security than the old one. Unless therefore it can be made clear beyond doubt, in the Constitution itself, that for purposes of the League membership, any member of a class or community who professes to be a Muslim and whom non-Muslims look upon as such, will be held to be Muslim, the position, as far as we are concerned, will remain unsatisfactory. I shall be very glad to hear whether you accept this proposition and will help to remove this obstacle in our way of joining the League.

I do not consider that there is anything unreasonable or extravagant in our request and I feel sure that if you place yourself in our position, you will at once realise that after our bitter experience of 1936, common prudence dictates that we should take all possible precautions against being let down a second time.

We quite agree that in order to live peacefully in this world, one ought to forgive and forget many things, but since in this case we entertain well-founded apprehensions for the future based on practical experience it would be certainly unwise to ignore them and not to safeguard against them as far as possible.

The Assistant Secretary has in his reply referred to the Ahrar leaders. As you are certainly aware, the Ahrars are the avowed enemies of the Ahmadiyya community. They were at one time members of the Punjab branch of the All India Muslim League and it was due to their machinations that the ban, referred to above, against members of the Ahmadiyya community was imposed. Since it is quite possible that they, (the Ahrars,) might one day rejoin the Muslim League, and then try to play their old game of mischief against us, we are naturally anxious that they should be rendered effectively harmless in this respect.

In this connection I must also point out that the last paragraph of the Assistant Secretary's letter containing a sort of vulgar gibe at us referring to our relationship with Ahrars, is absolutely uncalled for besides being couched in very bad taste.

In the concluding paragraph of our letter No. 69 of 19.5.1940, we referred to a very important matter and suggested that in concluding any negotiations with the Congress, the Muslim League should secure a clear undertaking to the effect that, when in power, the Congress will impose no restrictions, direct or indirect, on conversion from one faith to another. This has been entirely ignored by your Assistant Secretary as if the matter is of no consequence and is not worthy of attention. We, on the other hand, feel convinced that the Congress has definite designs of interfering with religious conversions,

because this is one of the potential means whereby the number of Muslims in India swells and that of non-Muslims declines. I venture, therefore, once more, to bring this matter prominently to your notice and shall be much obliged if you will please say whether you agree or not to our suggestion.

Towards the end I must make it clear that we have written fully and frankly to the President of the Punjab Muslim League expressing our genuine sympathy with the general policy of the League and offering to allow our members to join the League provided we are assured that we would not be victimised a second time and that in the future Constitution the door of religious conversions will be scrupulously open.

Yours faithfully,
S. ZAINULABIDIN
Nazir, Amoor Kharjia , Ahmadiyya Community

[1]No. 229.
[2]Not traceable.

500

Mohammad Ibrahim Khan to the Governor, C.P. and Berar[1]
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 825/71

KARELI-GUNJ,
DISTRICT HOSHANGABAD,
3 August 1940

RESOLUTIONS

Resolutions passed at the meeting of the Working Committee, Town Muslim League, Kareli-Gunj (Sub-Division Narsinghpur), held on 2-8-[19]40, under the presidentship of Mr. Fackruddin, President, Town Muslim League, Kareli-Gunj:

1. The Working Committee appeals [*sic*] to the Local Self-Government, C.P. & Berar, that there is no Muslim representative in the Notified Area Committee, Kareli-Gunj. There must be a Muslim representative in the Committee, because here the Muslims are in a minority, to safeguard their rights and interests.
2. The Working Committee has recommended to Local Self-Government Mr. Kabiruddin as a representative of Muslims, to

be nominated as a member of the Notified Area Committee, Kareli-Gunj and appeals the District Muslim League, Narasinghpur, to do its best for the candidate in question.

MOHAMMAD IBRAHIM KHAN
Secretary,
Kareli-Gunj Muslim League

[1]Henry Joseph Twynam.

501

J. G. Laithwaite to M. A. Jinnah

F. 18/25

CONFIDENTIAL

OOTACAMUND,
4 August 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Will you please refer to your letter of the 5th of July,[1] in which you complained that certain passages in the Resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League passed at Bombay on the 16th of June 1940, had been expunged by the Censor in Bengal.

I have made, on His Excellency's instructions, a careful enquiry into this matter, and in the result it is clear that the passages in question were not expunged by the Censor. I attach a copy of the letter[2] from the Editor of the *Star of India* which shows that the text of the Resolution was received by that paper through the Associated Press of India, which agency has its own private line of communication between Bombay and Calcutta, so that no question arises of censorship of messages which pass between those two offices of the Associated Press of India; nor was this particular message submitted by the A.P.I. to the Special Press Adviser in Calcutta for revision before it was circulated to the local papers. If you will refer to the text of the Resolution as reproduced in the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* of the 17th of June you will see that the whole Resolution is reproduced without any excision. Since the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* also received its text through the Associated Press of India, it can only be presumed that the excisions were made by the editorial staff of the *Star of India*.

Yours sincerely,
J. G. LAITHWAITE

[1]Not traceable.
[2]F. 18/27, *QAP*. Not printed.

502

Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 215/54

19 TEMPLE ROAD,
LAHORE,
5 August 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I had gone to Simla in connection with the Public Accounts Committee for a week and returned only yesterday morning. The first news to greet me here was that the agents of Sir Sikander had gone to the provinces of U.P., C.P., and Bengal to get proxies signed by members of the Council of the League. The nature of these proxies will be realised by you from the papers that I enclose.[1] These papers have been circulated amongst Sir Sikander's adherents in the Punjab and a covering letter says that after signing these proxies they should all be sent to Sir Sikander. In fact envelops bearing the requisite postal stamp have also been supplied to these gentlemen. It is obvious that Sir Sikander is gathering these votes with a view to carry[ing] these resolutions, if possible. I am sure that the Council of the Muslim League will defeat him in his attempt by an overwhelming vote. My object is only to keep you in touch with his underhand activities.

With all regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. BARKAT ALI
MLA

[1]Not traceable.

503

M. A. Jinnah to Jamilud Din Ahmad

F. 199/27

BOMBAY,
5 August 1940

Dear Mr. Jamilud Din,

I have now read your article in support of the Lahore Resolution

of the last March, and it seems to me that it is a good exposition of the subject. But I suggest that instead of the Central Office of the All India Muslim League, you should publish the article and distribute the copies to the Central and Provincial Leagues. I would like to know what would be the cost of your doing so and shall be glad to make a substantial contribution towards this cost. Otherwise I am preparing a pamphlet giving the various views in support of the Lahore Resolution and if you like I may include this article of yours in it.

Please let me know which you would prefer.[1]

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Jamilud Din Ahmad, Esq.,
4 Nazir Ahmad Road,
Aligarh

[1]See No. 529.

504

Inhabitants of Tonk to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/532-3

AMIRGANJ BAZAR, TONK,
5 August 1940

May it please your honour,

With profound devotion and utmost loyalty we, the inhabitants of Tonk Town, Government seat of Tonk State, beg to lay the following few grievances caused by the aggressive policy of Tonk State, for favour of sympathetic consideration and immediate necessary action.

That the Tonk State authorities are fearlessly heavily [*sic*] busy putting innumerable respectable and innocent persons under arrest, the cause of it quite unknown to us, through the police force, under the issue of verbal orders, simply for nothing but to achieve their own nefarious object, and confining them to the Central Jail, Tonk.

That the Tonk State authorities are not only satisfied with offering [*sic*] confinement to the innocent persons but also driving them to starvation by not providing them with [any] food at all for the last four days with the result that a lot of human lives will be seduced [*sic*] to death

with no cause of [*sic*] at all.

That, at this stage we are quite helpless with no source at all to back our cause as we are totally unable to send our grievances to your honour from Tonk either through an application or through a telegram. But [it is] regretful [*sic*] to submit with heavy hearts that even the State officials concerned decline to entertain our grievances, totally neglecting the law under the wrongful influence of the State higher authorities.

That the armed police are patrolling every bazaar and street of the Town for 24 hours with the result that they are fortunate enough [*sic*] to derive an undue advantage under the command of their own desire. They put under arrest immediately whom they desire as if the laws were in their own hands and nobody is there to prevent them from doing [*sic*] such a nefarious action which not only threatens the public peace but ruins the lives of innumerable innocent human creatures.

That recently the police authorities filed a challan under a false offence against 2 or 3 persons in the court of law on the strength of three well-known intoxitors [*sic*]. Prosecution witnesses, tutored by the police authorities perfectly, but the court observed their value carefully and not relying upon their statements at all, found the accused not guilty and discharged them. But a strange to note [*sic*] for your honour that though the trial court set them at liberty yet the State higher authorities put them under arrest and confined them to Central Jail again, totally breaching the law with no fear at all.

That the Vice-President, State Council, Tonk, has no interest at all to look after the public welfare and interests and has not a single spare moment to entertain their grievances but is always busy with [*sic*] making merriment and enjoyment in the company of the Resident at Jaipur, and wasting at least 3 days in a week.

That we are tired of these oppressions and have experienced a lot of death-like sufferings, never expected even in a dream. Hence in the aforesaid circumstances there is none to hear us patiently and to save us from the horrible calamities except your honour.

We, therefore, most humbly and submissively pray to your honour to take our submission into a careful and sympathetic account and to adopt necessary measures immediately to beat down the aggressive policy embraced by the Tonk State and save the poor, helpless, innocent and loyal subjects like us, from the heavy storm of

calamities caused to us by the nefarious action of the Tonk State.

Proper justice is earnestly prayed in the matter.

We beg to subscribe ever,

Your most obedient and loyal servants,

INHABITANTS AND BAZME ADAB OF TONK

505

Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/106-09

PESHAWAR,
5 August 1940

Dear Sir,

This is the latest piece of Sir Sikander's futile mischief.

First concerns the War Committees

Second [is] about five representatives

Third [concerns] Viceroy's reply—satisfactory basis

It was brought to NWFP to enlist opinion and everybody referred the bearer to me. The bearer is none else but the Pir of Makhad who learnt wisdom out of the last prosecution in which he got five years and then Sir Douglas Young acquitted him.

I bluntly and curtly told him that NWFP was solidly for the exclusive leadership of Mr. Jinnah and will have no truck with Sir Sikander. I said the inspired propaganda carried on for the Anglo-India[n] and Hindu press would recoil on Sir Sikander's head like boomerang. I wrathfully also informed him that I look upon the second as want of confidence in the one representative we have chosen for the purpose and a third virtually means acquiescence in the principle of federation and the giving up of the basic claim of the League that it is the sole representative and authoritative organisation of Muslim India; or in short it is a compromise with Hindu India on a few jobs and no equality. Ultimately he saw the mischief underneath and then begged of me to bring about reconciliation between Mr. Jinnah and Sir Sikander. I said my first condition was that Sir Sikander should forthwith issue a statement to the press declaring that Mr. Jinnah is the only accredited leader of Muslim India who alone can deliver the goods and any scheme of constitution will not be acceptable to Muslim India which is not

blessed by Mr. Jinnah. Secondly, he should condemn the press propaganda in Anglo-India[n] (*Statesman, Civil & Military Gazette*) and Hindu press. Propaganda is malicious and mischievous, and thirdly he should say that the Muslim leadership is not to be determined by the *Statesman*, the *Tribune* or the *Milap*, etc., and that he should give a solemn undertaking to Mr. Jinnah that he will have no truck with Abul Kalam and company. When this is issued then I will approach Mr. Jinnah to kindly relax the ban on War Committee subject. Sir Sikander is too clever a crow. I wish him to commit himself first and then we will see.

I now appreciate your kind remarks in your letter[1] that Sir Sikander and Mr. Fazlul Huq will harm themselves more than they can harm the League. Mr. Fazlul Huq is having a storm in Bengal. He is not so mischievous as Sir Sikander.

Except the docile and tame Punjab, Sir Sikander has had a very cold response to his three items of his latest stunt. In Punjab, he will have his opposition—I am delighted that you have given him [and] the Punjab Leaguers a curt reply as to the meeting of the Council and need I assure you, dear Sir, if it meets at all, Sir Sikander will have a howl of censure from all quarters except a few ornamental dumb henchmen of his Punjab.

But meanwhile I would beg of you to appreciate the repentance of Mr. A. R. Sidiki.[2] He has made honourable amends. Please cheer him up and set the Bengal Leaguers to correct Mr. Fazlul Huq. I have written him a very telling letter and the moment I receive his reply I will submit the original to you.

My respectful suggestions [are]:

i. Master Tara Singh of Punjab has issued a statement to the press that Sikhs should stick to their position in the Army. Patiala is issuing similar instructions for supply of recruits to Army—Sikh attitude.

ii. Aurobindo Ghosh contributes rupees one thousand to war loan.

iii. Messrs Rajagopalachari and Nehru praise British civilisation and its contribution and plead for Anglo-Indian solidarity and urge Indian contribution to the defence of the Empire.

iv. Dr. [Rabindranath] Tagore condemns Nazi aggression.

v. Messrs [Madan Mohan] Malaviya and [M. S.] Aney fix 17th August as Anti-Communal Award Day.

vi. Hindu Mahasabha will meet on 7th and 8th August.

vii. The Congress leaders show a similar complete *volte face* towards the British Government.

Will it not be in the fitness of affairs (when Turkey is being hard pressed by Italy [and] Germany, when Japan is about to declare war, when Hitler's contemplated invasion of Great Britain before 15th August [1940] is to come off), the President of the All India Muslim [League] should make a generous gesture in one form or the other which [he] in his characteristic political acumen sees fit. Please be gracious to give your favourable and prompt consideration. I beg of you to do it kindly. Sir [Chimanlal] Setalvad's statement supports your contention.

With prayerful inquiries about your health and spirits and prayers for divine guidance to you at this critical juncture and with affectionate and fraternal regards to Miss Jinnah.

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

N.B. Nawabzada's address in Quetta was excellent. He is a capital fellow. I wish him well.

[1]Jinnah wrote to him that Sikander Hyat Khan "is doing the greatest [harm] to Muslims of India and to himself". See F. 329/95, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Abdur Rahman Siddiqui.

506

Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah

F. 95/112

VICEROY'S CAMP,
(EN ROUTE TO POONA),
5 August 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have had the advantage of recent discussion with you in regard to the general political situation in India, and I have reported our conversations on that matter to His Majesty's Government, with whom also I have been in consultation as to the desirability of some further statement designed to remove misunderstandings and further to clarify their intentions in the constitutional field. I am glad to say that I have now been authorised to make the statement of which I enclose a copy. It will be published in the morning papers of Thursday 8th August, and I would ask you to treat it as entirely secret and for your personal information until then.

2. As you will see, His Majesty's Government have authorised me to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join my Executive Council, and they have authorized me further to establish a War Advisory Council which would meet at regular intervals and which would contain representatives of the Indian States and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole. I trust sincerely that you and the organisation of which you are the President, will be prepared to join with me in the Central Government and in the War Advisory Council and I would greatly appreciate it if you are able to let me have a reply[1] by the 21st of August at the latest. I would hope to have an opportunity of conversation with you in Bombay on 13th August, and I suggest that this would be a convenient opportunity to clear the ground for your formal reply. I would only add that I am anxious that the names of the expanded Executive Council should appear not later than the end of August, and those of the War Advisory Council by the middle of September at the latest, and if possible earlier than that date.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

[1]No. 515.

Enclosure to No. 506
Statement by the Viceroy

F. 95/113-4

India's anxiety at this moment of critical importance in the world struggle against tyranny and aggression to contribute to the full to the common cause and to the triumph of our common ideals is manifest. She has already made a mighty contribution. She is anxious to make a greater contribution still. His Majesty's Government are deeply concerned that that unity of national purpose in India which would enable her to do so should be achieved at as early a moment as possible. They feel that some further statement of their intentions may help to promote that unity. In that hope they have authorised me to make the present statement.

Last October His Majesty's Government again made it clear that Dominion Status was their objective for India. They added that they were ready to authorise the expansion of the Governor-General's Council to include a certain number of representatives of political parties, and they proposed the establishment of a Consultative Committee. In order to facilitate harmonious co-operation it was

obvious that some measure of agreement in the provinces between the major parties was a desirable pre-requisite to their joint collaboration at the Centre. Such agreement was unfortunately not reached, and in the circumstances no progress was then possible.

During the earlier part of this year, I continued my efforts to bring political parties together. In these last few weeks I again entered into conversations with prominent political personages in British India and the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, the results of which have been reported to His Majesty's Government. His Majesty's Government have seen also the resolutions passed by the Congress Working Committee, the Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha.

It is clear that the earlier differences which had prevented the achievement of national unity remain un-bridged. Deeply as His Majesty's Government regret this, they do not feel that they should any longer, because of these differences, postpone the expansion of the Governor-General's Council, and the establishment of a body which will more closely associate Indian public opinion with the conduct of the War by the Central Government. They have authorised me accordingly to invite a certain number of representative Indians to join my Executive Council. They have authorised me further to establish a War Advisory Council, which would meet at regular intervals, and which would contain representatives of the Indian States, and of other interests in the national life of India as a whole.

The conversations which have taken place, and the resolutions of the bodies which I have just mentioned, make it clear however that there is still in certain quarters doubt as to the intentions of His Majesty's Government for the constitutional future of India, and that there is doubt, too, as to whether the position of minorities, whether political or religious, is sufficiently safeguarded in relation to any constitutional change by the assurance already given. There are two main points that have emerged. On those two points His Majesty's Government now desire me to make their position clear.

The first is as to the position of minorities in relation to any future constitutional scheme. It has already been made clear that my declaration of last October does not exclude examination of any part either of the Act of 1935 or of the policy and plans on which it is based. His Majesty's Government's concern that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in any revision has also been brought out. That remains the position of His Majesty's Government. It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by

large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government.

The second point of general interest is the machinery for building within the British Commonwealth of Nations a new constitutional scheme when the time comes. There has been very strong insistence that the framing of that scheme should be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves, and should originate from Indian conceptions of the social, economic and political structure of Indian life. His Majesty's Government are in sympathy with that desire, and wish to see it given the fullest practical expression subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed on her, and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility. It is clear that a moment when the Commonwealth is engaged in a struggle for existence is not one in which fundamental constitutional issues can be decisively resolved. But His Majesty's Government authorise me to declare that they will most readily assent to the setting up after the conclusion of the War with the least possible delay of a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life in order to devise the framework of the new constitution, and they will lend every aid in their power to hasten a decision on all relevant matters to the utmost degree. Meanwhile they will welcome and promote in any way possible every sincere and practical step that may be taken by representative Indians themselves to reach a basis of friendly agreement, firstly, on the form which the post-war representative body should take and the methods by which it should arrive at its conclusions, and, secondly, upon the principles and outlines of the constitution itself. They trust however that for the period of the War (with the Central Government reconstituted and strengthened in the manner I have described and with the help of the War Advisory Council), all parties, communities and interests will combine and cooperate in making a notable Indian contribution to the victory of the world cause which is at stake. Moreover, they hope that in this process new bonds of union and understanding will emerge, and thus pave the way towards the attainment by India of that free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth which remains the proclaimed and accepted goal of the Imperial Crown and of the British Parliament.

[LINLITHGOW]

507

M. A. Jinnah to Mian Bashir Ahmad

F. 197/15

BOMBAY,
6 August 1940

Dear Bashir Ahmad,

I received your letter of the 10th July,[1] and I am extremely sorry for the delay in reply as I was not well, and was laid up with fever.

It seems that the letters that I received were from another gentleman bearing the same name as yours. I do not think you need take the trouble of sending the letter that you have received to some other Bashir Ahmad, as his address was given only as Lahore.

Of course, I was very much grieved to hear the news of the unfortunate tragedy which caused the premature death of your boy, and I need hardly say that my sincerest sympathies are both with Begum Sahiba and yourself. I hope you will bear up the shock with fortitude and courage.

As regards the other matters mentioned in your letter, I am fully alive to those questions and they are receiving my very close attention.

I should very much like that you write to me occasionally and keep me in touch with the affairs of the Punjab.

Hoping that Begum Sahiba and you are well,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Mian Bashir Ahmad,
North View,
Camel's Back Road,
Mussoorie

[1]No. 416.

508

Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 321/28

MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
6 August 1940

My dear leader,

In my interview with H.E. the Viceroy, I told him that the Muslims in my Province were solidly with the Muslim League and behind you. He asked me if that was so about the Muslims of Malabar and the religious heads. I assured him that they were all with the League. The Viceroy spoke very highly of you and about your great services to the Muslim nation. I could gather from his talk that he was intent upon resolving the differences soon between his government and the Muslim League and the Executive Council would soon be expanded in consultation with you, now that the Congress is not agreeable to this proposal. Perhaps, consistently with the expansion of the Central Cabinet, the provincial governments in the provinces governed with the aid of advisers might also be expanded.

The Council of the Madras Presidency Muslim League met on the 4th instant and decided to refer the question of disciplinary action against defaulting members of [*sic* for to] the All India Working Committee. I could not attend this meeting as I had to preside over the League Conference at Nagapatam the same day.

The recent order of the Govt. of India regarding the organisation of National Guards is bound to hamper our work. I seek your advice in regard to this matter.

With affectionate regards,

Yours very sincerely,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

509

Hassan Suhrawardy to M. A. Jinnah

F. 457/9-10

PRIVATE/PERSONAL

237 SUSSEX GARDENS,
LONDON, W.2,
6 August 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

In your letter from Elphinstone Lodge, Matheran, dated the 29th May 1940,[1] you mention that you have asked me already to let you know of some concrete scheme and names of person or persons competent enough and who would be willing to work as our agent without or with remuneration.

I had to give much time and thought to this matter and after examining the situation it appears to me that it is possible to get an agency of the Muslim League to function in this country, drawing the personnel from the Muslim population permanently or even temporarily resident here, provided a steady amount of financial support is given to maintain it. A tentative scheme is enclosed herewith, with an indication of the personnel and expenditure.[2]

You will understand that Sir Firoz Khan Noon and myself can only give such sympathy and moral support as will not be in conflict with the official positions which we hold. The late Sir Muhammad Shaffi and Sir Fazle Hussain, who had a great Muslim following, had to give up active participation in League matters during their term of office on the Viceroy's Executive Council. Does your Constitution also not preclude Government servants from becoming members of the League?

A certain amount of personal contact with persons prominent in public life is necessary, and this can be undertaken (without asking for expenses for entertainment from the funds of the Muslim League) by the friends of the League who hold good positions in London. In this respect, I would mention the names of Mr. Ismail de Yorke, Mr. Yusuf Ali and Mr. Waris Ameer Ali; Sir Firoz Khan Noon and myself, of course, would co-operate.

I am glad to note that the Congress policy of independent India is much weaker now, and I feel that the Muslim League position of having federation of independent states with dominion status for India has become much more strengthened by recent happenings in

independent European kingdoms and states.

I have not yet received a reply from you with regard to my letter dated June 12 [13]th.[3]

Wishing you every luck, and with kind regards,[4]

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN SUHRAWARDY
Knight

[1]No. 257.
[2]No. 314.
[3]Not traceable.
[4]Jinnah thanked him for the scheme, which he said was receiving his close attention. See F. 457/16, *QAP*. Not printed.

Enclosure to No. 509
Proposed Scheme

F. 457/11-5

Sir Abdoola Haroon or the Foreign Secretary of the Muslim League in India to approve and control all expenditure in London.

There should be a person appointed here to act as Honorary Treasurer, and as the League's Agent in London, and he will be in direct contact with the League authorities in India and carry out their instructions regarding policy and work of the League in Great Britain.

He will form branch centres and will utilise the services of a publicity officer and get together energetic and enterprising students and others in Great Britain willing to do League work at university centres and elsewhere, and to co-ordinate the activities of the different Muslim organisations already in existence. These are the Muslim Society of Great Britain, the Woking Muslim Mission, the Nizamiah, Woking and London Mosque Trusts, the Jamiat-ul-Muslimin, and the workers in the East End. Moulana Hasrat Mohani, I understand, visited London on behalf of the League, but wanted to start a left-wing or some sort of radical branch within the League, and he founded what he called a Muslim Centre in London. Beyond seeing certain printed letter-heads, I have not come across any actual activities of this organisation.

PROPOSED PERSONNEL

Agent and Hon. Treasurer	Ismail de Yorke
Joint Secretary	Khwaja Mahmud
	Ghazanfur Bokhary

Publicity Officer	Ikbal Ali Shah M. A. Rashid (?)
Council	Mr. Yusuf Ali, Mr. Waris Ameer Ali, Dr. Shakir Mohamedi, Moulvi Abdul Majid

All Muslim medical practitioners and barristers who have no Congress affiliations. Office-bearers of all existing Muslim organisations (who have no Congress or reactionary, Communist or Fascist connections). All Muslims (paid employees) who, by the terms and conditions of their services are not debarred from becoming active members.

FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS

The amount necessary would be about £800 per annum, to be spent according to the following very rough estimate:

(The Hon. Treasurer and Agent of the Muslim League in London should be a person willing to work without an honorarium).

a. Rent of an office (this may be arranged at a nominal sum of, say, £6. See Explanatory Notes).
b. Upkeep of a telephone: £12 per annum.
c. Postage, stationery and miscellaneous: £100 per annum.
d. Salary of a clerk (at £2 per week = £104 per annum).
e. Salary of a publicity officer (at £5 a week = £260 per annum).
f. Out-of-pocket expenses of secretaries at headquarters and at different university centres: £200 per annum.
g. Travelling expenses: £120 per annum.

Added to the above annual estimate, of course, would be the initial expenditure on office furniture (type-writer etc.) which could be purchased at second-hand and would cost about £50.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Financial Requirements

With regard to item (a), No. 18 Eccleston Square, S.W.l., is the headquarters building of the Muslim Society of Great Britain, and arrangements can be made to get a room there on a nominal rent of £6 per annum. The room would have to be furnished at the expense of the Muslim League.

Regarding items (f) and (g), all the associations and organisations at university centres are in non-Muslim hands, and it is desirable that Muslim students should be brought into contact with your London branch and encouraged to take up League work under the guidance of the London body. The students who come to London in

connection with branch work are to be given travelling expenses and subsistence allowances. How many nice and honest students have fallen a prey to subtle propaganda carried on by anti-Muslim organisations!

EXPLANATORY NOTES

Personnel

Mr. Ismail de Yorke is Chairman of the Muslim Society of Great Britain. He is a Trinity College, Cambridge graduate and a barrister-at-law, a gentleman of means who has his own house here. I have met him socially, and he is a member of my own Club, the Athenaeum. He is not an Indian, his mother is an Egyptian princess, but he is British by birth. He is at present engaged on some war work which keeps him fully occupied, but I have sounded him [out] and he is agreeable to take on the work of Hon. Treasurer and Agent in an honorary capacity for you.

Mr. Khwaja Mahmud, son of the late Khwaja Kamaluddin of Lahore, is Secretary of the Woking Muslim Mission, and Joint Secretary of the Muslim Society of Great Britain. He has energy and power of organisation to his credit. His religious and social service connections will be very useful. His work would be in an honorary capacity, but he should be paid out-of-pocket expenses.

Mr. Ghazanfur Bokhary of Peshawar is a graduate of Aligarh, and after studying for the Bar took up fur business in which he is at present engaged. He is a member of the Royal Empire Society and is on the Executive Council of the Muslim Society of Great Britain, and he seems to me to be an energetic man who would be able to get together people from the Punjab or the North-West Frontier Province. I feel he will also work in an honorary capacity.

Mr. Ikbal Ali Shah is a person engaged in journalistic and publicity work, whose services as a part-time worker can be utilised if he is given a suitable honorarium.

For this work I had also considered the name of Mr. M. A. Rashid, a practising barrister who also used to take on the coaching of I.C.S. candidates here. He is the Joint Secretary of the Hindustani Speaking Union, and the Joint Secretary of the Muslim Society of Great Britain. I understand he is contemplating returning to India.

Amongst members of the Council, I have mentioned the names of Mr. Yusuf Ali and Mr. Waris Ameer Ali. I am afraid Ameer Ali will not work with Mr. Yusuf Ali, particularly if Yusuf Ali is the Chairman. Ameer Ali is not in touch with all classes of the Muslim element but he carries the name of a distinguished Muslim. You know both these

gentlemen, and you could decide who should be asked to take on what responsibility.

Dr. Shakir Mohamedi, whose daughter is married to a son of Sir Akbar Hydari, would be willing to work for the League in an honorary capacity, and get together other Muslim medical practitioners in London. His own brother, Dr. Saeed Mohamedi, has, I understand, definite Congress views and attachments, and is not liked by the Sunni Muslims who form the majority.

Moulvi Abdul Majid is the *Imam* of the Woking Mosque and he would be a supporter of the League, but in the case of the Jamiat-ul-Muslimin, in the East End, the Secretary and the Chairman are small traders without much education. They and their friends will become enthusiastic members of the League.

Moulvi Shams, the *Imam* of the Putney Mosque, is an Ahmadi, and will be a useful member, but he need not be put on the Council, to begin with, for fear of antagonism from the majority of Muslims.

It is unfortunate that we have no Trade Commissioner in London from any Muslim state, nor is there any Muslim merchant of standing here, who could take on any work on behalf of the League. Perhaps, Sir Abdoola Haroon may have some connections in Great Britain. The Ispahanis of Calcutta, I know, have an agency here, who have sometimes got into touch with me. They are British people, and if the Ispahanis directed them to do so, they would be helpful.

Before ending this brief survey of the position here, I would like to mention that Mr. Mehdi, who annually used to visit the south of France during the summer, is now in London. When I first met him, he was very anxious about his safety, and wanted to go to America on any excuse, but he is now convinced that London is a safe place. He is not a member of the Muslim League, nor has he uptil now done any work for it. If his brother, the Nawab of Pirpur, writes to him to remain in London and act in an honorary capacity for the League, he may prove useful. I, however, do not know anything of his capacity for work. His brother, the Nawab of Pirpur, who is your staunch supporter, would be the best judge.

You are perhaps aware that Mr. Abdul Aziz, a non-practising barrister from Lahore, is in London. He at one time was elected as President of the Muslim League. You know all about his work in India, Japan and elsewhere. I have not mentioned his name for the Council in London.

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Ali Hassan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/534-7

EXHIBITION ROAD,
PATNA,
7 August 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I very humbly want to bring to your notice that the Muslim League is still a young body and we are all trying that, unlike Congress, it should really be a democratic body in the true sense. It appears, majority of Musalmans favour siding with the British Government in this War and pressing over [*sic*] demands for equality and freedom after the War is over. The decision of the Working Committee, therefore, that disciplinary actions should be taken against those who have joined War Committees, is rather hasty or undemocratic. It would be a calamity indeed if Muslim League which has grown so powerful under your wise guidance in such a short time should break on such small difference. The Congress and the Azad Conference, finding an opportunity, are making much of this fact. I sincerely hope that you will be able to find out a formula by which Musalmans holding different views on this particular point will be able to remain on the one and only platform of Muslim League. So far in Bihar very few have gone against the decision of the Muslim League but all of us are thinking that this policy is wrong. We cannot afford to fight Congress and the Government at one time and certainly the present is not the time to fight the Government!

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
ALI HASSAN
Bar-at-Law
Member, Bihar Provincial Muslim League
Working Committee

511

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 335/119-26

CHARLEVILLE HOTEL,
MUSSOORIE,
7 August 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

You must have received my two letters[1] (one of these was sent by registered post) which I posted on the 3rd instant. I have today received a letter from the Raja of Mahmudabad in reply to mine saying that Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan has been in Lucknow canvassing support for the resolutions[2] sent by the Punjab people for the meeting of the Council. Raja Ghazanfar Ali is visiting a number of places in the U.P. and Delhi. [Raja of] Mahmudabad is of the opinion that Sikander's men must have gone to other provinces also for the same purpose. Malik Barkat Ali has written to say that Sikander Hyat is getting written opinions in support of the resolutions from the members of the Council. So, the information that I had received in Delhi was correct.

I am sending copies of the letters[3] that I have received from [Raja of] Mahmudabad and Barkat Ali for your perusal. As reported in the press, a deputation from the Punjab is going to wait on you on the 10th. You should ask these fellows what do they mean by playing this double game of, on the one hand, waiting in a deputation on you and, on the other hand, trying to undermine the position of the President and the Working Committee and creating disruption in the League. You should give them a good dressing down. We are not afraid of the Council. I think we shall get the majority with us if a meeting is held. I am herewith enclosing a cutting from the *Pioneer*[4] giving a gist of the speech which the Governor of U.P.[5] made at Faizabad. He is reported to have said that he regretted that the chief political bodies, the Congress and the Muslim League, were not helping the Government. It was therefore all the more incumbent on independent bodies to help the Government. The Congress and the Muslim League are tarred with the same brush. Because the Muslim League has asked the Musalmans not to join the War Committees, therefore all that the Muslim League has done so far to help the British counts for nothing. The help that the Ministers have

been giving in Bengal, the Punjab and Assam is of no value. The money that has been given by the members of the Muslim League in the various provinces is no help. The Muslim League is placed on the same footing as the Congress which has not only not given any assistance in the War but has created difficulties for the British and is making preparations for civil disobedience on a mass scale. This just shows the mentality of these British officials. It seems that nothing will satisfy them except the support of the Muslim League like slaves. Their argument seems to be that we must give our blood and money without a murmur and let these Britishers do what they like. This will please our lords and masters. I only hope that the Muslim League will never agree to give support on such humiliating terms.

I hope in your next interview with the Viceroy the matters will be settled one way or the other. Our policy must become more definite soon. I hope you are quite well and fit again.

Kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]Nos. 495 and 498.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 460.
[3&4]Not traceable.
[5]Maurice Garnier Hallet.

512

Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman to M. A. Jinnah

QAD (129)

LUCKNOW,
7 August 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan was here for a few days and met some of us with the idea of canvassing support for requisitioning a meeting of the Council of the All India Muslim League. He has left for Allahabad yesterday and is going to meet you on the 10th. During my conversation with him, I told him that it would be very harmful to the Muslim cause to discuss serious matters of policy in a meeting of the Council, which has been requisitioned by canvassing support of a group whatever its strength. The decision taken in the meeting will be the decision only of the majority whose action will be looked

upon as a party action by the minority and may cause disruption in our ranks. I, therefore, sincerely advised him to wait for the meeting of the Working Committee, wherein all the questions, which agitated the minds of those who were dissatisfied by the last Bombay Resolution, could be coolly discussed. He tried to convince me that the sole object of those who wanted a meeting of the All India Council was to express their dissatisfaction with the present policy of the League in regard to war efforts, particularly in the majority provinces, where the Ministers are allowed to remain in office and the other Leaguers are asked to deprive them of their support. I told him that this question was raised and discussed in the Working Committee and the Resolution was passed without a division. Even Sir Sikander Hyat Khan ultimately agreed to it. No doubt, everyone was under the impression that the negotiations, which were going on between the League and the Viceroy, would materialize [*sic*] in a fortnight or so; but it appears that there is some hitch somewhere and much longer time has been taken in the negotiations. Thereafter, he showed me another resolution, which was proposed to be moved in the Council of the League, if a meeting was held on the requisition of their party. From the language of the resolution, it appears that it has been drafted by one who is more in the know of things than we poor mortals here at this end. It says that practically all the outstanding questions between the League and the British Government in regard to the method of co-operation have been settled, except the question of the personnel of the League representatives. The resolution proposes to give full authority to His Excellency the Viceroy to appoint any one from amongst the Muslim Leaguers. Obviously, if such a demand has been made by His Excellency the Viceroy, it is most absurd and ridiculous. No one can give such powers on behalf of the League to the Viceroy or to the Provincial Governors. I am myself very doubtful whether really such a desire has been expressed to you by the Viceroy and if he has asked for such a general power, surely the Muslim League must reject it outright. It may, however, be possible to find a solution of the difficulty, if co-operation with the Government is considered to be in the interests of the Muslims of India and the measure of representation has already been agreed upon between you and His Excellency the Viceroy.

The third resolution aiming at appointing a Sub-Committee of five persons to negotiate for a settlement of the communal problem with other parties if and when they are willing to do so was, to say the least, most surprising. So far as I know, nobody is today talking

of communal settlement but the resolution asks us to go out of our way to appoint a committee to discuss and negotiate with other parties, if they are willing to oblige us by talking to us. The idea underlined in the resolution is perhaps more to express resentment against you than to get a committee appointed.

I am informed that similar deputations have gone to Bengal and other provinces. I do not know what will be their strength in the meeting of the Council but the very idea of holding a meeting of this character is obnoxious to me. In my opinion, this question should be discussed in the meeting of the Working Committee and if no solution can be found there, then those who still remain dissatisfied can requisition a meeting of the Council. I would request you to hold a meeting of the Working Committee as soon as convenient to you to take stock of the situation. I had written a letter to you on the 9th July,[1] a copy of which I am herewith enclosing, but I did not receive even an acknowledgment. I am afraid it has, perhaps, not reached your hands, else I should have received a reply. In that letter also, I had requested for an early meeting of the Working Committee. There are some very important questions which we must consider before taking action in the Province against those who have directly or indirectly subscribed to the war funds. So far as U.P. is concerned, very few Leaguers have joined War Committees; but it is a fact that the number of those who have subscribed to the war funds either willingly or unwillingly will be hundreds. If our last resolution meant to cover these persons also, we should take action against them whatever the consequences. The other day some members of the Cawnpore Muslim League, who are also members of the Municipal Board, came to seek my guidance as regards the attitude that they should take up when, the next day, the question of Municipal Board making a contribution to the war fund came up for discussion. The Congress was prepared to oppose the resolution, if Muslim League joined them in that move. I advised them to keep neutral, though I do not know how far I was right in advising them on these lines. In the absence of clear instructions, such difficulties are being experienced every day.

Yours sincerely,
KHALIQ

[1]No. 412.

513

M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan

Telegram, F. 335/116

BOMBAY,
7 August 1940

Your two letters received.[1] Will reply as soon as possible. Emergency Working Committee meeting absolutely necessary latest 17th [or] 18th. My health would not permit travelling. Therefore suggest Bombay.

JINNAH

[1]Nos. 498 and 511.

514

Nawab Ismail Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 97/79-81

CONFIDENTIAL

NEW LANE,
HYDERABAD,
7 August 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Herewith a few names which occur to me in connection with the conversation we had at your place the other day. The more I think of this matter, the more I appreciate your difficulties about making a suitable choice, but at the same time I realize that they are due to the fact that Musalmans of important views here had practically no opportunities of being connected with the administration and showing their mettle. I give the names province-wise:

1. Madras	Abdul Hameed
2. Assam	Abdul Matin Chaudhry
3. Bihar	Hossain Imam
4. Bengal	K. Nazimuddin
	Ispahani, M.L.A.
	[Huseyn] Shaheed Suhrawardy
5. U.P.	Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman
	Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan

6. Punjab	Sardar Mohammad Nawaz Khan, M.L.A., ex-colleague of yours in the Central Assembly
	Raja Ghazanfar Ali [Khan]
	Abdul Hai
7. Frontier	None
8. C.P.	None
9. Sind	Abdoola Haroon
	G. M. Sayed
10. Bombay	A. M. K. Dehlavi

If the negotiations with the Viceroy bear fruit and you are asked to make nominations to the Advisory War Council, I shall feel grateful if you will bear one name in mind, viz. of Begum Aizaz Rasool, M.L.A., Deputy President of our Legislative Council.

What do you think of Amery's 'no' to further concessions to Congress demands? I trust he will stick to it.

I do hope Miss Jinnah has now completely recovered from her recent indisposition.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,
ISMAIL KHAN

PS. I shall be here till the 15th.

515

M. A. Jinnah to Marquess of Linlithgow

F. 95/115

BOMBAY,
7 August 1940

Dear Lord Linlithgow,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 5th August 1940,[1] and thank you for sending me an advance copy of your proposed statement, which you are going to publish in the morning papers of Thursday, the 8th instant.

With regard to paragraph 2 of your letter, I shall have to call a meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League before I can let you have my reply. The appointment with Your Excellency is fixed, as I understood from the letter of Mr. Irwin of the

4th of August, for Monday, August 12, at 3 p.m. and not for the 13th as you have stated in your letter.

Please let me know the correct date and time.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

His Excellency
Lord Linlithgow,
Government House,
Ganeshkhind

[1]No. 506.

516

Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari to M. A. Jinnah

F. 242/23-4

CHHATARI,
7 August 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am writing this letter with a good deal of diffidence realizing fully the fact that I have no right to tender advice on a question which relates to the policy of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League as I do not know how things have developed in the Committee in this respect so far. My only excuse, however, for approaching you on the point is the importance of the situation as I understand it.

Personally, as you are aware, I have not joined any organisation created for war work in these provinces, but I feel that the Muslims are suffering on account of this aloofness. I may mention one or two aspects of the question in this letter.

i. India is being industrialised; and the War Committees that have been captured by the Hindu Mahasabhaites are naturally, perhaps purposely, keeping the Muslims out of all the industrial organisations that are being created.
ii. Licences for fire-arms are being given to those who are on the District War Committees, and naturally the Hindus are taking benefit of it while the Musalmans can take no advantage.
iii. In the Civic Guards as well, members of the sister community

are taking advantage over us.

These are some of the difficulties; and the Muslims generally are feeling that the policy should undergo a change. I would have failed in my duty to you as our leader as well as to the community if I had not brought these things to your notice.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
AHMAD SAID

517

Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 392/24-9

9 GARIAHAT ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
7 August 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Received your letter[1] in answer to mine.[2] What I wanted was a definite statement[3] with regard to the decision arrived at, at the last meeting of the Working Committee, about the Ministers being members of the War Committees. Your letter is absolutely vague about this point, in spite of the fact that at the meeting of the Working Committee this question was raised by me with the sole object of knowing definitely whether the Muslim League Ministers were permitted to be members of the War Committees or not. Anyhow, I do not propose to pursue this discussion in this letter. As a member of the Working Committee, I consider it my duty to place my views before you about the present situation. I find from today's Associated Press report that H.E. the Viceroy is going to announce tomorrow the extension of the Executive Council and the formation of the War Council, the future constitution of India to be decided after the war. It is, therefore, obvious that those people who will have the control of the Central Government and will have an effective voice in the organisation, equipment and raising of the armed forces of India, will be in a dominant position after the war. In my opinion, it is the most crucial and momentous period in the history of India. A false move now will mean ruination of the Muslim community. If we can now take control of the armed forces of India then our position would be very strong, both now and after the war. To attain

this object, even the sacrifice of certain principles and demands will not be against the interest of the Muslims but, on the other hand, it may mean the salvation of the Muslims. On the 12th you are going to see H.E. the Viceroy. In your discussion with him, I hope you will keep this aspect of the question before you. Even an apparent surrender will be to our advantage if we can get direct or indirect control of the armed forces.

This is going to be a long war and, in my opinion, Great Britain cannot win this war unless they establish in India armament factories on a very large scale and raise and equip a huge Indian Army, running into millions. Persons controlling this Army will rule India after the war. But if we stick out for the pound of flesh then the chances are that we will be left in the shade and will miss our opportunity. The fate of the Muslims of India is in your hands and they rely on you to see that their interests do not suffer.

The deputation from the Punjab will be waiting on you to impress their point of view. We, in Bengal, have also been in difficulties but I believe that in the Punjab the position is extremely serious. Owing to economic and historical reasons the Punjabis are all in favour of the war and war efforts. Unless a solution is found soon, the Muslims of the Punjab will be hopelessly divided over this question and with all the goodwill on the part of Sir Sikander, he may find it difficult to control his followers. I hope you will not misunderstand this anxiety on the part of the Punjab Muslims. Knowing the position in Bengal, I can appreciate their difficulties. Even ardent Leaguers here have been torn between two loyalties. It is true that up to now the Muslim Leaguers have either not joined the War Committees or are resigning from them, but I can assure you that they are doing it with the utmost reluctance and with the sole object of maintaining the prestige of the League and the Working Committee. If anybody has given you the impression that the Muslims in Bengal are not anxious to join the War Committees then I can assure you that he has grossly misjudged the situation and his information is totally incorrect. I am definitely of opinion that the Muslims, under no circumstances, should do anything which will weaken the position of the League or the prestige of its President, because the maintenance of solidarity amongst Muslims is of primary importance. But at the same time, every effort should be made to see that if any province, owing to its peculiar position and local situation, is in difficulties we should not drive them out but try our level best to keep them with us. I, therefore, appeal to you to handle the Punjab situation tactfully. In

conclusion, I would like to point out that owing to the various circumstances it is difficult to continue for very long in this indecisive manner. A decision, one way or the other, should be arrived at immediately and in coming to a decision we have got to remember all the implications of complete non co-operation with war efforts, a thing which even Congress has not so far dared to undertake.

Lastly, I would like to point out to you the likelihood of a very grave situation in the near future owing to the promulgation of the recent orders of the Government of India, prohibiting drilling and wearing of uniforms by volunteer organizations. I do not know what attitude Congress is going to adopt when the Congress volunteers are prevented from drilling and wearing their uniforms. They may be forced into a *satyagraha* or a civil disobedience movement. On our part, the Muslim National Guards cannot be organized as long as the ban lasts. The Muslims are also debarred from joining the Civic Guards because of the Resolution of the Working Committee. In case of the Hindus, there is no such difficulty, as in Bengal they are joining the Civic Guards in very large numbers, but the Muslims have so far kept away from it with the result that we will neither be in the Civic Guards nor have our own National Guards.

I hope you will kindly give your serious consideration to what I have stated in this letter. If you decide to call a meeting of the Working Committee in the near future then I shall be obliged if you will let me know the approximate date so that I may make my engagements accordingly.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
K. NAZIMUDDIN

[1]No. 467.
[2]No. 434.
[3]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 32.

518

Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 335/127-9

CHARLEVILLE HOTEL,
MUSSOORIE,
8 August 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your telegram[1] this morning. An emergency meeting of the Working Committee has been fixed for the 17th at Bombay and all the members have been informed telegraphically. I have issued letters also confirming the telegrams. I have received a letter from Khurshaid Ali Khan in connection with the requisition for a special meeting of the Council. He says that no action should be taken till he writes again. I am enclosing a copy of his letter[2] for your perusal.

[Raja Sahib of] Mahmudabad has got busy and he has sent out his men and letters to friends to secure written opinions from members of the Council against the resolutions that were sent by the Punjab people. So we are quite alert and shall be fully prepared to face a meeting of the Council, if and when it is convened. I hope you are very much better now.

With kindest regards from both of us to you and Miss Jinnah and love from Ashraf,

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]No. 513
[2]Not traceable.

519

M. A. Jinnah to M. A. Hassan Ispahani

F. 305/64

BOMBAY,
8 August 1940

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letters of the 20th July[1] and 1st of August.[2] I was not well [and,] therefore, I could not reply to them earlier.

I was very pleased to hear the account of the meeting and

specially to note that Sir Nazimuddin rose to the occasion.

I hope you are following how quickly the events are developing. If the people will have only a little patience and give us some peace and chance at least for a reasonable period and stand united, I feel that we shall immensely benefit.

As regards all sorts of rumours, there is absolutely no truth that my last interview with the Viceroy failed for the reasons mentioned in your letter. The negotiations are still proceeding so far satisfactorily.

Yes, the meeting of the Working Committee is going to take place very soon.

You must have by now read the statement of the Viceroy[3] on behalf of His Majesty's Government. Please let me know what Bengal thinks of it.

With kind regards to all of you,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 453.
[2]No. 492.
[3]Enclosure to No. 506.

520

Raghib Ahsan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 95/117-8

8 August 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

I am penning these lines from sickness bed [*sic* for sick-bed]. The Viceroy's announcement in a sense contains a material concession and in a sense betrays lamentable want of courage. [In] so far as he says that the British Government will not coerce minorities into submission to any system of government, the statement is a progressive step towards the realization of the real situation. But the Indian Muslims cannot be satisfied with only this vague, negative and worthless generalization where their national entity has not been thought worthwhile to be specifically mentioned. The Indian Muslim nation emphatically refuses to be termed, addressed or enumerated as a vague and general minority. The Muslims are a nation. Nay, in a real sense they alone constitute a real sociological and political nationality in this [sub]continent of India. While the Muslims of Bengal appreciate this concession and

also the fact that the British have refused to surrender to the Congress demand for Congress *raj* at the Centre, they very strongly resent this generalization about minorities. They regard it as a slight and insult. Nay, they regard it as an affront to the self-respect of Indian Muslims. It is a pity that even at this moment, when the fate of [the] whole British Empire in every part and corner of the world entirely depends on the goodwill of the Muslims, His Majesty's Government has not the courage to specifically mention the Indian Muslims as a distinct national entity. This is only on account of the fear of the Hindus—the race of *banias* and Brahmins, Gandhis and Nehrus—who cannot help or hamper the British if the Muslims are ready to support them whole-heartedly.

I submit that you should demand a clear explanation of the statement regarding the future right of self-determination of Indian Muslims. Muslims may be ready even for a free plebiscite provided it is entirely under the control of Muslims. This method may decide the future of the Muslim nation. Please stick to your guns. But if this basic demand is conceded through the League, then nominate your men for the Viceroy's Executive Council and the Council of War on the basis of equality.

The exclusion of the name of Indian Muslims as a distinct party is extremely disappointing and has hurt the self-respect of the Musalmans of Bengal very deeply. Please convey these feelings to the Viceroy when you meet him on the 12th August at Bombay.

Yours most sincerely,
RAGHIB AHSAN
General Secretary,
Calcutta District Muslim League

521

M. A. Jinnah to Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait

F. 447/33

BOMBAY,
8 August 1940

Dear Essak Sait,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 24th July.[1] I am sorry I was not able to reply to it before now as I was not well.

In the first instance let me congratulate you on your presidential address at Ambur Muslim League Conference, a copy of which you were good enough to send me.

I am very glad that Raja of Cannanore has shown courage and staunch loyalty to the League.

As regards disciplinary action against [those] few who have not withdrawn from the War Committees, it is really up to the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League to take such action as they may think proper.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Haji Abdus Sattar Haji Essak Sait,
Tellicherry

[1]No. 468.

522

M. A. Jinnah to Ra 'na Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 797/8

BOMBAY,
8 August 1940

Dear Begum Sahib[a],

Many thanks for your letter of the 26th July.[1] I am sorry I was not able to reply to it before now as I was not well.

I am sorry that my letters were not properly addressed to Liaquat but I was not well and hence this lapse. Of course you were entitled to open the letters.

Many thanks for your kind enquiries about my health and I am glad to say that I am almost quite alright, but I was sorry I was not able to go to Quetta.

Yes, poor Fatima has been as usual very kind.

I am glad that Liaquat is back after his very successfully handling

and piloting Baluchistan Conference. I have received very good reports about him from all quarters and his speech was really good.

With kindest regards to you both and love to Ashraf from Fatima and me,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Begum Liaquat Ali Khan,
Charleville Hotel,
Mussoorie

[1]Not traceable.

523

S. Shamsul Hassan to Liaquat Ali Khan

SHC (1227)

9 August 1940

Sir,

I beg to enclose herewith the correspondence which took place between the *Nazir* of Qadian and myself.[1]

At the outset, the *Nazir* wanted to establish a bargain with Mr. Jinnah perforcing [*sic*] that the Ahmadiyya community with all its well organisation [*sic*] and solidarity will join hands with the Congress if their claims were not acknowledged and ear-marked by the League. But he was disappointed by Mr. Jinnah's reply saying "it is for you to adopt such course as you may consider proper."

He made the same attempt with this office vide his letter dated the 19th of May 1940,[2] but I regret that I could not satisfy him in terms he desired, which roused his wrath to resort to a disdainful attitude in a spirit of high pride.

The Assistant Secretary of the All India Muslim League is not an irresponsible official of the League and by virtue of his being a paid servant cannot be under-rated as such. There is no justification for the remarks given by the *Nazir* who himself is a paid servant of the Ahmadiyya community, which is purely a charitable institution. The Assistant Secretary of the League carries on all correspondence, referring matters to the Honorary Secretary which he considers worth referring to him.

As to the opposition raised against the Ahmadis in the Punjab referred to in the letter, I would only remark that this is a common practice in elections that rival candidates denounce each other by exerting every means of opposition. There was nothing extraordinary

if the same thing arose in the elections held in 1936 [1937]. The word Muslim used in the Constitution is self-explanatory and already bears the meaning suggested by the *Nazir*. A further elucidation is sure to create a fuss and make the matters worse. It was with this undefined word Muslim in the Constitution that Sir Zafrulla Khan rose to the office of the President of the League and to the eminent political rise he is enjoying today, and there have been more than three dozen Ahmadis on the roll of the Council of the League; and if it is considered necessary at all to define the word, I would ask the *Nazir* to give out the viewpoint of his community towards the Muslims who are not Ahmadis. Are they not *kafirs* in the light of the *fatwa* given out so often by the founder of the Ahmadiyya community? I dare say it is the *fatwa* alone which has dug a wide gulf between Muslims and Ahmadis; and which cannot be bridged by simply defining the word Muslim in the way suggested by the *Nazir*. Such an amendment to the Constitution at the annual session is sure to cause a havoc and create religious and sectional controversies in the League.

The apprehensions expressed by the *Nazir* regarding the Ahrars joining the League and putting a ban on Ahmadis or ousting them from the League are simply optimistic [*sic*] and if it is taken for granted, my suggestion of getting in touch with prominent Ahrar *'Ulama* and settling the matter with them is all the more prudent advice and not a vulgar gibe, so indecently remarked by the *Nazir*.

As to the suggestion made in para (d) of the *Nazir*'s letter, I would only remark that it is simply inopportune. The League has no such idea of inferiority complex, that the Congress will ever rise to such a paramount power; and moreover it is not in consonance with the standing decision of the League.

The League has no communal representation, as I explained in my last letter, hence the narration of the solidarity and splendid organisation of Ahmadiyya community, so oft-repeated by the *Nazir*, can have no attraction for the League and would rather be taken as megalomania.

Your most obedient servant,
S. SHAMSUL HASSAN
Assistant Secretary, AIML

[1]Not traceable. However, see No. 499 addressed to Liaquat Ali Khan.
[2]Not traceable. However, see No. 229 addressed to Liaquat Ali Khan.

524

Moulana Hasrat Mohani to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 378/9-10

CAWNPORE,
9 August 1940

Viceroy's seeking simultaneous co-operation from League and Sabha similar to British policy in Palestine. Please don't court disappointment and disillusionment afterwards like Arab League. Should consistently withhold cooperation leaving only Hindu-Muslim loyalists accept mere enlarged Council offer. Muslims may remain neutral in forthcoming Congress struggle. Any other course contrary to League creed aiming free Islam in free India.

HASRAT MOHANI

525

M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 335/114-5

BOMBAY,
9 August 1940

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 3rd of August[1] along with a copy of the resolution from 16 members of the Council who desire to call a special meeting of the All India Muslim League. A special meeting, as I have already indicated, can only be called if there is an urgent definite matter of public interest or importance.

Apart from the fact that you mention that the requisition is signed by 16 members, 8 of whom are those who signed the requisition of the 15th July and the other 8 are new names, it is to be noted that the matter to be discussed is not of urgent definite public importance or interest.

The first requisition dated the 15th July was sent to you without stating any definite business that was required to be discussed although it was signed by 35 members. You very rightly pointed out by your letter of the 17th July 1940[2] that unless the matter to be discussed

was put in definite categorical form which may be placed before the Council in the form of resolutions and unless such resolutions are signed by 15 members of the Council it cannot be considered by you. You have now received the requisition after delay of over a fortnight, signed by 16 members, 8 of whom are the signatories of the original requisition and 8 are new names. This alone shows that the requisitionists, either old or new or combined number 16, did not consider the matter being really urgent.

Besides, Resolution No. 1 is partly in contravention of the policy laid down by the Working Committee and repeatedly confirmed by the Council of the All India Muslim League and finally by the Lahore Session.

The Bombay decision of the Working Committee on the 15th, 16th and 17th [June] is provisional pending the negotiations, the result of which will, in due course, be placed before the Council of the All India Muslim League. While the negotiations are going on, it will be highly detrimental to the cause and interest of the Musalmans to call a special meeting of the Council at this juncture, and to allow a discussion of the kind envisaged in that Resolution.

Resolution No. 2 is hypothetical and imaginary.

Resolution No. 3 is not a matter of urgent definite public importance or interest for which a special meeting of the Council should be convened. Besides, it is a matter that the Working Committee should consider in the first instance and it is open to any member of the Working Committee to place the proposal in the first instance before the Working Committee, which is going to meet on the 17th of August[3] at Bombay.

This is apart from the irregularity and invalidity of the requisition pointed out by you, namely that this second letter sending the resolutions is not in order unless we treat it as a fresh requisition. But it cannot be considered as fresh requisition because the signatories themselves state that this communication is in connection with the requisition that was sent on the 15th July.

For these reasons, as after all it is in my discretion to allow the special meeting of the Council or not, in my opinion the requisition should not be complied with.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 498.
[2]No. 444.
[3]The Working Committee met on 31 August-2 September 1940. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 495-500.

526

M. A. Jinnah to Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman

QAD(130)

BOMBAY,
9 August 1940

Dear Khaliquzzaman,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 9th July[1] as well as of the 7th August[2] and thank [you] for all the information that you have placed at my disposal. I could not reply to your letter of the 9th July, as I was not well, and besides, important events have been moving very fast and had occupied all my time.

You must have heard by now about the meeting of the Working Committee in Bombay on the 17th.

As regards the machinations of certain persons in Punjab, I thank you for all the information. I shall place before you all things when you are in Bombay. The various points suggested by you will certainly have my very close attention, and more when we meet in Bombay as I hope you will attend this very important meeting without fail.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 412.
[2]No. 512.

527

M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 335/133

BOMBAY,
9 August 1940

My dear Liaquat,

I am sorry that my two letters went astray. It is our fault, but I was not well and hence the lapse.

Now let me first of all heartily congratulate you on your great success in Baluchistan, and it really heartens me and encourages me

to hear the cheerful account of the well-doings [*sic*] that you have narrated.

Yes, I was sorry I could not go to Baluchistan. I, of course, received your telegram[1] conveying the good wishes of the Musalmans of Baluchistan and their kind personal references.

Yes, I agree with you that the Muslim leaders, particularly the members of the Working Committee, should have gone to Baluchistan and participated in the Conference but our people are very easy-going and do not yet realize the danger and grave issues for which we are making this fight with so many handicaps. I know that the Punjab clique is doing its worst; but I heard indirectly that now the requisition is going to be withdrawn. I do not know how far to believe this but we must be prepared for the worst.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 482.

528

M. A. Jinnah to Malik Barkat Ali

F. 215/55

BOMBAY,
9 August 1940

Dear Mr. Barkat Ali,

I have received your letter of the 6th [5th] August.[1] Many thanks for all the information and for drawing my attention to the activities of Sir Sikander Hyat Khan.

All I can say is that it is very sad, and he will be more harmful to himself.

By now you must have heard about the meeting of the Working Committee in Bombay on the 17th August. I hope you will attend it without fail.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Malik Barkat Ali,
19 Temple Road,
Lahore

[1]No. 502.

529

Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 199/28-9

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
10 August 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you very much for your kind letter.[1] I am extremely grateful for your kind offer. Of the two suggestions you have made, I think the first would serve the purpose better, namely [that] I should arrange to publish the article here and circulate it to the Provincial Leagues and also among our students here. I have inquired of the press as to what would be the approximate cost of its printing and I am informed that it would be seventy-five rupees. I would, therefore, request you to send your contribution as soon as may be convenient.

May I also request you to write just a few words by way of introduction to the article, so that I could include them as a 'Foreword' to the pamphlet? You must have received copies of *Iqbal* by now. Will you very kindly send a short message for this magazine also?

Perhaps I wrote to you sometime ago that the Congress high command, in pursuance of their programme of undermining Muslim solidarity, have sent some notorious Congressites and Communist youths to join the University and start their disruptive activities. We are quite alert and are taking every step to thwart their nefarious designs. But we want some of our leaders to visit us soon. In this connection may I remind you that it would be a capital idea if you hold a meeting of your Working Committee at Aligarh? You may rest assured that fullest arrangements will be made for the meeting and for the comfort of members.

With respects,

Yours very sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

[1]No. 503.

530

Malik Barkat Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 215/56-7

19 TEMPLE ROAD,
LAHORE,
10 August 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I enclose a statement that I had supplied to the Associated Press on the 25th of July 1940. On the 26th evening I left for Simla, after learning from the representative of the Associated Press that he had sent my statement. The statement did not appear in any paper. Consequently, when I returned on the 4th of this month, I made enquiries and the Associated Press representative assured me that the statement had been supplied to the press. On my asking him to give back my original statement and also the message that he had sent, he supplied me with a copy of my original statement as also his statement. I found in his typed copy that the statement had not been sent on creed which means that the statement had not been wired but sent by post. It is my experience that statements which are not wired but are sent by post are not cared for by the press. When I spoke to the Associated Press representative he gave the lame explanation that he was very busy that day. The fact is that this Associated Press representative, although a Musalman, is too much under the influence of the Premier of the Punjab, and is perhaps looking for an appointment at his hands in the same fashion in which Syed Nur Ahmad was looking for an appointment and did succeed in getting an appointment. Possibly my silence on this important matter might have been misunderstood. I am therefore sending this copy to you for your information and such action as you may like to take[up] with the head of the Associated Press at Bombay.

With all regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. BARKAT ALI

Enclosure to No. 530

F. 215/58-9

Moulana Abul Kalam Azad has made it clear in the course of a press interview that the confidential telegram[1] that he sent to

Mr. Jinnah, was sent by him in his private capacity and not as President of the Congress. This takes the bottom out of the howl that is being raised by our Congress friends against what is called insulting and abusive language indulged in by Mr. Jinnah against the proud occupant of the presidential *gaddi* of the Congress. It will be admitted that no one has any right to dictate to Mr. Jinnah the opinions that he must entertain about political workers. To expect the incorruptible Mr. Jinnah, who has himself been the freest of the free, that he will take his opinions from others or that he will shrink from the fearless expression of those opinions, is completely to misunderstand Mr. Jinnah and his great life work. As for the inspired statements that Mr. Jinnah should be dethroned from the pedestal that he occupies as the uncrowned king of millions of Muslims who will lay down their lives at his word and that the presidentship of the League should be given to those who are not even fit to unlatch [*sic*] the laces of their shoes, let me give the warning that this kind of propaganda will only recoil on the heads of its authors and that nothing will estrange the Muslims so completely from their countrymen as this mean attempt to belittle Mr. Jinnah. Let no one forget that the head and front of [*sic*] Moulana Abul Kalam Azad's offence to the Muslims was his recent attempt to create a fifth column in the ranks of the Muslim League by starting negotiations for a Hindu-Muslim settlement with some Muslim Premiers, over the head of Mr. Jinnah. Moulana Abul Kalam Azad owes it to the Muslim community to apologise for this most regrettable and unpardonable lapse on his part and to declare that in future he will deal only with the accredited representatives of the Muslim community, and not with any other, no matter what their position in official life may be. Moulana Abul Kalam's blunder is, in my opinion, the true occasion and the proper explanation of that righteous wrath and boiling indignation which the mouthpiece of the Muslim community has justifiably poured over his doomed head.

M. BARKAT ALI

[1]No. 423.

531

S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

F. 304/38-9

ISMAIL MANZIL,
PATNA CITY,
10 August 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

We are shocked to read in the newspapers the announcement made by the Government of India in the gazette extraordinary dated the 5th August 1940, imposing ban on all volunteer organisations including our own. On carefully reading the whole of it I am very much disappointed as the banning will retard the progress of training and recruitment which we have only recently started. In the peculiar circumstances of the country, may I request your advice as to what we should do in connection with the training and recruitment of the Muslim National Guards. If we continue, the ban is there. To ask for exemption, it must be warranted by sufficient reasoning to prove that the organisation is peaceful. However, I am considering over [*sic*] the matter, [and] meanwhile I request you for advice.

Referring to my letter informing you in detail about all those who have defied and acted in contravention of your decision and that of your Committee in joining the War Committees and not yet withdrawing from it [*sic*]. In connection therewith, I have already sent you, through my autograph letter, true copy of Lady Anis Imam's letter and my reply. I have already decided to take disciplinary action and shall take it. It is in case of Lady Imam that I shall have to refer to you once again because action against a member of the All India Muslim League Council can alone be taken by the All India League Council under Rule 26 J (pages 6 and 7) of the Constitution and Rules of the All India Muslim League. This power, as amended, is now to be exercised by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League after the amendment of Constitution in the open Lahore Session.

The amended Rule reads as follows:

Functions of the Council

Rule 26- The Council shall exercise the undermentioned functions:

J- To take disciplinary action against its members who violate the decision of the League and act in contravention of its aims and objects;

Amended Rule as passed by Lahore Session

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League shall:

(a) take disciplinary action against individual members of the League who violate the decision of the League or act in contravention of its aims and objects:

I am sending you this advanced information for I am releasing my findings[1] against the offending members, particularly against one who is a member of the All India [Muslim League] Council, namely Lady Imam. I therefore do make the recommendation that similar actions shall be taken against her by the All India [Muslim League] President and the All India [Muslim League] Working Committee, for otherwise it will be impossible to maintain provincial discipline.

I hope to hear satisfactory result of your interview with His Excellency for it is in the interest of the Musalmans that something shall be satisfactorily solved for and during War period without future commitment.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. ISMAIL

[1]Annex.

Annex to No. 531
Note by S. M. Ismail

F. 825/72-8

ISMAIL MANZIL,
PATNA CITY,
10 August 1940

DISCIPLINARY ACTION AGAINST OFFENDING MUSLIM LEAGUERS IN BIHAR

After giving every offending member full opportunity for over six weeks, I feel I cannot postpone the issuing of my decision any further. From the 12th of June to the 27th of July I have been repeatedly warning the offending members to withdraw from the War Committees which they have joined in contravention of the Resolution passed by the All India Muslim League Working Committee held at Bombay on the 15th and 16th June 1940, [as] also in defiance of the order of the President of the All India Muslim League and the persistent warnings issued by me from time to time.

By virtue of the authority vested in me as President of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League, by the Resolution passed at the meeting of the Provincial Working Committee held on the 14th of July 1940, giving me full authority to take any action I like against the offending members. This Resolution is further ratified and fully endorsed by the meeting of the Provincial League Council held on the 4th of August 1940. I am acting with full concurrence and full authority of both the Provincial Working Committee and the Provincial League Council. I do hereby declare that it is with infinite pain that I am dealing with the individual cases of the offending members who, in spite of so much time given and so much latitude shown, are still persisting in defying the League's authority. They are thereby guilty of serious moral breach of discipline by behaving intentionally and deliberately against the repeated order of the All India Muslim League and of the Provincial Muslim League. The action of these offending members constitutes violation of the authority of the All India Muslim League and [is] against the spirit of discipline to which they are bound after signing the creed of the All India Muslim League. There can be no question of the lack of knowledge and facts for both the All India Muslim League and the Bihar Provincial Muslim League have repeatedly issued detailed instructions in the press [and] also informed the offending members imploring them to withdraw from the War Committees until such time as they are not allowed to do so by the All India [Muslim League] President. Even this small and modest request of ours was ruthlessly neglected. By their conduct whatever explanation they have given, or are giving, or may give, there can be no doubt that the offending members by their action have tried to discredit the Muslim League's authority. Such defiant attitude on their part cannot be tolerated as the time has come to purge out all such undesirable elements with a view to maintaining and enforcing discipline and solidarity in the rank and file of the Bihar Provincial and All India Muslim League.

Therefore, well after the expiry of the last date given to them, namely the 30th July, I have reluctantly come to the decision that it is undesirable to wait in the hope of these offending members realising their mistakes and even now withdrawing from the War Committees. That will be only defeating the object in view. In order to meet some critics, who are building hopes in the air that it is perhaps contemplated that as a result of the Punjab Muslim Leaguers' deputation waiting on Mr. Jinnah at Bombay and its proposed interview with His Excellency the Viceroy on the 13th of August, the ban may possibly be lifted. Whatever may happen will have effect for the future. It is to

be regretted that those who constituted the offence and acted in defiance of the authority of the All India Muslim League have violated during the period previous to whatever may happen in future, namely all these offending members have misbehaved between the 13th of June and the 4th of August. An action is undoubtedly due against all these members. I shall first deal with a member of the Muslim League who is a member of the (1) Council of the All India Muslim League and also a member of the (2) Provincial Working Committee and (3) of the Primary League. Such a case is that of one member only, namely Lady Anis Imam. The Bihar Provincial Muslim League has made repeated requests to her to kindly withdraw from the Provincial War Committee. She refuses to obey the order of the All India Muslim League and persists in remaining on the War Committee yet expressing sympathies and loyalties towards the All India Muslim League and its President. On the receipt of her explanation dated the 28th July, I, through my letter dated 30th July, further implored her that if it was not possible for her to leave the War Committee she should better resign from the Muslim League. I had further referred her case previously to Mr. Jinnah and his reply[1] which was clear and conclusive was sent to her by my Secretary officially with an official request to comply. Many other well-wishers of the Muslim League as well as hers have also advised her not to act against the spirit of solidarity amongst the Musalmans, but she persists in remaining on the War Committee and in not resigning from the Muslim League. I have carefully considered her letter dated 28th July and fully acquainted all members of the Working Committee present on the 4th of August 1940 with its contents. Unfortunately, the letter is self-contradictory and the course pursued by her hopelessly inconsistent and self-deceiving. I have come to the conclusion that it is impossible to expect from her compliance of League's authority. Mere expression of sympathies and loyalties towards the All India Muslim League, persisting in remaining on both the War Committee as well as in the Muslim League, is a policy against which the Bihar Provincial Muslim League must set its face for it is hopelessly inconsistent. It is with sincere regret that I have lamentably come to the decision that the name of Lady Anis Imam be removed from the roll of the (1) membership of the Primary League, namely the Kotwali Thana League, Patna (2) from the membership of the Bihar Provincial Working Committee and (3) of the Provincial Council. Lady Anis Imam was nominated also as a member of the All India Muslim League Council by the Provincial Working Committee at its meeting held on the 28th

of October 1939; therefore, after ceasing to be member of the Primary League and Provincial League, she shall automatically be divested of all her rights to remain a member of the All India Muslim League Council for the remaining period of the year 1940. Constitutionally and legally the position is that once the name of an individual member is removed from the roll of the League, he or she automatically ceases to be a member of all the Committees including the membership of the All India Muslim League Council for it must be carefully noted that no member of the All India Muslim League Council can be a member of the Council unless he or she is a member of a Primary League. The right of electing representatives is vested in the Provincial League. I have the authority of the All India [Muslim League] President, vide his letters dated the 16th[2] and 24th July,[3] to take any action my Committee thinks proper against any offending member. I am perfectly right in getting Lady Anis Imam's name removed from the Provincial, District and Thana League rolls altogether. Also, I have every right not only to get her name removed from the membership of the Council of the All India Muslim League but, as a matter of further safeguard, I publicly make it known that I have already recommended to Mr. Jinnah to take action against her under Rule 26 J as amended at the Lahore Session and which reads as follows:

Functions of the Council

Rule 26-The Council shall exercise the undermentioned functions:

J- To take disciplinary action against its members who violate the decision of the League and act in contravention of its aims and objects.

Amended Rule as passed by the Lahore Session

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League shall:

(a) take disciplinary action against individual members of the League who violate the decisions of the League or act in contravention of its aims and objects.

The Working Committee of the All India Muslim League has now the power to take action against the offending members, who are members of the Council of the All India Muslim League, instead of as previously by the All India Council. I have recommended to Mr. Jinnah to take similar action against Lady Anis Imam [to] what I have decided to take, namely that her name should be removed from the roll of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League, from all the Provincial Committees, from the District Committee and from the Thana Committee. It is further recommended to the All India [Muslim League] President to

get her name removed from the membership of the All India Muslim League Council as she has acted in contravention of the All India Muslim League's authority and the Provincial League authority. It is further ordered that Lady Anis Imam shall be disqualified from becoming a member for a further period of 24 months to commence from 1st of August 1940, and to remain in force until 30th July 1942. The disqualification shall further have its effect during the period the ban remains in force. Should the ban be lifted earlier than the period prescribed above, the person against whom action is taken shall have the right to apply alone to the Provincial League for the reconsideration of the order in view of the then altered circumstances, should there be any. The Provincial League Secretary is requested to communicate the decision to the persons concerned.

The finding against each individual member is the same. The only difference is that the list that shall be published contains the names of those offending members, besides Lady Anis Imam, who only belong to the District Leagues. Therefore, their names shall only be removed from the membership of the District League and the roll of the Primary League to which they belong. But the order shall be the same, namely that their names be removed from the respective membership of the different committees of the League and that they shall be disqualified for a full period of 24 months from 1st August 1940 until 31st July 1942. The names of such offending members are printed below:

PATNA

1. Lady Anis Imam
2. Mohammad Basir of Dinapore
3. Syed Shah Maswood Ahmad

GAYA

1. Shah Abdus Subhan of Hasua Nawadah

ARRAH

1. Qazi Maswood Ashraf of Koilwar

MUZAFFARPUR

1. K. B. Mohammad Akhtar
2. S. Waris Nawab
3. S. Fazlur Rahman
4. Abdus Sattar

HAZARIBAGH

1. Mohammad Yasin Khan
2. K. S. Mohammad Yasin
3. Mohammad Moosa

4. Abdul Hayat
5. Mohammad Din

MANBHUM

1. Masoom Ali
2. S. Alamgir
3. Zakariya Adamji
4. Abdur Rauf
5. Haneef Khan
6. Nawab Khan

This is the 1st set of the list. The other set of the list of some doubtful Muslim Leaguers will appear tomorrow.

S. M. ISMAIL
President,
Bihar Provincial Muslim League

[1&2]No. 437.
[3]No. 470.

532

Ghulamus Sibtain to M.A. Jinnah

F. 265/3-4

SUKHIA LODGE,
GADAMJI PARK,
POONA,
11 August 1940

My dear Sir,

Thank God, your efforts are bearing fruit. From the Viceroy's statement[1] it is clear that the future constitution of India cannot be drawn up without your consent. Under the circumstances, our demands have [been] fairly [and] satisfactorily dealt with. For the present, for the sake of our own good, we cannot sever India's connection with the British.

Now the Working Committee should remove the ban on the members of the Muslim League. Practically there are few people who care for the ban. I think now the League should allow the Muslims to give full support to the War.

I hope the next meeting of the Working Committee will welcome

the Viceroy's statement and accept the offer of the Viceroy regarding dominion status.

Yours obediently,
GHULAMUS SIBTAIN
Member, AIML Council

[1]See Enclosure to No. 506.

533

Abdussamad Khan Rajasthani to M.A. Jinnah

F. 425/1

KHILAFAT HOUSE,
BYCULLA, BOMBAY,
11 August 1940

Dear Sir,

I herewith convey to you a copy of the resoultion[1] passed by the Standing Committee of the All India States Muslim League. This resolution need not create misunderstandings and misapprehensions.[2] This is not a final resolution. The meeting of the Working Committee was called to consider and express its opinion thereon.

The circumstances under which this resolution was passed were quite different, which might be appreciated by you as well.

I would have come to you personally and placed the viewpoint of the members of the States League in this connection, but as I am down with fever, I am not in a position to do that.

Therefore my request to you is to invite Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung Bahadur, President, All India States Muslim League, to attend the meeting of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, if it comes off, to consider the recent developments and political changes. Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung will explain the circumstances under which this war resolution was passed by the Standing Committee of the States League, and also seek your advice about the recent statement of Viceroy mentioning the decision of His Majesty's Government to allow the States representatives in the War Advisory Council. Such invitations were also made to the Congress.

As you are seeing the Viceroy tomorrow, it is hoped that you will remember the case of the Musalmans of the States and explain what the possibilities of an effective cooperation from the State

Muslims are.

With hope that this meets you in happiness,

Yours sincerely,
A. S. KHAN RAJASTHANI

[1]Not traceable.
[2]Jinnah clarified that the ban on joining War Committees was not applicable to the States Muslim League. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 46.

534

Sayed Mohamed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 825/79

YA-HUSAIN PALLI STREET,
NEGAPATAM,
11 August 1940

Sir,

I have been authorized to communicate to you the following resolutions unanimously passed at the Negapatam Taluk Second Muslim League Conference, held on Sunday the 4th August 1940, under the presidentship of Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan, M.L.A.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
SAYED MOHAMED
Secretary,
Second Muslim League Conference

Enclosure to No. 534

F.825/80-2

RESOLUTIONS

This Conference wholeheartedly expresses its undivided confidence in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and resolves to carry out his mandate and that of the All India Muslim League.

This Conference supports the Resolution of the All India Muslim League, passed in its Lahore Session, on the question of partition of

India and further requests that sufficient safeguards be provided for the protection of the Muslims in provinces where they are in minority, in any scheme of such partition.

While being of opinion that the cause for which Britain stands against Nazis and other dictatorial powers is just, this Conference supports the Resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League asking the members of the Muslim League not to participate in the War Committees.

This Conference supports the telegram given by Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah in reply to a mischievous wire sent by Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President.

This Conference condemns the mischievous tactics employed by a few Muslims in order to delude the Muslims in India, in holding at Delhi what was called under the grand eloquent name, Azad Muslim Conference, and expresses its opinion that this so-called Conference is engineered by Congressmen and a few Congress-minded Muslims who do not at all represent Muslims and who form only a drop in the ocean of Muslim society.

This Conference wholeheartedly appreciates the noble efforts of Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah for all his indefatigable endeavours to safeguard the interests of Muslims and other minority communities.

This Conference condemns the part of His Excellency the Governor of Madras in following the views and principles of the Congress regime while governing the Province in accordance with Section 93 of the Government of India Act of 1935, and requests His Excellency to do justice to the Muslims and other minority communities and carry on the Government to safeguard the interests of the public.

This Conference feels that the branches of the All India Radio at Madras and Trichy, by giving wide publicity to the activities of the Congress and Congressmen, are becoming party organizations, and condemns such a practice and at the same time requests the authorities concerned to give sufficient opportunity and encouragement to the spread of Urdu language by including in its programme Urdu speeches.

This Conference urges upon the Government to repeal the Sales Tax and the Tobacco Tax as they are telling heavily on the Muslims in particular.

This Conference requests the Government to make provisions for teaching Urdu in the high and elementary schools, in those classes where there are sufficient number of Muslim students on the roll.

This Conference requests the Muslim parents to take steps to train [their] girls not only in the field of spiritual education but in secular education also.

This Conference strongly condemns the mischievous devices that are being adopted by the Hindu Mahasabhaites and Arya Samajists to promote anti-Muslim feelings and create discord among Tamilians who live in communal harmony, and requests the Government to take adequate action against those mischievous propagandists.

This Conference brings to the notice of the authorities concerned, in unmistakable terms, that any future constitution for the administration of India should be created only with the consent and approval of the All India Muslim League and that any constitution not having the wholehearted approval of All India Muslim League will not be acceptable to the Muslims.

This Conference records its high appreciation on [*sic* for of] the noble deed done by Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan, M.L.A., by tendering his resignation from the War Committee in accordance with the instructions issued by the All India Muslim League, and thus maintaining the solidarity and integrity of the Muslim League, though he had been elected [*sic*] by the Government to occupy that position

This Conference expresses its profound regret [at] and deep disapproval of the persistence of some of the League members who continue their membership on the War Committees, contrary to the instructions issued by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League.

This Conference supports the resolutions passed in the League Conference held at Koothanallur, Rajagiri and Abiramam, requesting the Provincial Muslim League to organize a League Propaganda Committee, and requests the Provincial League to create this machinery as early as possible.

This Conference feels that a Tamil daily run by a Muslim press is quite indispensable for the Muslims of South India and requests all Muslims of the South to contribute towards the creation of a Tamil daily newspaper.

This Conference requests the educational authorities concerned not to prescribe *Vardha Tamil Vasakam*, the book written by Mr. M. S. Sabhesan, as it contains matter quite hostile to Islam and pictures not wholly acceptable to Muslims.

SAYED MOHAMED

535

K. G. Vaidyanathan to M. A. Jinnah

F.924/126

C/O THE IDEAL AGENCIES,
148 BROADWAY, MADRAS,
12 August 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I consider it my duty since I feel rather compelled to address you this letter. I am sure that you will be pleased to go through this letter and further you will not get offended. After all, I have little to say and that too is not quite new to you.

Coming to the minority problems, and especially the Muslim League, I understand that the two organizations, the Congress and the Muslim League, are at the two [opposite] poles and the differences seem to be rather subtle. All possibilities of effecting a reasonable compromise have been exhausted, but I dare say that those differences are nothing but false representations. It is not advisable on your part to attach much importance to such minor and petty representations, and if at all such grievances are to be redressed it could be done by Congress alone, since it being an all-India organization, neither a religious nor a communal body but purely a political body, which is out to drive out poverty, which is hovering over our poor country, and political slavery from our country. The right to settle those differences does not lie in the hands of the Government, since, seen through the right sense one could undoubtedly say that minority questions are really secondary ones; whereas the demand made by the Congress, *Poorna Swaraj*, is one common to all, irrespective of caste or creed. Hence your say, at any rate, has a second place only.

Moreover, separatism is always a sign of backwardness and your attitude towards the Congress not only weakens the wings of the Congress but also strengthens the Government whereby the Congress gains nothing. Another feature is that the strategy of non-violence proves the greatness of the Congress since violence has often been openly encouraged and has already led to some deplorable occurrences. Further, the Congress holds hard to its policy of treating

all minorities not only with full justice but with cent per cent generosity so as to gain their confidence and goodwill; as:

When men shall live by reason,
And not alone by gold,
When man to man united,
And every wrong righted,
The whole world shall be delighted.

K. G. VAIDYANATHAN

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S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

F.304/40-2

ISMAIL MANZIL,
PATNA CITY,
12 August 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Realizing all your occupations I feel always considerable hesitation in frequenting you with requests, and asking you for your advice on some very difficult problems connected with the all-India policy of the Muslim League. I hope you will excuse me if I say that I have to do it sometime in order, firstly, to keep you fully acquainted with the state of affairs in my Province in particular reference to the activities of the Muslim League. Last Saturday, I had despatched to you an important telegram[1] on the question of recent order of the Government of India banning the activities of the Muslim National Guards in every respect including wearing of the prescribed uniform. This order of the Government of India has upset the training and recruitment that we in Bihar had started from the 5th of July. I am receiving enquiries from district branches soliciting instructions as to what they should do. Since the scheme is of an all-India character and is suggested by the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, I feel, and perhaps rightly feel, that without further consideration by you and the All India [Muslim League] Working Committee, the provinces must not anticipate or make any decision on the banning order issued by the Government of India. I have therefore advised the district branches to have patience until an order is received from you. The matter is very serious and anything done contrary to that order is involving the Muslim

National Guards organization in serious legal complexities. Not having received any reply to my reply-paid telegram, I am taking this liberty of once more approaching you on this subject.

Under a registered cover dated Saturday the 10th August,[2] I have sent you my findings and orders against those Muslim Leaguers in Bihar who in spite of last six weeks' warning still persist in defying [*sic*]. For your information, I am sending cuttings[3] from our local daily, the *Indian Nation*, Patna. You will be surprised in [*sic*] reading the interview given to the press by Lady Anis Imam. There is also a cutting which suggests for itself as to how a certain so-called Muslim Leaguer has spoken against your decision and our decision to the staff reporter of the *Indian Nation*. Reading between the lines, I can well see at a glance who this Leaguer could be, but he must remain nameless. I am throwing an open challenge to him to come out publicly. Let me assure you that before taking any action, I have fully acquainted members of the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League, present at the Working Committee meeting on the morning of the 4th August at Patna, with every fact and detail of my order. I had got their sanction and approval. On the very same day in the afternoon the full Provincial Council met and ratified the decision of the Working Committee. I am, therefore, fully warranted in any action. I only request you to take action against Lady Anis Imam by removing her name from the Council of the All India Muslim League as recommended by me, otherwise provincial discipline cannot be maintained. Please excuse the length of this letter. I hope you will appreciate that we stand by you.

With best wishes and kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. ISMAIL

[1]See F. 304/37, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]Annex to No. 531.
[3]Not traceable.

537

Sayed M. F. Peerzade to M. A. Jinnah

F.873/546-7

ANKOLA (N. KANARA),
13 August 1940

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,
Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I feel deeply grateful for your kind reply of the 6th instant.[1] It has encouraged me a good deal to put my humble thoughts before you in regard to the affairs of our community as and when they occur to me.

Your interview with the Viceroy must have been over by now, in which you must have sought clarification of the points left vague in the recent statement of His Excellency. The following announcement in the Viceroy's statement strikes me as being one of those requiring further elucidation, viz.:

> It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life . Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such Government.

This is much too obscure and likely to lend itself also to an alternative interpretation that can be used in favour of the Congress, the Hindu Mahasabha, etc., against the Muslim League to oppose the Pakistan scheme. Earlier in the statement the word "minorities" has been used. Does this word mean the same thing as "large and powerful elements in India's national life" in the extract quoted above? An assurance will have to be obtained from the Viceroy that the above statement is exclusively intended to safeguard the interests of the Muslims while framing the constitution and will not be used in any manner whatsoever prejudicial to them. On this assurance forthcoming, I think the League may declare itself willing and ready to co-operate with the Government in the war effort.

It seems from the reports appearing in the newspapers that your efforts to bring about a settlement between the Khaksars and the Punjab Government have proved abortive so far. If true, this is unfortunate from the point of view of the League. At the ensuing meeting of the Working Committee of the League this question should again be

taken up and pressure brought to bear upon Sir Sikander Hyat Khan to modify his rather unhelpful attitude in this behalf. At any rate, it must be you and the League alone that should succeed in effecting an honourable settlement of this problem.

Another matter that demands immediate consideration appears to be the one concerning the ban imposed by the Government on volunteer organizations. The League should demand without delay that this ban should be lifted from the Muslim National Guards and other Muslim volunteer organizations. In the event of the League deciding to co-operate with the Government in India's war efforts, the Muslim National Guards should never be merged with the Civic Guards, but the latter can and should be fed from the former.

Begging to be kindly excused for the trouble.

With humble regards to [your]self,

Your humble brother-in-Islam
SAYED M. F. PEERZADE

[1]Not traceable.

538

Khadim Hussain to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/541-4

126 ANARKALI,
LAHORE,
13 August 1940

My dear Jinnah,

I believe you shall agree with me that almost all religious and political parties as well as groups in India are up in arms against the All India Muslim League since it has passed a Resolution in its Lahore Session demanding a separate homeland for ninety million Muslims in this sub-continent of India. For one reason or another, these organizations, particularly Congress, do not see eye to eye with the Muslim League, which is proud of its growth, development and reputation. As years follow years it builds on honour.

The only fault on the part of our organization is that it has created political consciousness among the Muslims as the result of which they want to see independent Islam in independent India. Moreover, partition scheme also stands in the way of nefarious political

plotting of self-styled Mahatma and his disciples, who, while living in fool's paradise, contemplate bring[ing] the Muslim nation of this country under the constant domination of Hindu *raj* by means of a Constituent Assembly, the biggest fraud of the 20th century.

Dwelling upon the real point I beg to say that the common hatred of the third party has caused unholy alliance amongst different parties, which were as apart from one another as the poles. Apart from Congress, the Sikhs in the Punjab have formulated a counter-scheme of Khalistan. The liberals have raised voice against separation. The All India Hindu League, the youngest baby of Congress, has vehemently criticised it. Its ultimate goal is to carry out anti-Pakistan propaganda throughout India. The Hindu Mahasabha is a bird of the same feather. The most distressing part of the whole affair is that recently Mr. B. C. Chatterji, President of the Bengal Hindu Sabha, has said in his lecture that "what immediately for us to do is to create an organization which shall offer a common platform for formulating our joint protest against the proposed vivisection of this historic land and demanding its immediate abandonment by [the] sponsors."

He further says, "As we have seen, Pakistan is the shield, behind which imperialism takes its stand as the indispensable mediator between India's Hindus and Muslims. Pull Pakistan down and you destroy the last refuge of imperialism in your country."

Mr. Chatterji, thy name is a logical fallacy. By quoting the utterances of Mr. Chatterji, I do not mean that you may answer the illogical arguments advanced by such a professional politician and mushroom [*sic*] leader, but the pressing need of the hour is that a concrete and solid programme may be chalked out to educate the public opinion through the press, on public platform, by holding debates, and distributing pamphlets, written both in English and Urdu, among the people in order to counteract the anti-propaganda [*sic*] of enemies, which is being engineered on a very large scale, and also make the Muslims aware of the benefits of Pakistan.

I hope you will give a sympathetic and careful consideration to my request.

Yours sincerely,
KHADIM HUSSAIN

539

M. A. Jinnah to Ahmad Said Khan Chhatari

F. 242/25

BOMBAY,
13 August 1940

Dear Nawab Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 7th August[1] and thank you very much for putting the various points before me.

I know the grave issues facing us, but I think we are on the right line and you need have no apprehensions about our dealing with the very big issues. You must have faith in the League and give a chance [*word illegible*] are vitally alive to all the aspects of the situation. Naturally I cannot tell you anything as the negotiations are still going on.

You are quite right in bringing to my notice the various points contained in your letter, and I assure you [that] they will receive my very close consideration, as you know my soul [*sic* for sole] object is to serve the community and to do it with [the] best of my judgment and ability.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 516.

540

M. A. Jinnah to Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan

F. 329/98

BOMBAY,
13 August 1940

Dear Aurangzeb Khan,

I am in receipt of your letters[1] and thank you for them, the last one being of the 9th of August,[2] enclosing the reply of Mr. Fazlul Huq to your letter.

Of course you can judge the situation as well as I can. What more

can I say. I think you understand full well.

I am sorry I had to adjourn the meeting of the Working Committee, but there are very cogent reasons for it.[3] The matter is still in the melting pot and the Viceroy himself feels that unless he is able to give the full picture of the latest proposals of His Majesty's Government, it will be unwise to drag prominent leaders from all parts of India and hold the meeting.

But, [*sic*] however, he has promised to write to me as soon as possible giving the full scheme that he proposes for our consideration. I shall not lose time in calling the general meeting as soon as possible thereafter.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 505.
[2]Not traceable.
[3]Jinnah expected to get full details regarding proposals of the British Government in his interview with the Viceroy but did not receive any. In the circumstance, he adjourned the meeting. See F. 335/134-6, *QAP*. Not printed.

541

M. A. Jinnah to Abdul Hameed Khan

F. 321/32

BOMBAY,
13 August 1940

Dear Mr. Abdul Hameed,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 6th August 1940[1] and thank you for it.

It is really up to the Working Committee of your Provincial Muslim League to take such disciplinary action as they may think proper. I think you have read in the papers that the Bihar Provincial Muslim League has followed the right course. The All India Working Committee cannot consider the matter except in the case of an appeal against the decision of the Provincial Working Committee.

I therefore advise you to follow the lines laid down by the Bihar Provincial Working Committee.

As regards the recent orders of the Govt. imposing ban on the volunteer organizations, it requires a very careful consideration and I

was going to place the matter before the Working Committee which is now adjourned.[2] But in the meantime the Provincial Muslim League can proceed with the formation of the Muslim National Guards as far as possible without defying or contravening the terms of the order.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Abdul Hameed Khan,
Mount Road,
Madras

[1]No. 508.
[2]Jinnah asked Liaquat Ali Khan to reschedule the adjourned meeting for 31 August 1940. See *AFM*. 129/93. Not printed.

542

M. A. Jinnah to Khwaja Nazimuddin

F. 392/30

BOMBAY,
13 August 1940

Dear Sir Nazimuddin,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 7th August[1] and thank you very much for it. I shall certainly bear in mind the point you have placed before me.

Yes, I met His Excellency the Viceroy on the 12th and we had a very friendly discussion for about an hour, and I came to the conclusion that it will be premature to call you all from different parts of India for the meeting of the Working Committee on the 17th August, and the Viceroy himself was not yet ready with the complete scheme of the proposals. He himself also felt that it will be wise to adjourn the meeting and has promised to give me the complete picture and details of the proposals as soon as possible. I will certainly let you know before fixing the date of the Working Committee meeting, as you desire, as I am very anxious that you should make it a point to attend this very important meeting of the Working Committee.

With kind regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 517.

543

M. A. Jinnah to Liaquat Ali Khan

F. 335/130-1

BOMBAY,
13 August 1940

My dear Liaquat,

I am in receipt of your letters of the 7th[1] and 8th August.[2]

Yes, the Punjab clique has done its worst and I have received reports from various provinces where canvassers were sent for the support of the resolutions sent by them for the meeting of the Council; and now the requisition has been withdrawn by Nawabzada Khurshaid Ali Khan.

As regards your cutting of the speech of the Governor of U. P. it is obvious that the Govt. policy is intended not to give any credit to the League for the responsible, reasonable and honourable position we have taken up because they have not yet definitely made up their mind to displease the Congress as there is still a lingering hope on their part and much more so with His Majesty's Government in England that the Congress will still fall into line with them.

Yes, you are quite right that their present attitude is that the Muslim League and "the Musalmans should give their blood and money," to use your own words, "and let the Britishers do what they like with us," and they expect the support of the Muslim League like slaves. That is the very point and the issue for which we are fighting.

I am very glad that Amir is taking very keen interest and an active part. I hope many more will realise that we have to fight with very powerful forces both inside and outside. You must have got my telegram[3] asking you to adjourn the meeting of the Working Committee, which was fixed for the 17th August, till further intimation. I had to do this after the interview with the Viceroy and the whole matter is still in the melting pot. The Viceroy himself realised that it will be futile to call the meeting of the Working Committee unless I get the true picture of the proposals and the full details of the scheme which he wants to place before us for our consideration. Besides, there are other reasons, which I am afraid I cannot incorporate in this letter as I cannot trust now-a-days the postal agencies; but I think

when we meet I will tell you what exactly is the position.

Yes, I am quite well now. Thank you very much indeed.

With kind regards to you both and love to Ashraf from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,
Mussoorie

[1]No. 511.
[2]No. 518.
3See F. 335/134-6, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Liaquat Ali Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 335/137-8

CHARLEVILLE HOTEL,
MUSSOORIE,
13 August 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I received your telegram[1] this morning. All the members have been informed telegraphically regarding the postponement of the meeting of the Working Committee. I have today sent the enclosed circular letter to all the members. I think you were right in postponing the meeting. It was no use considering the Viceroy's statement[2] without the complete picture. The debate in the Parliament tomorrow on these proposals might make the position more clear.

I hope you are feeling quite fit again.

Kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

[1]See F. 335/134-6, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 506.

Enclosure to No. 544
Liaquat Ali Khan to Members, AIML Working Committee
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)
F. 335/139

CONFIDENTIAL

CHARLEVILLE HOTEL,
MUSSOORIE,
13 August 1940

Dear Sir,

I have sent the following telegram to you today:

Working Committee meeting fixed for seventeenth postponed.

The President, in his interview with H. E. the Viceroy at Bombay yesterday afternoon, discovered that full details and complete picture of the latest proposals of His Majesty's Government were not yet available and so it was decided to postpone the meeting of the Working Committee for some future date[1] which will be intimated to you[2] in due course.

I hope you have not been put to any inconvenience on account of this unexpected change.

Yours sincerely,
LIAQUAT ALI KHAN
Honorary Secretary, AIML

[1]The meeting was held on 31 August—2 September 1940. See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 495-500.
[2]See note 2 to No. 541.

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Marquess of Linlithgow to M. A. Jinnah

F. 95/119-20

CONFIDENTIAL

VICEROY'S CAMP,
INDIA,
14 August 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I think it may be convenient for you to have in writing the information on the points below which I gave you in our conversation today. I informed you in that conversation first that my statement clearly safeguarded the Muslim position in relation to future constitutional development; secondly that it equally provided a basis on which the Muslims could, if they so desired, co-operate

with the Centre. As I explained to you in our earlier conversation, I cannot yet take up the issue of the provinces but I do not contemplate non-official Advisers at any rate at this stage.

2. You asked me the probable strength of the expanded Executive Council. I cannot, for reasons which you will appreciate, yet indicate a precise figure, but the total strength of the Council will likely be in the neighbourhood of 11. If, as I trust, the Muslim League is prepared to accept my invitation, I would like you to let me have a panel of names, say 4, with a view to my selecting 2 from it for appointment to my Council. As I have already made clear to you, Sir Zafrulla Khan, if he remains in my Council, will not count against this figure. It is clearly impossible until the discussions in which I am at present engaged are complete, to indicate precisely what would be the parties represented in the expanded Council.

3. The strength and composition of the War Advisory Council can clearly only be fixed after the expansion of the Executive Council is complete. Here, too, I should be grateful if you would be good enough to let me have a panel of names for my consideration on the assumption that there would probably be, say, 5 Muslim League representatives out of a total of something in the neighbourhood of 20.

4. As you will appreciate, I am very anxious to take very early decisions in these matters and to reach finality as regards the personnel of the expanded Executive Council and of the Advisory Council at as early a date as possible, and I hope that you will be able to assist me by letting me have a very early reply.

5. There is of course no objection whatever to your communicating the information above to your colleagues confidentially[1] but I should be grateful if any publicity could be avoided for the present.

Yours sincerely,
LINLITHGOW

[1]Jinnah wrote to say that the whole matter would be placed before the AIML Working Committee and that he would communicate its views to him as soon as possible. See F. 95/121, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Abdulkader Moosa Lakhani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 137/45

HIGH COURT ROAD,
BHAVNAGAR,
14 August 1940

Dear Sir,

I am herewith sending you a photographic copy of the letter of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, which he wrote to one of the Hindus interested in the Bhavnagar Riot Case. I have translated the letter verbatim in English for you as the original letter is in Gujerati. I have obtained the photograph of the letter with some difficulty. The person [to] whom the letter is addressed was one of the prosecution witnesses who was disbelieved by the *Hazur* Court (but who was relied upon by the Sessions Court). We can have an idea from the tone of the letter what Mr. Ghanshyam might have written to Mr. Patel. Moreover, one can gather from the letter what interest Mr. Patel might have taken, looking to the fact that Mr. Patel is the President-elect of the Bhavnagar Praja Parishad. The riot took place at [on] the occasion of Mr. Patel's procession and that the person to whom the letter is addressed was an important witness of the prosecution who was finally disbelieved by the Appellate Court. I do not wish to suggest the manner in which the letter be used. I leave it to your discretion.

You might have received a copy of the judgement of the Appeal Court which I sent to you a couple of days back.

At present, I have nothing more to add; so I conclude.

Yours faithfully,
A. M. LAKHANI
M.A., LL.B. Pleader,
President, Bhavnagar State Muslim League

N.B. The negative of the photograph is with me.

Enclosure to No. 546
Vallabhbhai Patel to Ghanshyam

F. 137/46

68 MARINE DRIVE,
BOMBAY 1,
2 August 1940

Brother Ghanshyam,

I had your letter at Poona. Thereafter I became ill, so there has been delay in replying you.

Hardly anybody else would have experienced surprise and grief which I felt at the result of Bhavnagar Riot Case. The question is only this that [*sic*] can anything be done now in that matter? I had a detailed talk with Bhai Balvantrai in that connection. You better see him. He will satisfy you. At times occasions arise when it is better to keep silent. Hindu Raja, Hindu Minister, Hindu Judge [and] Hindus were murdered; under such circumstances when Hindus get such justice, what fault (is there) of Muslims. At times, it happens that it is the fruit of our deeds (*Karma*).

Note that I have felt more grief than you. *Vande Matram*

VALLABHBHAI

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K. T. M. Ahmed Ibrahim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 572/30

2/14 THAMBU CHETTY STREET,
GEORGE TOWN,
MADRAS,
14 August 1940

Dear Sir,

I have the greatest pleasure in forwarding to you the following resolution passed by the Council of the Madras Presidency Muslim League at its meeting, held on the 4th inst[ant] with Moulvi Syed Murtuza Sahib, MLA (Central), one of the Vice-Presidents, in the chair:

> This Council reiterates its unshaken and implicit confidence in the leadership of Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. Jinnah, and emphatically

approves of the attitude adopted by him in his reply to the last telegram of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, which attitude correctly represents the feelings of the Muslims in the matter.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. T. M. AHMED IBRAHIM
Hony. Secretary,
Madras Presidency Muslim League

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K. T. M. Ahmed Ibrahim to M. A. Jinnah

F. 572/31-5

2/14 THAMBU CHETTY STREET,
GEORGE TOWN,
MADRAS,
14 August 1940

Dear Sir,

DISCIPLINARY ACTION AGAINST MEMBERSHIP OF WAR COMMITTEE

I beg to forward to you the following resolution passed by the Council of the Madras Presidency Muslim League at its meeting held on 4-8-40:

> This Council places on record its warm appreciation of the prompt compliance of [*sic* for by] the following gentlemen with the Madras Presidency Muslim League's resolution as regards membership of War Committees:
>
> Messrs D. Abdul Rawoof Sahib, B.A., B.L., MLA, K. Rahmatullah Sahib, MLA, A. K. Mayan Haji, Syed Abdullah bin Abdul Khadar Bafakhy Thangal and S. M. Abdul Haque Sahib, MLC.
>
> The Council also appreciates the action of those members of the League who declined to serve on the War Committees in accordance with the Resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League. This Council resolves to submit to the President of the All India Muslim League all cases of non-compliance with the Resolutions of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League and of this Council regarding membership of War Committees for directions as to the kind and extent of the action to be taken in such cases so as to

ensure uniformity of action throughout India.

Mr. Abdul Hameed Khan Sahib, MLA, whose name was included in the Provincial War Committee without his consent, promptly resigned his membership as soon as the personnel of the Committee were announced.

Subsequent to the passing of the above resolution, we have received intimation that the following gentlemen also have resigned their membership of War Committees on the 30th of July 1940 in conformity with the previous resolution of the Madras Presidency Muslim League referred to in the resolution quoted above:

i. *Janab* Mahboob Ali Baig Sahib, B.A., B.L., MLA
Govt. Pleader, Bezwada
ii. Jagirdar Mohamed Ghulam Mohideen Sahib
Bezwada
iii. *Janab* Mohamed Baig Sahib, Bezwada
iv. *Janab* S. M. Abdul Azeez Sahib
v. *Janab* Abdul Khader Sahib
vi. *Janab* Abdul Sathar Sahib

Those members of the Muslim League who have not resigned their membership of War Committees fall into two classes, viz.:

a. Those who do not like to resign from War Committee but are resigning from the Muslim League and
b. Those who have not replied to the Muslim League and have not declared their intentions in the matter.

Gentlemen belonging to the first class, i.e. those who are resigning from the Muslim League are the following:

1. Khan Bahadur P. Khalifullah Sahib, M.A., B.L., MLA, Advocate, Trichinopoly, ex-Interim Minister [and] Vice-President of the Madras Presidency Muslim League, who was elected to the Legislative Assembly on the Muslim League ticket.
2. Khan Bahadur P.M. Attakkoya Thangal, MLA, Calicut, who was elected to the Assembly on the Justice Party ticket, but subsequently joined the Muslim League Legislative Party.
3. *Janab* Mir Akram Ali Sahib, B.A., B.L., MLA, Government Pleader [and] President, Primary Muslim League, Rajahmundry. He was elected to the Assembly on the Justice Party ticket but subsequently joined the Muslim League Legislative Party.
4. Khan Sahib K. M. Unnien Sahib, Kodur, South Malabar.

Of the above gentlemen, Khan Bahadur P. Khalifullah Sahib says that he, on the strength of your earlier pronouncements, made a

definite commitment to H.E. the Governor of Madras, that he is unable to go back on his word and that his other alternative would be to resign from the Muslim League. He requests that his letter on the subject may be submitted to you for your orders. We beg to enclose herewith the same letter.[1]

Khan Bahadur P. Attakkoya Thangal and Khan Sahib K. M. Unnien Sahib write that though they have full confidence in the Muslim League they are not able to agree with the policy of the League regarding War Committees and that they are, therefore, resigning from the Muslim League. Copies of their letters are enclosed herein.[2]

On behalf of *Janab* Mir Akram Ali Sahib, the Rajahmundry Primary League says that he has to be on the War Committee as a Government Pleader and that, therefore, the said League has accepted his resignation from the presidentship of the same League. A copy of the said resolution is enclosed herein.[3]

The following are the gentlemen who belong to the second class, among those who have not resigned from the War Committees, that is to say, those who have not replied to the Muslim League and have not declared their intentions in the matter: [*sic*]

1. *Janab* V.S.T. Shaik Mansoor Tharaganar, MLA (who was elected to the Assembly on the Muslim League ticket), Melapalaiyam, Tinnevelley District.
2. *Janab* P.T.C. Diwan Mohideen Rowther, Vice-President, Tinnevelley District Muslim League and President, Pettai Primary Muslim League and Municipal Councillor, returned on the Muslim League ticket.
3. *Janab* L.K.S. Labbai Mohamed Abdullah Sahib, Vice-President, Tinnevelley District Muslim League and sometime President of the Melapalaiyam Primary Muslim League and member, Tinnevelly District Board, returned on the Muslim League ticket.
4. *Janab* S. Khader Mohamed Nainor Sahib, M.A., B.L., Advocate and Public Prosecutor, Madura, [and] sometime President of the Madura District Muslim League.
5. *Janab* T. M. Moosa Sahib, Tellichery, North Malabar
6. *Janab* Abdurahiman Sait Sahib, Calicut, South Malabar
7. *Janab* C. Kunhi Moosa Sahib, Calicut, South Malabar
8. *Janab* Khan Sahib K. Kunhahmed Koya Sahib, Calicut, South Malabar
9. *Janab* Khan Bahadur O.P.M. Muthukoya Thangal, Malappuram Malabar
10. *Janab* Khan Sahib V. K. Unni Kamoo Sahib, MLA, Clavakkot Malabar
11. *Janab* Khan Sahib V. Attakkoya Thangal, Ponani, S. Malabar

12. *Janab* Khan Sahib V. Kunhi Moyi Haji Sahib, Manjeri, Malabar
13. *Janab* Khan Sahib M. P. Moideen Kutty Kurikkal, Manjeri, Malabar

In this connection, there may be other members of the League who are on the War Committees but the Presidency League has so far got information only regarding the above-said members.

I have also to mention here that the Council feels that the same kind of action has to be taken against those who are resigning from the Muslim League as against those who have not replied regarding their intentions, that is to say, against classes (i) and (ii) referred to above.

Since this is a matter affecting the whole of Muslim India the Council of the Madras Presidency Muslim League feels that it is desirable that the disciplinary action to be taken against [the] members who have violated the resolution of the League should be uniform throughout India, and any variance or difference in the action taken by several Provincial Leagues will be matter for legitimate grievance. I request you, therefore, to give us directions as to the kind of action to be taken in the matter.

Thanking you for an early reply,

Yours sincerely,
K. T. M. AHMED IBRAHIM
Honorary Secretary,
Madras Presidency Muslim League

[1]See F. 1098/294, *QAP*. Not printed.
[2&3]See F. 1098/282-4, *QAP*. Not printed.

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Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah & Others

F. 302/37

QUETTA,
14 August 1940

Sir,

I have the honour to submit below a copy of the Resolution passed at the Annual Session of the Baluchistan Muslim League, held on the 26th-28th July 1940 at Quetta under the Presidentship of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, MLA (UP), General Secretary, All India Muslim League:

This annual session of the Baluchistan Muslim League most

strongly condemns the intolerably rude and insulting treatment meted out to the elite and other Muslim citizens of Baluchistan, who had assembled on the 26th July 1940 outside Railway Station Quetta to welcome the President-elect Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, MLA (UP), General Secretary of the All India Muslim League, and who were refused admission to the Railway platform for no reason whatsoever. This session further condemns the partisan spirit displayed in permitting on the 25th July 1940 a large number of Hindu citizens to receive a Hindu leader at the platform and refusing a similar facility to the Muslims on exactly a similar occasion. This session consequently demands that persons responsible for maltreatment be given exemplary punishment.

I beg to remain,
Sir,
Yours obediently,
Q. M. ISA
President,
Baluchistan Muslim League

550

Formuzul Huq to District & Subdivisional Secretaries,
Bengal Muslim League
(Copy to M. A. Jinnah)

F. 1098/307

WACHEL MOLLA MANSIONS,
8 DHARAMTOLLA STREET,
CALCUTTA,
15 August 1940

Dear Sir,

I beg to invite your attention to the Resolution of the All India Muslim League regarding boycott of War Committees and to state that the said Resolution must be followed by every Muslim League member without any further delay.

We would in this connection request you to see that the Resolution is forthwith given effect to by all branches under your League.

Yours faithfully,
FORMUZUL HUQ
Asst. Secretary

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Jamilud Din Ahmad to M. A. Jinnah

F. 199/30-1

4 A NAZIR AHMAD ROAD,
ALIGARH,
15 August 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you got my previous letter. I am sorry I have to encroach upon your time again when you are so busy. But the matter is really urgent [and], therefore, I crave your indulgence.

The Congressites have launched a new offensive on the University. Having failed to win over an appreciable number of students by direct methods of approach, they have now resorted to a new but dangerous stunt. They have started a society, called the 'Academic Internationale', an apparently harmless academic society. They give out the aim of the society as the study of conditions of different countries of the world and of Indian problems against an international background. But its real aim is the same as was [that] of the Congress mass contact and the Students' Federation, a Communist body. They have resorted to this new tactic to attract the students to Congress 'nationalism' and Communist ideology. These agents are being liberally financed by the Congress. Of course, as you know, the authorities of this University are supremely indifferent to the undercurrents of University life. A handful of Muslim League workers is the only helpless body to counter the nefarious designs of the Congressite and Communist clique. We are doing our best but what we expect is that our leaders would strengthen our hands by paying us frequent visits. Most freshers in the beginning of the session have an open mind. If they have things explained to them effectively by our leaders they are less likely to be swayed by the other side. Will you, therefore, very kindly arrange for some members of the Working Committee to visit us during this first term which

ends on the 23rd September? May I also suggest that your visit to Aligarh this year may be fixed sometime during the second term which is from 4th October to 21st December. This would be more useful than a visit at the fag-end of the year in March.

I am also awaiting your advice regarding publication of my article.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
JAMILUD DIN AHMAD

552

Khwaja Nazimuddin to M. A. Jinnah

F. 392/31

9 GARIAHAT ROAD,
CALCUTTA,
16 August 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am enclosing a wire from Mr. Tytler of the Caledonian Printing Press, Calcutta, who saw you with my letter at Delhi about the *Star of India*. He is now in England and has suggested the appointment of a qualified London journalist who should put up [*sic* for across] the Muslim League point of view in the English press. We in Bengal cannot find the money. I do not know what the position is at present, but if you think that this is necessary, then perhaps you may consider the proposal. There is another alternative. Mr. Atkinson—Editor of the *Star of India*—is going to England as correspondent of the *Star of India* (Mr. Ispahani and I decided to have a Muslim editor for the *Star of India*). For half the sum mentioned in the wire, Mr. Atkinson can undertake to put [across the] Muslim League point of view in the English newspapers. I hope you will kindly give your earnest attention to the suggestion given by me in this letter.

Yours sincerely,
K. NAZIMUDDIN

Enclosure to No. 552
P. Tytler to Star of India

Telegram, F. 392/32

LONDON,
14 August 1940

Are Muslim League prepared appoint qualified London journalist with Indian connection represent their case in English press at salary not exceeding five hundred pounds. Contact Ispahani requesting Jinnah cable me if desirous. Long cable from Gandhi to *News Chronicle* again representing Congress as only authoritative Indian opinion.

TYTLER

553

Laurence P. Atkinson to M. A. Jinnah

F. 773/214-5

34 TO 40 LUDGATE HILL,
LONDON, E.C.4,
16 August 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Under separate cover, Sir Nazimuddin is sending you by this same post a cable we received from Mr. P. Tytler of the Caledonian Printing Co., who is now in London, in which Mr. Tytler desires to know whether the Muslim League will be prepared to pay £500 a year to an English journalist to represent the Muslim League point of view in England. Sir Nazimuddin is conveying the proposition to you and he is also conveying to you an alternative proposition, and that is in view of the fact that I am almost immediately proceeding to England as correspondent of the *Star of India,* that I would be prepared to undertake Muslim League propaganda work for half the money.

I need hardly tell you that there is a crying need for the Muslim League point of view to be placed before the British public which is only fed on Congress propaganda. As you might have seen for more than a year the *Star of India* has stressed this need as it has seen papers like the *Manchester Guardian* and the *News Chronicle* stoutly championing the cause of the Congress not because they are bought up by the Congress but with an honest misunderstanding that it is

the Congress and only Congress which counts for anything as a political entity. Strange to say that even before Mr. Tytler's cable arrived last night I wrote somewhat in this strain again in the *Star of India* yesterday. Enclosed for your information is a cutting of the leaderette in question.

As Sir Nazimuddin has told you, Mr. M. A. Ispahani has taken control of the *Star of India* and wants to have a Muslim editor for the paper. I am being sent to London as special correspondent of the *Star of India* at least for one year, passage paid. I can very easily do Muslim League propaganda work in London in addition to my duties for the *Star of India* and in this connection I would mention that I already have connections in London inasmuch [as] I represent in India two of the leading news agencies, viz. the Exchange Telegraph Co. and the British United Press. I would also add that for more than three years now I have been cabling to England the Muslim point of view, including many extracts of your speeches, and have had the *Star of India* quoted on the B.B.C.

I am also going with letters of introduction to Lord Halifax [formerly Lord Irwin], Col. Amery, Viscount Wolmer, Sir F. K. Noon, Lord Willingdon, Mr. Butler, Lord Lloyd, Sir Frank Brown, Sir Walter Smiles and Mr. Joyce of the India Office and Coteman of the B.B.C.

I have booked my passage on the S. S. *Nakunda* which is due to sail in the last week of this month from Bombay. Immediately I arrive in Bombay, I shall inform you by wire of my arrival and hope that it will be possible for you to give me an interview the same morning and all I ask of you to-day is for you not to come to a decision on this London representation, if any, until I have seen you. It is difficult to put the whole case in a letter. This I hope to do when I meet you.

Trusting you are well and with my kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
LAURENCE P. ATKINSON
[*Editor,* Star of India]

554

Ghulam Bhik Nairang to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/308-9

CONFIDENTIAL

CAMP CAWNPORE,
16 August 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I have been touring about since the 9th instant and this tour will continue for about a month more, but letters addressed to me at Ambala City are redirected to me according to my programme.

When I arrived here yesterday, I received, among others, a letter enclosing three typed letters which I was asked to sign and send to a certain gentleman. I enclose herewith these typed letters.

As I felt sure that you must be quite aware of what is going on, I did not write to you earlier about the Hindu press propaganda to the effect that you had failed to give proper lead to the Muslims and that, therefore, Sir Sikander Hyat Khan should take your place. Of course, the Hindu press and the Hindus for that matter always know best what is really beneficial for the Musalmans, but even the Anglo-Indian press has been at work to insinuate, if not suggest, such a course, and what has been most painful to me all along is that Sir Sikander has not uttered a word to deprecate this propaganda. He should have unequivocally announced, at the very commencement of this mischievous propaganda, that whatever differences of opinion he may have with you on any point, he cannot tolerate the suggestion that he is to replace you as President of the All India Muslim League and the leader of Muslim India. He has been quietly watching the game and people have, therefore, come to infer that he is at the bottom of it.

Under the above circumstances, I have written to the good friend who had sent me the enclosed letters to say that I cannot, in all conscience, be a party to the proposed resolutions, and that although under ordinary circumstances, I would have considered this sort of thing merely as a constitutional move, I could not detach it from the background furnished by the propaganda referred to above.

My information is that a man or several men have been sent round to canvass members of the League Council all over the country and preparations for a big fight are being made.

Perhaps the time for a purge of the Working Committee, in fact of

the entire Council, has come, but I need not go beyond a mere suggestion as I am confident that you know the ins and outs of the matter. It is most lamentable how little sense of solidarity and discipline is there among our people. Place-seekers and job-hunters have always proved a stumbling block in our way. How fine it would be to get rid of them!

Yours sincerely,
GHULAM BHIK NAIRANG

555

Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 321/33-4

MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
17 August 1940

My dear leader,

I thank you very much for your letter of the 14th [13th] instant,[1] and for your instructions regarding matters on which I had sought your advice. The Provincial League will certainly act according to your advice.

I dare say the Working Committee of the League while considering the Viceroy's statement, will bear in mind the advisability of the Muslim League extending its influence and control beyond the central sphere to the provinces. You are certainly aware of the enormous harm that the Congress ministries have done during the[ir] two and a half year's regime to the Muslim community in all their provinces. Madras was no exception. The effect of their mischievous activities is still there unabated. The Governors' administration has not effected any change at any rate in matters which directly affect the community. Under the circumstances, it seems to me imperative that just as the Congress lays great emphasis on the question of provincial administration for their own sake, the Muslim League also should secure control in the provincial sphere so that, besides undoing the Congress wrongs, the League will have an opportunity of consolidating its power, which will be a definite source of strength to the League when the question of future constitution is on the anvil, to be shaped to the advantage of the community as a whole. Possession is nine points of law [*sic*].

It is true that our representatives being at the centre will be a source of strength to our organization both now and in the future. Our country is so vast; in my humble opinion, it is absolutely necessary that we should lay a solid foundation in the provinces also for future ramifications and security.

I do not believe that imaginative reports in the so-called nationalist press, regarding your demands in your interview with the Viceroy, have any foundation. It was mentioned that in the provinces you have asked the Viceroy to continue the Governors' administration. Even if it is true, it must be to keep out the Congress from coming back into office. I do not think that this prevents the Governors from expanding their Council of Advisors in accordance with the expansion of Viceroy's Executive Council. I had not written so far on this subject lest personal ambitions should be suspected. But the question is so vital and so very intimately allied to the question of all-India expansion of League's influence, I feel that I should submit my views on it.

I wonder if the Muslim League Working Committee has considered inviting a few non-members to some of its meetings.

With affectionate regards and esteem,

Yours very sincerely,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN
MLA
Member, All India Muslim League Council

[1]No. 541.

556

S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

F. 304/43-4

ISMAIL MANZIL,
PATNA CITY,
17 August 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

As already stated in all my previous correspondence, while fully realizing your [pre]occupations, I have no desire to encroach on your overtaxed patience. If, however, I have written to you several letters in the course of this month, I think I was amply

justified, for the course of events have [*sic* for has] warranted my keeping you acquainted with the state of affairs in my Province. As the Provincial President and your colleague of the Muslim League, I consider it my duty to inform you and to seek your advice whenever necessary.

I have already taken action against those members who have defied orders of the Muslim League. I had already communicated to you, through my letters dated 30th [29th] July,[1] 10th[2] and 12th August,[3] respectively [*sic*], detailed information. My wire dated 10th August[4] is kindly acknowledged by you on the subject of further future activities of the training and recruitment of the Muslim National Guards. Your kind message in reply reads as follows:

> Wire. Will communicate after Working Committee meeting.

After the message was received, I have been considering as to what should I do until your Working Committee definitely decides the issue. Now that the Working Committee meeting has been postponed and I have received notice of some resolutions to be discussed in our Provincial Working Committee, which is meeting on the 26th August, I feel considerable difficulties in allowing the training to continue as the ban imposed by the Government of India order is there and if we defy, we are liable to legal proceedings. In the circumstances, would it be too much for me to suggest that an early definite lead on all-India basis with the uniformity of action shall soon be decided so that the work may progress. I am further sending you true copy of what had appeared in the *Indian Nation* dated the 14th August 1940.[5] This news has also been given wide publicity in Calcutta papers and other papers. I have replied to the news which is already published in the *Searchlight*, copy enclosed[6] for your information. Much mischief is being done by the publication and circulation of these [*sic* for this] news. My surmise is correct that the so-called prominent Muslim Leaguer of Bihar is no person other than Sir Sultan Ahmad. Whatever he may write, we are prepared to give him a fitting reply in our next Working Committee [meeting] by repudiating all such activities. If no harm [*sic*] and not inconvenient, a line in acknowledgment of all my letters shall be highly appreciated. Humanly speaking, your provincial

colleagues, when doing right, expect encouragement.[7]

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
ISMAIL

[1]No. 484.
[2]No. 531.
[3]No. 536.
[4]See F. 304/37, *QAP*. Not printed.
[5]See ibid., 45. Not printed.
[6]See ibid., 46-8. Not printed.
[7]Jinnah replied that he (Ismail) was proceeding on the right lines and that he (Jinnah) would write to him after the Working Committee meeting scheduled for 31 August 1940. See F. 304/49, *QAP*. Not printed.

557

Hasan Reyaz to M. A. Jinnah

F. 561/49

ALL INDIA MUSLIM LEAGUE OFFICE,
DARYAGUNJ, DELHI,
18 August 1940

Dear Sir,

I deliberately delayed writ[ing] you my impressions concerning the reaction to your telegram,[1] in reply to that of Moulvi Abul Kalam Azad,[2] on Muslim public, as I wanted to study it in detail. The reports, statements and letters which we have received, so far, to be published in the *Manshoor* and which are being published every week; and also the information which I have gathered from the Urdu press, the only medium of Muslim public opinion, clearly show that the Muslims all over India have fully appreciated your action in this matter. They endorsed every word of your telegram and are feeling hilarious at it which they regard as their final victory over the traitors and the enemies both. No primary, city or district League in any part of the country is neglecting the first opportunity they get of expressing themselves on this subject. Judging from their resolutions one finds a remarkable unanimity among them on the points, *viz.* that the President of the All India Muslim League expressed true feelings of Muslim India, that the language and the

tone of the telegram was quite appropriate and that they have full confidence in Mr. Jinnah's leadership.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HASAN REYAZ

[1]No. 424.
[2]No. 423.

558

Qazi Mohammad Isa to M. A. Jinnah

F. 302/39-41

RANI BAGH,
QUETTA,
18 August 1940

My dear Quaid-i-Azam,

We had a very successful annual session; every Musalman here missed you a lot. You must have read the accounts of the session in the newspapers. Our local Govt. lately has adopted a very revengeful attitude towards our organization. But, thank God, instead of harming us, it has made the organization stronger. Please don't forget the fate of the oppressed people of this Province who are anxiously looking forward towards their Quaid-i-Azam. I was ready to come to Bombay for the meeting but then I was informed about its postponement. I come there simply to refresh myself by seeing you, otherwise [I have] no interest in the lot that comes there. The local Govt., under instructions from the Central Govt., has banned our Muslim National Guards. We do not know what to do. I am continuing the fight on one technical point and I hope it would be with your approval. Part I of the Home [Department] Notification[1] says: "...the Central Government is pleased to prohibit the performance within the British India...." Quetta is not a part of British India. The town is leased from Kalat State; and I am going to fight on this point. I received a cable from our solicitors in England, stating:

> Quetta appeal probably listed early next term. Cable balance enlist also instructions leader urgent. Polak.

Then I received a letter from them saying:

> It is necessary for us to have the case on behalf of the respondents printed, and to take other steps in prosecution of this appeal.

Counsel's fees for settling the respondents' case and for conference are due and payable, and our fees for personal attendance etc., have also accrued, apart from various items of out-of-pocket expenses. We trust, therefore, that we shall shortly receive a cabled substantial remittance further on account of costs as requested. We should be obliged if you would kindly let us know which senior counsel should be engaged in the event of Mr. A. M. Dunne, K. C., not being available, unless you prefer to leave the choice in the present circumstances to ourselves.

I wonder how much money to send them as they have not sent me their bill and what amount do you think would be adequate? Under the present conditions, it seems impossible for us to go to England and on this ground can we demand a further postponement[?] Also furnish me, please, with further instructions.[2]

Is it possible to have the case transferred to the Federal Court of India? I may be coming soon to Bombay. Do you intend calling the Working Committee meeting soon?

I do hope and pray that you are in the best of health. My *aadaab* to Miss Jinnah. My wife sends you both, her *aadaab*.

Yours sincerely,
Q. M. ISA

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 720-3.
[2]See No. 562.

559

Raza Ali to M. A. Jinnah
F. 220/19-21

HOTEL CECIL,
SIMLA,
19 August 1940

Dear Jinnah,

Lord Linlithgow has made his announcement[1] and Mr. Amery has supplemented it by his speech in the [House of] Commons.[2] Thanks to your ceaseless vigil, the community can face the future with confidence. Here is an interview[3] that I gave to the press on publication of the Viceroy's announcement. I send the full text as I am not sure whether it appeared in Bombay papers in full.

The Congress press is all bitterness and hostility. Enclosed are

leading editorials from the *Hindustan Times* of August 17 and 18.[4] If there is any point on which you[5] would like to have the views of the Working Committee or the Council of the League, there is ample time to convene a meeting in Bombay or Delhi.

I have come to Simla for the meetings of the Public Accounts Committee and will stay here till the end of August.

May I add that there is censorship on letters from, but not on letters to, Simla.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
RAZA ALI

[1]See Enclosure to No. 506.
[2]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 727-39.
[3&4]Not traceable.
[5]Jinnah replied that the leading articles, of which clippings had been sent by him reflected the oft-repeated views of the Congress high command. See F. 220/22, *QAP*. Not printed.

560

Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/114-6

PESHAWAR,
19 August 1940

Dear Sir,

I must offer you my most grateful and prayerful congratulations on the most diplomatic way in which you have conducted the talks successfully with H. E. the Viceroy. The clarifications provided by Honourable the Secretary of State especially about:

i. That the Viceroy will go ahead with the scheme with the parties who care to co-operate. These do represent India minus Congress and I am sure the co-operating lot is about nine-tenths of the entire India.
ii. The powers and functions of the new members and the W.A.C. (War Advisory Council).
iii. That Muslim India as a body stands aloof from Congress.
iv. That the Muslims are not a minority.

God Almighty may give you reward for all this selfless service. As your humble lieutenant, I have done my bit and I started it after you were graciously pleased to tell me as to what Sir Sikander

or Mr. Huq were driving at. Here is another letter from Honourable Mr. Huq—the emotional Lion of Bengal roared and foamed in his first letter but in this he is completely gratified and composed.

What I learn from Punjab sources, Sir Sikander is also in penitent mood and I think I will again play the loyal role of your second in bringing peace and in begging of you in great generosity to give him a forgiving and cordial reception.

May I again respectfully congratulate you on the most sagacious way you have solved the Punjab War Committee question. The toady Punjab was awfully downhearted and further insistence would have brought about their "political heart failure"—thank God it is also A1.

From what I learn in the press and otherwise, I think war minister will also be from new ministers. I hope you must have secured this portfolio for your nominee because your nominees do represent Muslim India and as such martial races, a Muslim must be war minister, but I think you must have secured this also by this time. May Almighty *Allah* grant you complete success.

Insha Allah, I will be in Bombay on the morning of the 30th with Mr. Sadullah Khan.

More when we meet. May *Allah* grant you health, spirits and brilliant success.

With filial regards to you and fraternal regards to Miss Jinnah,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB

561

Ghazanfar Ali to M. A. Jinnah

F. 346/1-2

CARE POSTMASTER,
SRINAGAR,
20 August 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

From Bombay I went straight to Simla and conveyed to Sir Sikander Hyat Khan your message regarding Khaksars and the gist of the conversation[1] our deputation had with you regarding Punjab Muslim Leaguers' participation in the War Committees. As regards the

former, he said that S. Ahmad Shah had seen him at Simla and had gone to see Allama Mashriqi and that he would bear in mind your advice in further discussions with him. As regards the latter, you must have seen the resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Punjab Muslim League on the 15[14] July[2] calling upon the Muslim Leaguers to sever their connection from [*sic* for with] War Committees. I do hope that your negotiations with the Viceroy will satisfactorily conclude at an early date and it would be possible for you to come to Srinagar for a few weeks' holiday to recoup your health which, I was sorry to notice at Bombay meeting, had gone down so much owing to the most strenuous time you have had during the last few months.

With kind regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
GHAZANFAR ALI

[1]Jinnah told the deputation from the Punjab that after giving due consideration to their demands, he had come to the conclusion that no exception to the general rule was possible in the case of the Punjab League leaders and that they, too, were required to abstain from joining the War Committees pending the outcome of Jinnah-Linlithgow contacts. Counselling them to comply with the Working Committee's Resolution of 17 June 1940, he said they would thereby advance the cause to which they were all committed. See Humayoon Adeeb, *Tehreek-i- Pakistan: Punjab Aur Mamdot* (Urdu), Lahore, 1987, 146.
[2]See Enclosure No. 460.

562

M. A. Jinnah to Qazi Mohammad Isa

F. 302/44

BOMBAY,
20 August 1940

Dear Mr. Isa,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 18th August,[1] and I am very glad to receive all the information contained in your letter.

By now you must have got the intimation that the Working Committee is going to meet on the 31st inst[ant]. The various matters referred to in your letter will receive my attention, and we will discuss them at length when you come to Bombay as I hope you will

attend this very important meeting without fail.

With kind regards to you both from Miss Jinnah and me,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

Qazi Mohammad Isa,
Ranibagh,
Quetta

[1]No. 558.

563

M. A. Jinnah to Jamilud Din Ahmad

F. 199/32

BOMBAY,
20 August 1940

Dear Mr. Jamilud Din,

I am in receipt of your letters of the 10th[1] and 15th August 1940[2] and thank you very much indeed for all the information.

I am confident that all this wretched effort on the part of the Congress is going to fail miserably. Keep a stout heart and carry on.

With regard to the pamphlet, please have it printed at once. I am enclosing a cheque for Rs. 75, as desired by you. Please let me have as many copies as you can spare and distribute the rest according to your plan mentioned in your letter of the 10th August.

With regard to sending some of the members of the Working Committee to Aligarh, I shall see what I can do.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]No. 529.
[2]No. 551.

564

Agha Ghazanfar Ali Shah to M. A. Jinnah

F. 1098/311

BULANDSHAHR,
U.P.,
21 August 1940

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope you will not mind the epithet, for verily you are very dear to me this day. I see in you a bold pilot steering the rudderless craft of the Indian Muslims through the shoals of difficulties and oceans of troubles to the heaven of bliss. God may bless you and give you courage to achieve your goal.

It is really very disgraceful that persons like Sir Sikander should defy your commands and thwart your will; yet again I see you towering high like a gigantic, adamantine, solid rock which the froth could not permeate. You are really great. Now, at this hour of your triumph, you should not forget us, the Khaksars, who are the bulwark of the Musalmans of India, Burma, Africa and Bahrain. Our organization of fourteen million strong is desired to be crushed and annihilated by the same person who is trying in vain to outflank you. We seek the protection of the man who is today the recognized leader of ninety million Musalmans of Hindustan. You may not perhaps feel disposed to interfere in the affairs of a body which you think is not under your direct control but I assure you that this conception is untenable. We are part and parcel of the Muslim community believing in both the doctrines of the *Qur'an—Innamal Mominoona Ikhwah* (*Momins* are certainly brothers) and *Wa Atti-'ul-Amri Minkum* (Obey your leaders who are from amongst you). In this dual capacity, as Musalmans we are ready to fight shoulder to shoulder with anyone for the benefit of the Muslim community at large, but as Khaksars, bound under rigid discipline and Qur'anic rule, the orders must come through our own Khaksar officers. If you would have been a Khaksar, believe me, I would have been the first to request Allama [Mashriqi] to abdicate in your favour and he would have gladly done so. Even now you can take the command provided you enter the brotherhood and take the initiations [*sic*]. However, I believe you are too big to be chagrined by such an ordinary matter and too wise to know that politics and

soldiering cannot join in one person. *To baz-i-Saad-i-Shahi, ba ustokhan manigar. Humaiy himmat khud ra buland deh perwaz.* (You are the falcon of the king's wrist. You should not look towards bones. You should fly the *huma* of your courage high up). We recognize in you the most lustrous jewel in the diadem of the Muslim community of Hindustan. It is impossible for us to be your adversary or in anyway averse to you. We shall be pleased to do anything you require us to do but the command must come through our high command.

Will it be asking too much if I request you to ask the Government of India to allow Allama Inayatullah Khan Al-mashriqi, the founder of the Khaksar Movement, at present confined in the Vellore Jail in the Madras Presidency, on parole, to attend the meeting of the Muslim League Working Committee to be held in Bombay on the 31st of August 1940. The Congress has asked so many non-members to attend the meeting of their Working Committee. It will raise the prestige of not only the Khaksars but also the Muslim League and show to the world at large that the Musalmans of whatever designation and import they may be, are bound together by the strongest tie of *La illaha ilallaho Mohammadur Rasulullah*

Yours very sincerely,
AGHA GHAZANFAR ALI SHAH
Advocate
A Khaksar

565

Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 321/37

MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
25 August 1940

My dear leader,

As I feared, it was in pursuance of the resolution of the Working Committee of the Congress[1] that the meeting of the Congress Legislative Party was arranged to which we were also invited in our individual capacity and not as a party. I dare say that such meetings were convened in other Congress-majority provinces also. We were required to attend to give support to the Congress in

condemning the Govt. attitude towards their demands. We were rightly advised by you to abstain. One member of my party, Mr. Malang Ahmad Badsha, MLA, was anxious to attend the meeting, for he seems to have implicit faith in the *bona fides* of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar. It was a shock to him when he was told that it would be wrong for us to attend the meeting and that no purpose of ours will be served by our attending.

I have been invited by the Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League to attend the meeting on the first *proximo*. God willing, I will be in Bombay on Thursday morning and I am looking forward to meeting you the same day. Moulana Syed Abdul Wahab Bokhari, MLC, is also going with me.

With affectionate regards,

Yours very sincerely,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 563-9.

566

Sayed M. F. Peerzade to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/552-3

ANKOLA,
N. KANARA,
25 August 1940

Revered Quaid-i-Azam,

Assalaamo 'Alaikum

I hope you have duly received my previous letter.[1] I once again crave your indulgence for the following lines and earnestly hope you will kindly excuse me for the trouble.

As the Working Committee of the League is meeting on the 31st instant, it is hoped that you are by now in possession of the final reply of the Viceroy in regard to the clarification you must have sought of points left vague and equivocal in the Viceroy's declaration[2] and Mr. Amery's speech[3] as well as those matters incidental thereto. In my humble opinion, satisfactory assurances in respect of the following, among other matters, ought to have been obtained from the British Government.

De novo consideration of the entire constitutional question after

the war should include consideration of the Pakistan scheme also and the parliamentary democratic system of government as obtains in the United Kingdom should be completely modified so as to suit the peculiar and unique conditions of this country. As regards the proposed additions to the Viceroy's Council, only nominees of the League should be accepted by the Government as representatives of the Muslim community. The League shall have complete control over these nominees and shall be free to reserve to itself the right of withdrawing its co-operation and recalling its representatives on the proposed Council, whenever it deems fit. Till the time a constitution is finally framed for the country, non-official advisers should be appointed from the opposition parties in the Congress-[governed] provinces. The ban imposed on the volunteer organizations should either be lifted from [*sic*] or so relaxed as to make it possible for the Muslim National Guards and other League volunteer organizations to function as before without of course coming in any way into clash with Government.

On the desired assurances forthcoming, I think the League should declare to [*sic*] lend its co-operation in the war efforts. In its present mood, it appears that the Congress is not likely to revise its attitude of non-co-operation at least for some time to come. But the other Hindu organizations, particularly the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikhs, are too eager to seize this opportunity to wield what little power they can at the Centre if only with a view to opposing the Muslims and thwart[ing] their progress. It is clear, therefore, that the Congress non-co-operation, even its hostile attitude, will not materially affect the power and influence of the Hindus and other anti-Muslim elements in the reconstituted Viceroy's Council. Besides, the League, if it decides to co-operate, will have to work with bodies like the Hindu Mahasabha, the sworn enemies of the Muslims. Nevertheless, looking broadly and deeply at the problem from the point of view of the Muslims, not only of India but also of other countries interested in the cause of Britain, I think the League will do well to accord the Government its full assistance and co-operation at this critical juncture.

I shall be deeply indebted if you kindly favour me with an early reply.
With humble regards to [your]self,

I beg to remain,
Your humble brother-in-Islam,
SAYED M. F. PEERZADE

[1]No. 537.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 506.
[3]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 727-39.

567

S. M. Ismail to M. A. Jinnah

Telegram, F. 304/50-63

PATNA,
26 August 1940

RESOLUTION

Bihar Provincial Muslim League Working Committee this afternoon unanimously adopted the following resolution moved from the chair:

The Working Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League in the name of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League and on behalf of the Bihar Provincial Muslim Leaguers do reiterate in unequivocal terms their unshaken faith and implicit confidence in the acknowledged and undisputed leadership of their much-esteemed and highly revered Quaid-i-Azam, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, who alone has absolute and unimpeachable authority to speak and to deliver the goods on behalf of the Muslim India. The Committee therefore strongly deprecate any attempt on the part of the so-called prominent Muslim Leaguers of Bihar (if they are really Muslim Leaguers) with their allies in other provinces, who in their anxiety to gain applause and placate the Congress, are wrongly reported to have sent in a requisition to the Secretary, All India Muslim League, to call a meeting of the Council to consider their wrongly reported requisition for devising ways and means to negotiate with the Congress and its President with a view to exploring the possibility of a rapprochement between the two main political organizations of India representing Hindus and

Muslims, respectively. The Committee do emphatically repudiate any such unwise and unwarranted attempt on the part of the so-called prominent Bihar Muslim Leaguers, as reported in the press, particularly in the Hindu *Indian Nation* of Patna dated fourteenth August 1940. The Committee further strongly condemn any effort on the part of any Muslim Leaguer who tries to undermine or interfere with the unquestioned authority of Mr. Jinnah, who alone can speak and negotiate on behalf of the Musalmans with any organization or anybody he considers best. Muslim India places its absolute trust and complete confidence in the leadership of Mr. Jinnah who by virtue of his undoubted position and devotion to the uplift of the cause of the Musalmans in India is the sole authority and can best decide whatever and whenever he considers best to solve Muslim national problems. The Committee however note with great satisfaction the information received from the All India [Muslim League] office (which has already been published) that the reported news and move was mischievously false and without foundation as no such requisition has been received from any Muslim Leaguer in the All India [Muslim League] office.

S. M. ISMAIL
President, Bihar Provincial Muslim League

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Mian Aftaab Ahmed to M. A. Jinnah

F. 579/23-5

AMBALA CANTT.,
26 August 1940

Dear Sir,

I am sure you will excuse me for approaching you through this letter and presenting my views before [*sic*] you. My only excuse is that I am one of the humble workers of the Muslim League and a great admirer of you and your actions. I belong to that humble class who only works quietly and whose voice is very difficult to reach the ears of people in high position. We aspire for and want nothing except the good of our community.

There has been a persistent rumour that you are going to nominate certain individuals for the Viceroy's Executive Council, one of whom is said to belong to Bombay and the other is holding an office in the

Muslim League party. This is causing a great stir in the minds of the Muslim League workers. A advantage of this rumour is being taken by those Muslim Leaguers who are not sincerely with the League but have joined it as opportunists, and are spreading rumours that you have got certain favourites in the League whom you want to help, irrespective of the fact whether they are fit or not. As the sincere Muslim Leaguers consider you to be in the position of a father of all who work under you, and they feel grieved to find that your position may be thus undermined and disruptive elements creep in [to] the organisation which has made such a wonderful progress in such a short time under your able guidance. If dissension increases, our opponents will take full advantage in denouncing the League as not representing the entire Muslim public.

It is not for a man in my position to tell you the consequence of such propaganda which may be made against us. I can only lay my most humble views before you for your consideration for avoiding any jealousies and bickerings in the minds of your followers. My proposal is that you should avoid nominating any individuals for the Viceroy's Executive Council but should give the names as a class. In this category you have got two classes and the names of all people belonging to this class must be submitted to His Excellency for selecting anyone out of them.

i. All members of the Working Committee of All India Muslim League—all these persons are your nominees and you should make no distinction between them so that you may continue to enjoy their confidence as a whole.
ii. All elected members belonging to the Muslim League party in the Central Legislature—all these members are the elected representatives of the Muslim public and have joined the Muslim League party in order to give strength to the organisation though they were not elected on the Muslim League ticket. By their joining they have brought all their following to the side of the Muslim League and thus their services have been of great value. Besides this, you are the leader of this group in the Central Legislature as you are the head of All India Muslim League and it will not be advisable for you to show that you ignore your own party.

In my humble opinion if you will accept my suggestion, it will

give you great help to steer your boat safely out of the waves which are threatening to wreck it.

Yours most obediently,
MIAN AFTAAB AHMED

569

P. Mustafa Fadel Bey to M. A. Jinnah

F. 873/558-60

LUCKNOW,
26 August 1940

Dear Sir,

I have been for a considerable time serving in India the cause of Islam and for the last two years I have devoted much labour and time to doing propaganda on behalf of the Muslim League in Egypt and Syria by publishing articles with suitable illustrative photographs of personalities and events, in the Arabic and French papers of those countries.

When a representative Palestine Congress was held in Egypt under the presidentship of Mohammad Ali Alooba Pasha, I sent to each member as far as known to me, and to all the leading *ulama* and heads of institutions in Egypt, a letter explaining the position which the Muslim League occupied in the political life of the Indian Muslims. The services of the Muslim League in upholding and advancing the cause of the Indian Musalmans were fully described in those letters, and the mischievous activities of the Congress exposed. The number of such letters reached a total of 175. They were sent from Lucknow—all this was achieved by me through the generosity and help of the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad. I left Lucknow for Calcutta with the intention of proceeding to Egypt with my wife who was ill at Calcutta. Her condition however became worse and the doctors said she was not fit to travel. That is why I am still in India. Some time ago, I received a letter (copy enclosed)[1] from Sir Abdoola Haroon of Karachi. Believing that real work for Musalmans was about to begin, I went to Karachi and was well-received by him; he assured me that he would give me all necessary help for propaganda work in foreign countries, and asked me what my requirements would be. I said my requirements were not excessive. I required

only as much as would keep me and my wife with one servant going. I remained for about two months in Karachi expecting that I would be sent to my work. Eventually I was told by him that he had written to you about me and was waiting for a reply from you. He then asked me to leave my address with him and he would write to me as soon as he heard from you.

It is now about 20 months since I left Karachi. I have visited a number of places and have moved in all the strata of the Muslim society and I find that much remains to be done in the organisation of the Muslim League. The state of affairs is not satisfactory. I went to Lucknow to see my patron, the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, to acquaint him with what I had seen and heard. I had a very short interview with him as he was leaving for Bombay.

People have implicit faith in you. They love you and your able lieutenants, the Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad, Sheikh Abdul Majid of Sind, and others; their opinion about some others, I regret to say, is not so favourable. Reform is urgently needed; if the present conditions persist, little good, I am afraid, can be hoped for.

I cannot for the present go to Egypt and Syria as a visit to those countries under present circumstances is difficult. I have decided therefore to continue my work for Islam and the Musalmans in India by writing to the English and Urdu press of the country. An article about Muslim leadership in different countries has just appeared in the local Urdu daily *Hamdam*. I intend to continue the services.

I hope in my humble way I shall be of some service to the Muslims of India and to the Muslim League.

I await your command which it will be my privilege to carry out. I am looking forward to the day when I may have the honour of meeting you. Meanwhile my services are at your disposal.

With respectful regards,

I remain,
Dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,
P. MUSTAFA FADEL BEY
Professor of Sociology and Author

[1]Not traceable.

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General Secretary, Benares City Muslim League, to M. A. Jinnah

F. 825/93-4

BENARES,
27 August 1940

Respected Sir,

I herewith send you a copy of the resolution of the City Muslim League, Benares, for your kind perusal and favourable order.

RESOLUTION

Resolved that in some of the provinces of India, specially in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, communal riots and bloodshed had been a tendency [*sic*] for a number of years, and it was due to the fact that the authorities did not consult responsible Muslim League leaders on such occasions. Consequently the Muslims suffered economically, financially, politically and religiously. It is now requested that the Government may instruct all the district officers that, before any measure for combating communal riots or conducive to the welfare of both the communities, i.e. the Hindus and the Muslims, [is taken], the opinion of responsible Muslim League leaders of the places must be invited, otherwise the Muslims must be incalculable [*sic*] as they had been in the past.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
[UNSIGNED]
General Secretary,
Benares City Muslim League

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M. A. Jinnah to Nizam of Hyderabad

F. 696/30

BOMBAY,
27 August 1940

Your Exalted Highness,

I received your letter of the 10th August[1] and I thank you very much for it. It is very difficult for me in a letter to express my views with regard to the Viceroy's statement of the 8th of August[2] and the matter is still the subject of negotiation.

As regards the matter referred to in your letter, I shall inform you as soon as I am in a position to do so.

Hoping that Your Exalted Highness is well, [and]
with best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.
[2]See Enclosure to No. 506.

572

M. M. S. Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 312/40

16 ADELPHI CHAMBERS,
CLARE ROAD, BYCULLA,
BOMBAY,
28 August 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Last night I did not wish to submit the following suggestion in the presence of Mr. Nuruddin. I have had the matter for some time in mind.

By the Resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League, Provincial Muslim National Guard Committees, with varied ideas, are being formed, the work of which, if not regulated from now, will be difficult to coordinate later on. The

work is also somewhat technical. I suggest that the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League should appoint a person who, together with the various Provincial Muslim National Guard Committees, should draw up a plan and report the same to you and the Working Committee. He should also have the power to guide them. This person can ultimately be the *Farmandeh* (Chief Commandant) directly under the *Salar-i-Azam* (Marshal), the President of the All India Muslim League.

The Raja of Pirpur,[1] I think, would be quite suitable for such a job. He is persevering, steady, tactful, intelligent and has foresight, and I think that if asked by you, he will not decline. He is not a pushing man.

Yours sincerely,
M. M. S. ISPAHANI
Merchant

[1]Raja Syed Mohammad Mehdi of Pirpur headed a League Committee which submitted its report in November 1938, listing specific instances of loss of Muslim lives and property in anti-Muslim disturbances in most of Congress-ruled provinces during 1937-38.

573

M. A. Jinnah to Raghib Ahsan

F. 1363/9

BOMBAY,
28 August 1940

Dear Mr. Raghib Ahsan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 23rd[1] and also the 25 copies of your address at Darbhanga. I shall read it with great interest and distribute them as desired by you.

I am glad that your Conference was a great success and I thank you for your giving the full information and report of its doings.

Hoping you are now better, [and]
with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

[1]Not traceable.

574

M. A. Hassan Ispahani to M. A. Jinnah

F. 305/65

PRIVATE/CONFIDENTIAL

5 CAMAC STREET,
CALCUTTA,
28 August 1940

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am reliably informed that in his conversation with the Mullah Sahib of the Bohras, the Viceroy told him that the Congress was obstructing the war efforts and so was Mr. Jinnah, but he did not care whether the Congress or the League supported the Government or not as he got all the support from India that he required, and also he expected that in the future he would get similar assistance from the people and princes of India.

As the Working Committee meeting will be held shortly, I thought this information, which is absolutely reliable, will be of assistance to you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN

575

Mohammad Aurangzeb Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 329/117-8

DELHI,
29 August 1940

Dear Sir,

The other day I was at Lahore and what I gathered from some of Sikanderites in my talk, I submit [it] for [your] kind perusal.

It is said that H. E. [the] Viceroy has called upon you to supply a panel of five members for the expanded Council of the Viceroy and then the Viceroy will choose.

To my mind this seems open to objection from various points of view:

a. If the final selection is with the Viceroy out of five, they will not be League's nominees but Viceroy's.
b. League's nominees should be those who would be prepared to resign on your order.
c. This arrangement will open a way for recommendations and this will mean jobbery and the back-door policy for free and independent Muslim Leaguers.
d. I can visualize the position that the Viceroy may have the final discretion in case of a nominee of League who may be a Sovietised or Germanised Muslim but the selection and submission must be with you [*sic*].
e. The final selection must be with you because in our original Resolution we had given you full powers for the purpose.
f. We are not hagglers and it will be a slur on you and us if we slavishly follow the method of Hindu Mahasabha.
g. There should be no voting in the Working Committee. It will create bad blood in this family group.
h. The suggestions should kindly come from you because there will be modest fellows who will not have the audacity to get themselves proposed.
i. The names should be submitted only by you personally.

I send this in writing because I feel diffident in saying this in the Committee for various reasons.

Raja Sahib of Mahmudabad's statement on C. Rajagopalachari's statement is excellent.

With prayerful regards and prayers for your health, spirits and success all round,

Yours obediently,
MOHAMMAD AURANGZEB KHAN

576

Qazi Mohammad Abdul Baqi to M. A. Jinnah

F. 915/15-7

CONFIDENTIAL/URGENT

1714 NATION ROAD,
HYDERABAD (DECCAN),
[*Undated August*] *1940*

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

In our recent interview with Allama Mashriqi at Vellore, the

Khaksars had the question of the political position of the movement in the country discussed in the light of your statement of 8th May last,[1] owning that the Khaksars were an organization entirely separate from the Muslim League and not under its control. We urged [on] Allama Sahib the necessity of having a voice in the country owing to the incessant persecution that we have been put to by Govt. as well as by non-Muslim bodies like the Congress for the simple reason that we were acting up to the dictates of Islam without being in anyway hostile to any Govt. or organization in the country. For the last three years, we have not had a moment's respite from our enemies and now we are dubbed as Nazis and fifth-columnists in order to discredit us in the eyes of the world. You will agree that such a treatment with an organization, a vast number of which is Muslim, and can count sixteen lakhs of men as its active members and numberless millions as sympathizers, is unjust and it is high time that we should do something in order to protect ourselves.

We laid the question in detail before our leader and Allama Mashriqi has appreciated the situation. He has accordingly written the attached letter to the Viceroy and has asked me to put the matter also before you so that you might be able to do the best you can in this direction. You will agree that an increase in the number of Muslim Executive Councillors under different denominations will add to our strength as a whole. The Viceroy may possibly broach the subject with you and I wish to let you know beforehand what we have written so that the matter may not come as a surprise to you and that you may be able to see through the usefulness of the proposal.

I hope you will let me know for the purpose of communication to Allama Mashriqi that you not only have sympathy with the proposition but will see that the Khaksars are included in the coming extension of the Viceroy's Council. In that case you may suggest names of people known to you as Khaksars who will suit.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
QAZI MOHAMMAD ABDUL BAQI
M. A., LL.B.
Hakim-i-Aala & Vakil

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 13-4.

Enclosure to No. 576
Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi to J. G. Laithwaite

F. 915/18-20

CENTRAL JAIL, VELLORE,
[MADRAS],
23 August 1940

Dear Mr. Laithwaite,

In his announcement to the press dated the 8th May 1940 and published in almost every newspaper (a copy of which I enclose herewith),[1] Mr. M. A. Jinnah, the President of the All India Muslim League, has admitted that the Khaksar organization is a body having no connection with the Muslim League. Mr. Jinnah has admitted also that it is mainly a Muslim institution. These admissions radically alter the political position of a vast majority of Musalmans as well as that of a good number of non-Muslims who are connected in some way with the aims and objects of the Khaksar Movement. It is also well-known that Khaksars and their sympathizers do not belong to any declared political organization. This manifested itself clearly in the Lahore Session of the All India Muslim League last March, when nearly 50,000 Muslims almost compelled the office-holders of the Muslim League to pass a sympathetic resolution in connection with the occurrences of the 19th March [1940],[2] and they had no option but to pass it unanimously in spite of the fact that the Punjab Premier against whom the resolution was passed belonged to the Muslim League and was one of their office-holders, and the President knew that the Khaksar Movement was something separate from the League and not in anyway under its control.

These circumstances necessitate that our political entity be recognized in a suitable manner in the constitutional activities of the country. We have all communities and denominations represented in us and we are an exceptionally strong organization in the matter of unity of purpose, discipline and of promoting love and co-operation among all classes in India. We can confidently say that ours is the most virile organization of all and that we are far ahead of political organizations like the Congress and the Muslim League in point of our political importance. Our membership of sixteen lakh also exceeds by far all other organizations.

I request that this view be laid before H. E. the Viceroy for his

immediate and serious consideration and as a result our claim that there should be a very substantial share of the Khaksars in the proposed extension of the Central Executive Council [and] also the proposed coalition ministries should be most seriously considered.

We claim that in order to keep the balance of political power in the country and in order that every important organization is represented in the administration of the country as a whole as well as province-wise ministers and councillors who are Khaksars and those with definite Khaksar leanings be taken, and for this purpose I suggest that at least two councillors should be taken in the Viceroy's Executive Council.

I request that most serious attention be given to these proposals in view of the intense [*sic*] justice of our claims and the vigour [*sic*] of our importance in the country. Any government would ill-afford to lose the sympathies of a vast organization as the Khaksars are throughout the length and breadth of India. The Khaksars are always ready to give active help for the defence of the country and they will certainly be more practically helpful in comparison with the carpet knight and easy chair organizations that we have in India.

I trust you will request H. E. to accommodate himself to this new aspect of things especially in view of the recent proclamation of Mr. Jinnah and that he will be able to give the matter the most sympathetic consideration without us submitting to the inconveniences and ordeals of the red tape at this grave national juncture. As a matter of fact I respectfully request that a prompt and favourable reply be given to us after a serious consideration of the points I have brought forward.

With best wishes,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
INAYATULLAH KHAN

J. G. Laithwaite,
P.S. to H. E. the Viceroy,
Simla

[1]See Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, II, 13-4.

[2]Khaksars marched in a procession in Lahore on March 19, 1940, in defiance of ban imposed by the Government. In the ensuing violent clash with police, some 24 Khaksars and 2 policemen were killed. See ibid., note 2, 484.

577

Abdul Latif to M. A. Jinnah

F. 568/117-8

HAZRATHKHAN HOUSE,
SHOLAPUR,
[*Undated*] *August 1940*

RESOLUTION

That the Working Committee of the Sholapur District Muslim League unanimously requests Quaid-i-Azam M. A. Jinnah, President, All India Muslim League, to exempt the Sholapur District Muslim League from the operation of the Resolution of the Working Committee of the All India Muslim League held at Bombay on 16th June 1940, enjoining on all the League leaders not to serve on War Committees; and to await further instructions from the President, pending the result of the communication with His Excellency, the Viceroy of India inasmuch as:

i. This District, especially this town, has experienced periodical outbreaks of communal riots, *viz.* 1925, 1926, 1927, 1930 and 1939. This shows how easily the communal elements rise up at the slightest pretext. Stray assaults, in Muslim and Hindu localities by persons of one religion on those of other religion, took place for a number of days; even murders have taken place till recently. The population, both of Hindus and Muslims, in this city consists mainly of labourers. The city is backward in education. On account of this, the tendency of the youth is prone and susceptible to violence. This was exhibited before Martial Law was declared in Sholapur in May 1930.

ii. These riots have given rise to a great communal tension, mutual distrust, suspicions and estrangement between Hindus and Muslims.

iii. The Musalmans have been trying to face this boldly for the last fifteen years, but in so doing, they have suffered commercial, industrial, financial and educational setbacks, at the hands of the Hindu community, which is numerically,

industrially and economically superior to the Muslim community.

iv. The District Mahasabha wholeheartedly joined the War Committee; besides this body, individual influential Hindus have also joined the said Committee.

v. There is no distinction between the District Congress Committee and Mahasabha so far as the anti-Muslim move is concerned.

vi. The moment the Muslims begin to non-cooperate with the Government in War Committees, Mahasabhaites [will join] hands with the district officials; the Hindu rowdy element will come in its true colours down upon the Muslims, thinking that the Government will connive at their misdeeds and violent actions.

vii. The consequences will be dire and disastrous to the Muslim community.

viii. Under these circumstances the Musalmans of Sholapur cannot set themselves up against both the Hindus and Government.

ix. Looking to [*sic*] the all-round backwardness of the Muslims of this district and their poverty, ignorance and with absolutely no land, commerce, trade or industry in their hands and financial and mental strain experienced by them during these fifteen years on account of the heavy odds against which they have been striving hard and the consequent results thereof being the slow, ever-increasingly effective boycott by the Hindus of the Muslim labour in their industry, firms and trade, it will be too much to expect the Muslims to offer non-cooperation in the War Committees.

ABDUL LATIF
President,
Sholapur District Muslim League

APPENDIX I

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS BY RAJA MOHAMMAD AMIR AHMAD KHAN OF MAHMUDABAD AT THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL MUSLIM LEAGUE CONFERENCE[1]

F. 383/46-57

HUBLI, BOMBAY,
24 May 1940

Friends and comrades,

I am fully conscious of the great honour that you have conferred upon me by selecting me to preside over this momentous session of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League and I pray to *Allah* that I may prove worthy of it.

[*Next para omitted*]

I pray to God that He may grant us the same dauntless courage and intrepidity. Times are different now. We are facing sterner realities. I shall, therefore, with your permission, come to grips with the problems of the day.

It is now nearly two months since our central organization, the All India Muslim League, held its historic session in Lahore. It is the first time in the history of [Indian] Muslims that such a living resolution has been passed. There is no camouflage of word or meaning. It is a clear-cut, sharp and steel-grained resolution that has definitely translated the will of the Muslims. Our future is no more ambiguous. It is not *Swaraj* or complete independence or *Ram raj* or the essence of independence or dominion status that others want.

We have demanded the very right of self-right [*sic*] self-determination that the Congress has been asking from [*sic*] the British Government. We have demanded a place in the Indian sun where we will be able to re-establish the Government of Islam. We have demanded the right to establish a laboratory wherein we may experiment in peace the greatest experiment that was never tried.

The Muslims of India have at last an ideal to live for, and to die for. It is not a newly created ideal or one that has leapt into prominence through the efforts of a few politicians and theorists. I maintain that in the subconscious mind of the least intelligent of us it existed long before it began to take shape and form and was put forward first nebulously, and then definitely and vigorously by our political thinkers; till at last with crystal clarity and precision, it has been enunciated in dignified, unambiguous and clear language by

our great leader [Quaid-i-Azam] and acclaimed with unanimous support as the final resolve, the unshakable determination of the Muslims of India. I refer to the resolution of the All India Muslim League passed at the historic session at Lahore that steps should forthwith be taken for bringing into being sovereign and autonomous Muslim states where, by virtue of their historical position and numerical ascendancy, the Muslims judged by every canon of political and ethical doctrine are entitled to exercise supreme power.

"It cannot be denied", said Sir M. Iqbal whose philosophical, political and cultural discourses shall for ever serve as beacon lights for the future generations of Indian Muslims. "It cannot be denied", he said "that Islam regarded as a political ideal and a certain kind of polity, by which expression I mean a social structure regulated by a legal system and animated by a specific ethical ideal, has been the chief formative factor in the life-history of the Muslims of India. It has formulated those basic emotions and loyalties which gradually unify scattered individuals and groups and finally transform them into a well-defined people possessing a moral consciousness of their own."

This Muslim India which, as Dr. Iqbal said, Islam has transformed into a well-defined people possessing a moral consciousness of their own, has not merely passed a paper resolution drafted by dreamers and idealists. This resolution reflects the mass will of the Muslims of India, and its sanction is the dynamic force of the Muslim masses. The resolve has been made. Let there be no mistake about it. We are prepared to achieve this end at all costs.

I must make it clear to you that this resolution of the All India Muslim League has been grossly misinterpreted by our enemies, and the political jugglers of India have hopelessly tried to juggle with it. They have used their perverse intellects to misinterpret it but they have utterly failed. The greatest test of a resolution is the effect that it produces on the attitude of its opponents. The more violent their curses and the more intensified their campaign of hatred against it, the greater reality latent in the resolution. Since the 22nd of March 1940, the entire Hindu nation and its parasites have strained every nerve to misrepresent the Muslims and the most astounding aspect of this campaign has been revealed in a few articles contributed by the Congress and Mahasabha autocrats in which they have touched the very depths of misrepresentation, vituperation and abuse.

Lagay mun bhi chirhanay daite daite galian sahib
zaban bigree so bigree thi khabar leejay dahan bigra

(While uttering scurrilous abuses, you started making grimaces as well. Your language was already debased, now beware your face is getting twisted too).

I shall ask you to guard yourself against all sorts of misleading and erroneous propaganda which is being wilfully carried on in the columns of the Hindu press and from the platform of Hindu meetings and organizations. We do not want wholesale emigration of the Musalmans from the provinces in which they are in a minority, nor is it our intention to expel the non-Muslim minorities from the Muslim States. It is a calumny, a wholly unwarranted distortion of our intentions and programme.

I myself belong to a minority province and much as I would have liked to have been born in a Muslim sovereign State of India, I do not intend to uproot myself from my home and leave my co-religionists to their fate.

The natural movement of the population may be encouraged, but we do not want the rest of India to be denuded of Muslims. We want the expansion of Islam, not the contraction of it. The outposts of Islam will go forward, they will not be withdrawn. One of the comicalities of recent pronouncements in regard to the Muslim League resolution is the entire agreement of Lord Zetland, the Congress and Mahasabha leaders in condemning the Muslim demand. Zetlands, Moonjees, Savarkars and Nehrus are strange and incongruous bed-fellows: but *Muslimistan* like adversity has made strange bed-fellows.

They may unite to attack the Muslims, but they cannot deflect them from pursuing the course which the Musalmans have set before [*sic*] themselves.

They intend to work out their own destiny unhampered and undaunted by un-Islamic influences. The creation of an Islamic State, mark my words gentlemen, I say Islamic and not Muslim, is our ideal. The greed, the lust for power, the self-seeking ambition of those calling themselves Muslims but not practising the commandments of their noble faith, will not be allowed to have sway in the state we contemplate to [*sic*] bring into being. The state will conform to the laws as laid down in Islam. It will deal justly and fairly with every community and every section of its constituent members. The unchangeable laws of Islam will *ipso facto* be applied and enforced. There will be no fresh legislation in regard to them because Islam has already legislated for them for ever.

There will be prohibition, absolute and rigorous, with no chance

for [*sic*] its ever being withdrawn. Usury will be banished. *Zakat* will be levied. Why shouldn't we be allowed to make this experiment? In treading over[*sic*] this path we will not be crossing the path of any other right-minded individual. Sikhs, Hindus, Christians will benefit equally from the beneficent, all-pervading activities of this democratic-theocratic [*sic*] state.

Let us follow the events of the world, the international situation. The crisis deepens; Europe, the mother of civilization, is again giving birth to Hulagu[2] and Changiz [Genghis] Khan.[3] Fascism and Nazism, the two posthumous sons of Socialism, are fighting with [*sic*] democracy. Based as it was on hatred, violence, and greed, it is a boiling cauldron of internecine conflict. We have seen Poland fall, Finland destroyed and Norway swallowed. If Poland and Norway succumbed to [Nazi] Germany, Finland has been a prey to the latest imperialistic design of Russia. Be it Britain or Germany, France or Russia, their governments have their foundation in the idea of a godless State. As yesterday the Anglo-German Treaty compelled France to propitiate Italy, so today the most progressive State of the world, Russia, can be hand in glove with Germany in its triumphant course. Imperialist Britain, Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany and Socialist Russia are all birds of the same feather; where it is the question of aggression they all are one. Whether the so-called democracies win or the Socialists or the Nazis, the fate of the unprotected Eastern nations will remain the same.

Then let us be clear on the point at least that the problem of Muslims being a separate nation is not only a theoretical one but on the other hand it is a very living and practical problem. If the Muslims do not want to share the fate of the Muslims of Spain, Poland, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, if Muslims want to save their culture and political thought, if they want to revive Islam, then the establishment of an Islamic state is the only course open to them.

I cannot understand how the conception of democracy is lauded to the skies in one breath and its application denied in another. Those who denounce totalitarian states in unmeasured terms become the greatest advocates of totalitarian principles when and as soon as Muslim demands are put forward. Totalitarian methods will, the threat is made, be employed to preserve the integrity of India.

Yes, but what is India? Is it the India which is the creation of the British or the India as mirrored in the ancient Vedic or Hindu period of Indian history.

Baluchistan was never a part of India. British expansionist policy

made it so; and then Burma which till very recently was part of India, and which Congress still desires to be labelled India, in spite of the wishes of the Burmese people, was never included in India, till the British destroyed the native dynasty of Burmese sovereigns; the India of the Moghals whose dominion and rule did extend to a fairly large portion of this continent [*sic*] failed to embrace the southern portion of the Peninsula, and for a long period, Kashmir was allied to Central Asia, to Iran and Afghanistan, then to India. And for some time Afghanistan was a province of the Moghal Empire of India.

Will Mr. Savarkar claim it back for the Hindu empire of his dreams. He should; the integrity of a fanciful India demands it, and why stop at Afghanistan, Khiva and Bokhara which were once under the sway of Buddhist culture and religion. They should form a part of India that is to be Tilak's thesis of Aryan and Hindu influence extending or, shall I say, emanating from the Arctic region opens, [which] out a very alluring vista for the Congress, the Hindu Sabha and the All India Hindu League.

Gentlemen! We are told that when the world is working towards the ideal of a single federation, it is putting the hand [*sic*] of the clock back to attempt Balkanisation of India.

The struggle for the world domination and the right of the small nations to exist is going on before our eyes, and the British are staking their very existence for the preservation of that right. Why fight for that right, the right that is of small nations for independent existence, the right to self-determination, if we have to move towards a world political synthesis, or world federation, which after all, as interpreted by Nazis and Fascists, are other names for world domination. All this, dear comrades, if pursued to its logical conclusion, will land us in a ludicrous situation.

Why not face the facts as they are; nations determine territorial boundaries, territorial boundaries do not determine nations.

If a vast portion of India is inhabited by people predominantly Muslims and they decide to call it *Muslimistan*–to give it a possible name–how can you compel them to call it Hindustan.

It is most surprising, gentlemen, that non-Muslims should be interested and be so eager to frame demands on behalf of the Muslims and try to formulate [*sic*] our destinies for us. A slave is after all a slave and he cannot free another slave. It is a fallacy to

conclude that because the Muslims live in India they are a part of the Indian nation. The greatest barriers that separate us from them are religious, political and social barriers. The politics, sociology, and economics of one is based on its religion; the other's political, social and economic outlook has nothing to do with its religion. The ideology of the Hindu nation is nourished on the crumbs thrown from the table of the western theorists and as far as his religion goes its conception is limited to an individual experience. The Hindu believes that this world of sin and crime must be left before the spiritual world of peace is gained. Then, gentlemen, how can superstition and reason associate. The gulf that parts them is unbridgeable. The elements that form these two nations are organically inimical to each other; if the one is dynamic, the other is static. It is most dangerous to bring these two forces together.The result will be a disaster. It will be fatal to both. I do not disagree that the essence of every religion is very much the same, but the vast differences that have grown through historic developments are such that the original likeness has been completely obliterated through the process of evolution. It will not be going out of the way if I, at this juncture, deal with the conception of State in Islam. If I may not be able to illustrate my points fully, it will not mean that there is no force in the points themselves, but that Islamic literature has not yet progressed enough to furnish the technical and scientific terms for such theories. Allow me, dear comrades, to start from the very beginning.

There is hardly any similarity between Islam and other religions and political creeds of the world. The word 'Islam' means to make peace, and peace has been the cause of all progress in the world. It is rather difficult for either a Hindu or a Christian or any non-Muslim to appreciate the fine distinctions between the religious part of Islam and its social and political aspects. Islam has that balance in every department of life which proves its claim to be the natural law under which human beings should regulate their lives. Islam does not divide a man's life into two parts, one for the earth and the other for the heaven. In Islam, church and state, spirit and matter are organically inter-related. To put it more clearly in Dr. Iqbal's words: "To Islam, matter is spirit realizing itself in space and time." In Islam man may not renounce the world to gain another world of spirit situated elsewhere. He can be a good Muslim by being a good citizen of the world.

Islam is not a religion founded by an individual as the modern rationalistic historian or critic will put it; revealed to a prophet, as those believing in inspiration would say.

No; Islam, we believe, was the religion preached to an erring world by all the prophets; only they were ordained by God to lay emphasis on certain aspects of Islam as the needs of the period demanded. In Muhammad [PBUH], God fulfilled His purpose finally for the eternal guidance of mankind. Muhammad's [PBUH] mission was the culmination of the Divine message. The evolution of Islam was complete when Muhammad [PBUH] gave it to the world.

It is now quite clear that the Muslim religion is not the outcome of individual experience or just a compound of inspired doctrines which enraptured the fancies of an Arab youth living in one of the hottest parts of the world. It is on the other hand a work of thousands of years which slowly evolved through generations of experience and tests. It is a historical heritage and reality. It is an inevitable product of history. It is a political, social [and] ethical code that the whole world evolved without being conscious of its dynamic capacities. It is a social force. It is the need of the nations of to-day and to-morrow.

The greatest miracle of Islam is that it has survived in spite of its despicable followers. It not only gave the world a new faith, it destroyed the old faiths and beliefs, it elevated mankind. It destroyed to build but destruction was only a subsidiary part of its mission. It demolished the individual to create a living nation, a nation with a political consciousness, and it ended serfdom by introducing economic prosperity. It dug the grave of all antiquated and tottering religious and political theories. It is not a monastic order, it repels it. *La Rahbaniyati fil Islam*. (There is no monasticism in Islam).

In the phrase *La Ilaha Illallah* is hidden the burning fervour and vibrating zeal of a revolutionary slogan. It does not merely mean that there is no God except *Allah*. It means that no other power exists except that of *Allah*. In the *Surah* in which monotheism is defined in the *Qur'an*, it is said: "The *Allah* Who is the Creator, the Independent. He begetteth not nor was He begotten and there is none comparable unto Him". The Muslims may not be able yet to grasp the spirit of this *Surah* but that does not mean that the *Surah* is not a most revolutionary conception of God.

Until now wars were waged in the name of religion. The gods of one nation could not tolerate the gods of another nation. They were a lifeless effigy of those that worshipped them, with the same greed,

lust, loyalties and disloyalties. They were creations of men, not their creators. Every house and family had a god of its own. Islam does not only believe in the oneness of God, it also believes that He is supreme and the besought of all. *Allah* is He Who is the Creator. He is as much the Creator of the Arabs as of the Greeks or others. He is not the tribal lord god. He does not take sides. The sun, the moon, the stars, the earth, the rivers, the mountains, everything has been placed at the disposal of man by Him. But there is nothing for those who do not strive.

> *Wa Sakhkhara Lakum Ma Fissamawate Wama Fil Arz*
> (That *Allah* has subjected to your (use) all things in the heavens and on earth).
> *Wa Laisa Lil-Insani Illa Ma Saa*
> (That man can have nothing but what he strives for).

There is hardly any similarity between Islam and other religions and political creeds of the world. The word 'Islam' means to make peace, and peace has been the cause of all progress in the world. It is for peace that we die and for peace that we live. If Europe has understood the meaning of peace differently to us we can not help it, and to-day, it is paying for its mistake, paying heavily too. Who made Hitler? It was the foreign policy of the British that stands responsible for his power. Germany would have been Communist to-day if Hitler was not there. He stopped Communism, all right, but he himself has proved to be more dangerous than one could foresee. Italy is today a power not because Mussolini can work miracles but because the democracies adopted the attitude of beneficent neutrality, in the last Abyssinian war. If a democracy at its zenith only can create dictators and of this voracious type then democracy is a thousand times worse than totalitarianism. But let me assure you that it is not the fault of the spirit behind democracy; it is the fault of its interpreters and of those who pretend to work it. Theories which conflict with the laws of human nature can never survive the test of time. They are bound to explode. Man's nature is not merely democratic; it is a balanced compound, if I may say so, of every political theory. Therefore only that creed can be successfully practised in this world which can claim to be based on the laws of nature. Can any one in this audience name any theory other than Islam which claims to be the natural religion of the world.

The failure of Islam was not caused by those who desired to work for it. It was stabbed by those who had accepted its principles and

methods, but when these methods and principles threatened to affect their privileges and interests, they refused to accept those methods and principles and rebelled against them. For them, Islam only meant their domination and the rule of their class of people. It meant to them a licence for tyranny and oppression. But when Islam failed to cater to their tastes they tried to break it up, and they did so as far as the Government was concerned. They persecuted all those that stood for uncompromising Islam. This historical fact evidently and manifestly shows that the revolutionary message of our prophet [PBUH] was betrayed, and kingdoms founded by later Muslims of Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Spain, Algeria, Turkey and Iran were absolutely un-Islamic. Not only these potentates crushed all Islamic institutions, they adopted the most reactionary and autocratic form of government, thus crippling Islam for ever. The splendour of the court of these renegades is sufficient proof of their infidelity to Islam. Even if historical records fall short of sufficient evidence, the voluptuous and licentious [*sic*] architectures of those periods are ample evidence of their heathen inclinations. Compare the elaborate decoration of their mosques and the rustic simplicity of Masjid-i-Nabvi in Medina (as it was). When poverty and hunger raged around them, their courts were wonders of the East, no better in their sensual surroundings than European resorts of dissipation and debauchery. Wine, women, and wars on defenceless people was all that they accepted as their faith.

This is the period when a strong antipathy against the masses set in. This is the period that marked the interpretation of Islam as a commercial commodity to be used by those in power. When we seize power let history not repeat itself in the form of an un-Islamic state governed by Muslim rulers as of old.

Friends and comrades, let me now speak to you about our relations with the Muslim masses, for that is as important a question, nay more important than the creation of a *Muslimistan*. We have to give a new orientation to our relationship with them; the masses who alone are keeping the *millat-i-baiza* (the bright Muslim nation) alive.

The isolationist or the stand-offish attitude of the educated or the upper classes should give way to sympathetic inter-course and intermingling with the masses. We should go out to learn and to teach; our doctors and lawyers, zamindars and proprietor class should meet with the masses on equal terms and be prepared to give up

willingly their vested interests for the sake of the greater cause, the cause of Islam and the Muslims. Let them keep in mind that if they do not willingly give up their prerogatives and privileges, their hoards of gold and silver and their acquired wealth will be wrested from them. The class barriers so sedulously created in imitation of the social order of our neighbours should be demolished. It is an index of the depth of our degradation that organizations should spring up among the Musalmans, complaining of the social oppression of the upper classes. This is a danger signal of which sufficient note has not been taken by our leaders.

Alas! that the followers of Muhammad [PBUH] the great leveller, should be divided between the high and the low, the Muslim Brahman and the Muslim Harijan. This is monstrous, this is preposterous, and friends and comrades, I will in all humility remind you of what our Prophet [PBUH] said, on a memorable occasion. Addressing a gathering of Arabs and standing on the steps of *Kaaba*, he said:

"O people of Quresh, I have taken away from you your pride of race and family. Man is begotten of Adam and Adam was created from dust. The most exalted among you is he who excels in good deeds."

[1]The sessions were held from 24 to 26 May 1940.

[2]Hulagu Khan (1217-1265); brother of Kublai Khan (Chinese Emperor, 1279-94) and grandson of Genghis Khan; commanded an invading Mongol Army which conquered and sacked Beghdad in February 1258 and went on to capture Damascus and Aleppo. The Mongol advance was halted by a Mameluke Army from Egypt in 1260, which defeated the Mongols.

[3]Genghis Khan (died AD 1227); Mongol conqueror of Northern China, Persia, etc.

APPENDIX II

MUSLIM GRIEVANCES AGAINST MADRAS CONGRESS MINISTRY

II. 1

Abdul Hameed Khan to M. A. Jinnah

F. 833/85

MOUNT ROAD,
MADRAS,
23 August 1940

My dear leader,

I am sending herewith a copy of the grievances of Madras Muslims against Congress Government in the Province[1] for your kind perusal. The same is issued to the press for publication.

Yours very sincerely,
ABDUL HAMEED KHAN
Leader, Madras Legislative Assembly Muslim League Party

[1]Appendix II. 2.

II. 2

Note by Abdul Hameed Khan

F. 833/86-100

23 August 1940

INTRODUCTION

Musalmans have suffered much during the twenty-seven months the Congress misrule lasted in this Presidency and their rights and interests have been trampled on. Congressmen say that the Congress Party, when in power, was not only just but also generous to the minorities, particularly to Musalmans. The only argument that is adduced in support of this contention is that the Governor never exercised his special powers. The conclusion drawn from this fact is that the minorities were treated justly. But how could the Governor have interfered, when Muslim grievances were not brought to his notice. Musalmans did not like to bring their grievances to the notice of the Governor, because they were made to believe that the Governor had given an assurance to the leader of the Congress Party that he would not interfere with the activities of the Ministry and the day-to-day administration. Musalmans thought that in view of this fact it would be futile to bring their grievances to the

notice of the Governor.

After the resignation of the Congress Ministry, some of the ex-ministers have been going about the Province trying to mislead the public by saying that during their two and a half years of administration, they went out of their way to help Musalmans and that they were not only just but also generous to the Muslim community.

The Congress Legislative Party has issued a pamphlet in which it has tried to prove that it has been over-generous to the Muslim community. It is not possible, without making this memorandum inordinately long, to answer in detail the many points raised in the pamphlet and to disprove all those things, which with the artful aid of statistics have been made to appear as undeniable facts. The figures, given in the pamphlet, are misleading. Their presentation is such as to create an impression absolutely different from the one which they would produce if found [*sic*] in their proper setting. What the pamphlet has sought to do is to perform statistical jugglery. The following facts are irrefutable and the impartial and unbiased public can judge for itself as to whether Muslim interests suffered at or were safe in the hands of the Congress Ministry. Without further explanation, I give below the grievances of the Muslim community. Whatever position Muslims occupied either in the services or in regard to [*sic*] education, it had exerted before the Congress Ministry was appointed.

MUSLIM EDUCATION

Before the Congress came into power, the old Legislative Council had appointed a Committee called the Muslim Education Enquiry Committee which, after a careful and thorough enquiry, submitted its report. Many of the recommendations of the Muslim Education Committee were given effect to before the formation of the Congress Ministry. One proposal, sent for the approval of the Government, the consideration of which was deferred as the general election under the Government of India Act of 1935 came, pertained to the systematisation of Arabic education. The idea was that the Arabic *Madrassas* should be put on a par with Sanskrit *Patasalas* under an efficient inspectorate. But when the Congress party came into power, the matter was shelved. The late Mr. Yakub Hasan, who was a very active member of the Muslim Education Committee which drafted the syllabus etc. for Arabic *Madrassas*, could not move in the matter because his colleagues were opposed to the idea of the reorganisation of Arabic *Madrassas*.

COMMUNAL SCHOOLS

Much has been said against the Muslim schools being communal, though they are only denominational. They are not exclusive as are the high schools of Devastanam Charities, Mahanth Charities and Pachayappas Charities. Musalmans are statutorily excluded from those institutions which are given very generous grants by the Government.

Besides, there are a number of schools which, though they call themselves national, in actual practice exclude Musalmans because there is no provision there for Urdu. Though these institutions are national in name, in fact no Muslim benefits by them and Muslim students, seeking admission therein, are excluded by all sorts of devices. In many schools, Mr. Gandhi's photo has been installed. It is periodically garlanded. Boys are asked to worship it or bow before it. Tricolour flag is hoisted on many primary and secondary schools maintained by Municipalities or District Boards. The day's work begins with the singing of the *Vande Matram* song.[1] These un-Islamic practices are responsible for preventing Muslim boys from seeking admission into them. These institutions, therefore, are in actual practice communal institutions. Besides, attempts have been made in various parts of this Presidency to introduce similar practices in Muslim Schools also. In Salem, Tinnevelley, Madura, Ramnad and other districts Muslim boys struck work and boycotted schools. There was a danger of disturbance of the peace and the police had to intervene.

VERNACULARISATION OF THE MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

In those areas, in this province, where Urdu is the mother tongue of Muslims, the vernacularisation of the medium of instruction, without adequate provision for Urdu, has adversely affected the progress of Muslim education. In this connection, it is necessary to point out that in Andhra Desa where Muslim pupils were receiving instruction through the medium of Urdu in lower classes, on their promotion to the high school classes were suddenly faced with [*sic*] Telugu as the medium of instruction. Their plight could better be imagined than described. No wonder, therefore, that in those schools in the Andhra Desa where Telugu was made the medium of instruction, Muslim pupils struck work. There was a great agitation for the provision of Urdu as the medium of instruction. Unfortunately, the Local Bodies that are in charge of secondary education turned a deaf ear to Muslim representations and the Government too did not interfere to set things right.

HINDI IN SCHOOLS

As for the compulsory introduction of Hindi, I regret to state that in mixed schools (i.e. schools where there are Hindu and Muslim pupils) no provision was made for teaching Hindustani in Urdu script. Muslim pupils had no alternative than to learn Hindustani in *Nagri* script, of course, much against their wish. According to the orders of the Government, Muslim pupils, whose mother tongue was Urdu, were exempted from attending Hindi classes but in certain schools, even such pupils, in flagrant violation of the G.O.[Government orders], were compelled to attend Hindi classes.

At Gudiyathum, Muslim pupils boycotted the schools where they were asked to study Hindi. The same thing happened at Cocanada. When this matter was brought to the notice of the Government by an interpellation, the Minister of Education had the audacity to say that Muslim pupils of their own volition joined the Hindi classes and added that the parents themselves desired that their sons should learn Hindi in the *Nagri* script. Enquiries have been made by representative and responsible Muslim institutions, such as the Mohammoden Educational Association of Southern India, and Muslim parents have categorically denied having asked their children to learn the *Nagri* script. If the pupils had of their own free will joined the Hindi classes, why should they have boycotted the schools where compulsory Hindi was introduced. Evidently, the Minister was not in possession of facts when he made the above statement.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF HINDI AT THE EXPENSE OF URDU

In the G.O. No. 1394 dated 17th June 1938, the following qualifications for teachers to be appointed for teaching Hindi are given:

i. General educational qualification not lower in standard than that of a completed secondary school leaving certificate entitling its holder to undergo a university course.
ii. A knowledge of both *Nagri* and Urdu scripts.
iii. Ability to give instruction in the language of the district in which he will be employed and a Visarad Diploma of the Dakshan Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha or its equivalent in Urdu. But soon after another G.O. was issued waiving the qualifications laid down in the previous G.O. regarding the appointment of Hindi Pandits. The second G.O. merely states that the products of the Hindi Prachar Sabha could be appointed as Hindi Pandits.

The Government at first gave an assurance to Muslims that only those [person] would be appointed as Hindustani teachers who knew both

Urdu and *Nagri* scripts. In pursuance of this assurance, the G.O. No. 1394 dated 17th June 1938 was issued. But the subsequent G.O. virtually rescinded the previous one as it laid down that the products of the Hindi Prachar Sabha could be appointed Hindustani teachers. Thus Hindi was introduced through the back-door.

Another effect of the second G.O. was that only three Muslims were appointed [as] Hindustani teachers out of the total number of 225 teachers, though in this province it is a patent fact that only in the Muslim community is the largest number of Hindustani speaking persons to be found. The introduction of compulsory Hindi was meant to suppress Urdu and to promote Hindi at the expense of Urdu.

GOVERNMENT MOHAMEDAN COLLEGE

The Mohamedan College is a growing institution. Musalmans who are taking enthusiastically to western education and who want to join the Mohamedan College in large numbers are not able to do so because no provision is made for science in the College. The Muslim community has been agitating for the introduction of Natural Science Group in the Intermediate classes but this appeal has fallen on deaf ears. The introduction of the Natural Science Group would not have caused the Government any extra expenditure. It was brought home to the Government that the Natural Science Group, when introduced in the College, would pay its way as a number of Muslim students who sought admission in other colleges would be attracted to the Mohamedan College. The plea of financial stringency for not introducing the Natural Science Group was not correct; for B.Sc. courses were opened in Victoria College, Palghat, in addition to the History course, the abolition of which was recommended by the Education Department.

In the Government Mohamedan College the only Groups provided for, besides languages, are Group IV B and IV D in the B.A. classes. The strength of the Government Mohamedan College in Group B is much larger than that of other Government Colleges with better facilities. There are other colleges besides the Government Mohamedan College which are better equipped and have provision for a greater variety of subjects in the B.A. classes; hence it is no wonder that the B.A. class of the Mohamedan College is not able to attract a large number of Muslim students, most of whom now-a-days are anxious to take mathematics in B. A.

If more courses are introduced, the number of students seeking admission will greatly increase and correspondingly the expenditure

for the maintenance of the college will be reduced.

The Minister of Education speaking in the Legislative Assembly in March 1939 declared that the stream of Government grants was flowing into the lake of Muslim education in such profusion that the per capita expenditure on the Government Mohamedan College had increased to Rs. 400, thereby trying to impress upon the Muslim community and the general public that the expenditure was the highest in the above-mentioned institution. If the Minister had known that the Government College, though a denominational institution, admits non-Muslim students also, he would not have ventured to make such a statement. A glance at statistics would show that the Minister was wrong. Rs. 413 are spent per capita on the Government College, Kumbakonam, and Rs. 517 are spent per capita for the maintenance of Queen Mary's College. There are other colleges on which more money is spent than on the Government Mohamedan College. Besides, there are certain departments of particular colleges for the upkeep of which a much larger sum per head is spent; for example, the Sanskrit Department of the Madras Presidency College. It is therefore wrong to say that large sums of money are spent for the maintenance of the Government Mohamedan College. It may also be stated that in recent years the expenditure on the Government Mohamedan College has decreased considerably.

QUEEN MARY'S COLLEGE

In Queen Mary's College, in particular, which is the only first-grade college for girls maintained by the Government, Muslim girls find it very difficult to get admission. This is due to the fact that arbitrary standards have been set up in the matter of admission without having regard to the fact that Muslim women have taken to higher education only recently. Admission of Muslim girls should not have been restricted if the Government had been genuinely anxious to encourage higher education among Muslim women. Year after year Muslim girls not only find it difficult to get admission, but several of them have been refused admission.

ABOLITION OF SELECTION COMMITTEES

When the Government, some years ago, found that Muslims and non-Muslims were not admitted into Government Colleges, arts and professional, they constituted selection committees which, at the beginning of every academic year, met to select students for admission into Government Colleges. These Selection Committees were fully representative and they were fair and just to the students

of those communities that till recently were denied justice. But the Congress Government abolished the Selection Committees though their existence did not cause the Government any expenditure. The abolition of these Committees has adversely affected the admission of Muslim students into Government Colleges, although certain rules for admission have been prescribed by Government.

THE MUSLIM ORPHANAGE

The Muslim Orphanage, which is only one of its kind in this Province, secured a site in Mambalam and applied to the Government for the usual grant. It has been an accepted practice of the Government for many years to give land and building grants to such institutions. The Congress Government, in the first instance, refused to give this grant. It was after a good deal of representation on the part of the authorities of the Orphanage by means of correspondence and deputations that the Finance Minister with great difficulty agreed to give only Rs. 3000, and this also not without conditions. If the authorities of the orphanage had accepted this offer, they would have been compelled to alienate half the land to the Government and to give an undertaking that they would not apply for the building grant. It was only after the publication of the Pirpur Report,[2] in which a reference was made to this subject, that the Government came forward with an explanation that the matter was not disposed of but was under consideration. In this connection it may be stated that a building grant of Rs. 6 lakh was given to the Pachiappas College without the slightest demur. I very much appreciate the generosity of the Government with regard to the Pachiayappas College. I only wish that the Muslim orphanage was treated similarly.

ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT

Engineering Service is the close preserve of one particular community. When an interpellation was put in the Legislative Assembly regarding the paucity of Muslim representation in the Engineering Service, the Minister for Public Works replied that no qualified Muslims were available. But it was brought to the notice of the Minister that qualified Muslim youths were certainly available. The previous Government, in order to remove the existing inequalities in the higher cadres of the Engineering Department, issued an order that whenever vacancies occurred in the gazetted ranks of the Engineering Service, they should be filled up by direct recruitment and adequate representation should be given to Musalmans who were inadequately represented. It was after this

order was issued that only one Muslim was recruited to the higher ranks of the Engineering Service. The first thing which the Congress Party did after assuming office was to abolish direct recruitment. Thus the little hope that was there for the Musalmans to occupy higher ranks of Engineering Service was dashed to the ground. This matter is referred to in the Pirpur Report. After the publication of the Pirpur Report the Congress Ministry of Madras issued a communique with a view to refut[ing] the charges made therein. This communique was only a defence of the indefensible. The charges were not refuted categorically. They were merely explained away and some lame excuses were offered for the policy which [*sic*] the Government had decided to appoint three Musalmans as Assistant Engineers by direct recruitment. Many months elapsed after the issue of the communique and no applications were called for. It was only recently that an advertisement appeared calling for applications from Musalmans for whom three places had been reserved as Assistant Engineers. But the conditions that have been laid down are such as to exclude those qualified Musalmans whose claims for years were deliberately ignored by the Government and who have been rendered ineligible for service according to the new rules.

AGRICULTURE DEPARTMENT

Great injustice has been done to Musalmans in the matter of appointments in the Agricultural Department. It was generally said that no qualified Musalmans were available for appointment in the Agriculture Department. Early last year, nearly 15 vacancies occurred in the Agriculture Department. The Muslim community was assured that four Muslims would be recruited. There were at that time nearly half a dozen Muslim students in the final year B.Sc (Agriculture). The Government was aware of this fact. They knew that if they made the selection before the results of the examination were announced, no Muslim would apply and Muslim vacancies would be filled up by non-Muslims. With this object in view, 21st of February 1939 was fixed as the last day for the receipt of applications. Muslim leaders and institutions protested against this, and the Minister for Agriculture promised that the four vacancies reserved for Musalmans would be kept in abeyance and would be filled up only after the announcement of the results of the University examination. Musalmans accepted this assurance. In view of the fact that appointments were only to be made after the announcement of the results, recruitment could have been delayed. Government [, however,] went back on their assurance and made the selection before the

results, although actuall appointments were made long after [*sic*]. After the results were announced, the Minister for Agriculture was approached to make good his promise. He had been feeding the candidates on hopes and in the meanwhile the Congress Ministry resigned.

SECRETARIAT

The Secretariat wields an extraordinary influence in the administration of the province. It is the Secretariat that not only helps the Government to shape its policy but also to give a practical shape to the programme of the Government. But for a long time it has been the close preserve of one particular community. Both in the subordinate and the superior ranks of the Secretariat, Muslim representation has been quite negligible. There is no Muslim Secretary. Though there are senior Muslim Collectors who could have been appointed as Secretaries to Government, the Congress Ministry did not want to have any Muslim Secretary. On the other hand, junior Brahman Collectors have been appointed as Secretaries, and when the question of Muslim representation was raised, misleading figures were given.

That is so far as the higher ranks of the appointments in the Secretariat are concerned. As for non-gazetted and clerical posts, the Congress Ministry cleverly managed to deprive a number of Musalmans of their chances by giving them to Brahmans. When some vacancies occurred in the Secretariat, those who were not in the list of the Services Commission were appointed. There was no Muslim among those who were so appointed. Musalmans at first were not aware of the fact that there were even temporary vacancies in the Secretariat; for they were not advertised. As Brahmans preponderate in the Secretariat, they filled them up by [appointing] their own kinsmen though they were not included in the approved list of the Madras Services Commission. Musalmans did not apply; firstly, they were not aware of the vacancies and, secondly, they thought that the vacancies would be filled up only from the approved lists of the Services Commission. When a protest was made against these appointments, an assurance was given that as and when those who were approved by the Services Commission were available, they would be appointed according to communal rotation. But when the question of appointing permanent incumbents according to the communal G.O. [Government orders] was referred to the Premier, he said that those who had already worked as temporary clerks might be confirmed. This sympathy was shown by the Premier because almost all the temporary clerks

belonged to his community. Muslim chances were given the go-by.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

The Medical Service is manned by Brahmans. A G.O. was passed before the Congress Ministry came into power to remove communal inequalities in the Medical Service. When the Congress Party accepted office, the Minister for Public Health realised that Musalmans and non-Brahmans would have to be appointed according to the communal G.O. He therefore abolished recruitment of Assistant Surgeons and introduced honorary system of service which has very adversely affected Muslims whose representation in Medical Department is very meagre. Musalmans lost every chance of being appointed as Assistant Surgeons.

PUBLIC PROSECUTORS

As for the appointment of public prosecutors, the panel system was introduced ostensibly to select the best lawyer but with the real object of denying opportunities to the members of the Muslim community, which is inadequately represented at the bar. The democratic principle has been abused in this case. If salaried appointments are to be filled up by election, there would be greatest scope for the introduction of party politics and for the full play of communal feelings.

VICTIMISATION OF MUSLIM OFFICIALS

Muslim officials have been deliberately victimised. It is not advisable to mention here the names of the officers who have been victimised. It may only be stated that the increments of some Muslim officials have been stopped. The promotion of some others has been blocked; while some have been given black marks and their official record has been spoiled so that at the time of promotion their claims might not be considered. There are many instances of victimisation of Muslim officials and I shall here state that two Muslim Deputy Superintendents of Police and one Muslim Deputy Collector were victimised.

Whenever a Muslim official acted justly and impartially, he was accused of communalism if the person to whom justice was meted out by him happened to be a Muslim. When Muslim officials refused to be a party to any irregularity, anonymous petitions were sent against them and the Ministers, on the reports of local MLA's or Congress leaders, punished them.

In matters of administrative details such as transfer of officers etc.,

the Congress Ministers interfered very often to the detriment of Muslim officials.

MUSLIMS AND LOCAL BODIES

Every device has been resorted to, to keep out Musalmans from local bodies. One such is the realignment of Municipal and Panchayat Board constituencies. The other is the denial of separate electorate to Muslims. When an attempt was made to amend the Local Boards Act, by the introduction of separate electorate for Muslims, leave was not given for the introduction of the Bill. The present position, so far as the City of Madras is concerned, is that there is no reservation of seats for Musalmans. The constituencies are so formed that with the exception of one Municipal Division the rest are all predominantly non-Muslim and there is no ghost of a chance for a Muslim candidate to be elected; for communal feelings do play an important part during elections. As for District Boards and Municipalities, a very small number of seats has been reserved for Musalmans and the wards have been so constituted as to prevent Muslim voters from being the deciding factor. Everywhere, Muslim majority has been reduced to minority by realignment of Municipal wards.

Ambur is a Panchayat Board. It is predominantly Muslim and has some very rich Muslims. As Musalmans here are numerically larger and economically better off they always have majority in the Panchayat Boards. The President is also a Muslim. This has been an eye sore to the Congress Party which, ever since, it came into power, has been thinking of elevating it to the status of a Municipality with the ulterior motive of reducing the Muslim majority to a minority by tacking on the villages adjoining Ambur which are predominantly Hindu. But Muslims have been consistently protesting against it and the European Inspectors of Local Boards have disapproved the idea of converting it to a Municipality, as its main object was to reduce the Muslim majority to a minority and thus remove the possibility of a Musalman ever being its chairman. The Ambur Panchayat Board would have been converted into a Municipality but for the fact that the Congress Ministry resigned.

ALL INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION

The All India Spinners' Association is a wing of the Congress organisation. Its office-bearers are exclusively Congressmen. Its activities are such as to benefit the members of only one party. But the Congress Government gave the Spinners' Association a very generous grant. This was not merely at the expense of the

tax-payer but it was also intended to advance, though in an indirect manner, [the cause of] the Congress organisation. Either among the weavers or among the office-bearers of the Spinners' Association, there are no Muslims.

CONDOLENCE RESOLUTION

One thing which threw into broad relief the anti-Muslim character of the Congress was the refusal of permission to move a resolution touching the death of Moulana Shoukat Ali. The Premier used all his influence to see that permission was not granted for moving it.

COMMUNAL RIOTS

Madras Presidency has been singularly free from communal rancour. The relations between Hindus and Muslims have been perfectly cordial. But since the Congress Party came into power, there have been a number of Hindu-Muslim riots. The illiterate Hindu masses were encouraged to think, after the advent of the Congress Ministry, that Ram *raj* had been established and that they could do anything with impunity. Though Muslims suffered great loss of life and property in riots, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, when he was the Premier, not only characterised Muslims as aggressors but also said that the losses suffered by Hindus were more than those sustained by Muslims. In the Ambur riots, the losses suffered by Muslims were to the tune of rupees three lakh. As if this was not enough, Muslims were made to sign an agreement under duress, the terms of which were most humiliating and unjust, and a collective fine of Rs. 1000 was inflicted on them. Just because Hindus were aggressors, no prosecutions were launched and the cases that were pending in the court against some Hindu rioters were also withdrawn. No such thing was done after the riots at Kadyanallur (Tinnevelly District), as the accused were Muslims. This partiality of the Congress Ministry has acted as an incentive to unbridled truculence by Hindus. Sometime after the riots at Ambur, there were riots at Vellore, the sufferers again being Muslims. It was the policy that the Congress Ministry pursued that was responsible for exacerbating Hindu-Muslim feelings and disturbing the tranquillity of the provinces where peace and harmony prevailed.

CONCLUSION

Let the ex-ministers indulge in self-laudation about what they have done for Muslims and let them quote statistics in proof thereof; but they cannot deceive Musalmans, for the latter know that what little

they got was not given to them by the Congress Ministry but by the previous Ministry. Let not Congressmen therefore pride themselves on the achievements of others. During the two and a half years the Congress Party was in power, Muslims had to be very watchful and whenever they ceased to be vigilant, they were denied their legitimate rights. How long can a community get on with a hostile and un-sympathetic Government and how long can it be ceaselessly vigilant and watchful. The greatest grievance of Musalmans against the Congress Ministry is that it did not give them their due even when they fought and agitated for it. My object in issuing this statement is not to rake up old controversies but to prevent the gullible public from falling a prey to the campaign of misrepresentation which the ex-ministers and Congress leaders are carrying on.

ABDUL HAMEED KHAN

[1]Congress imposed its own party anthem, *Bande Mataram* (Hail to Thee, Mother), as the new official anthem in the provinces ruled by it (1937-39). The song, appearing in Bankim Chandra Chatterji's novel *Anandamath*, was considered by the League "not merely positively anti-Islamic and idolatrous in its inspiration ..., but definitely subversive of the growth of genuine nationalism in India". See Resolution No. 6 adopted at AIML session, Lucknow, 15-18 October 1937. Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 576.

[2]An Inquiry Committee was appointed by the Council of the All India Muslim League, under Raja Syed Mohammad Mehdi of Pirpur, to seek out and list complaints of repression and blatant discrimination against Muslims in each of the provinces governed by the Congress (1937-39), gathering written as well as oral testimony from the aggrieved Muslims. The *Pirpur Report* was submitted in November 1938 and published by the League in the form of a pamphlet. Another such report titled, *Muslim Sufferings under Congress Rule*, was compiled and produced by A. K. Fazlul Huq in December 1939. It listed in grim detail numerous cases in Bihar, the United Provinces, and the Central Provinces of Muslims looted or killed with the connivance of officials. A third report, *Some Grievances of the Muslims, 1938-1939*, was compiled by the Publicity Committee of the Bihar Provincial Muslim League, under the chairmanship of Patna's S. M. Shareef, and published in December 1939. Waheed Ahmad, *The Nation's Voice*, I, 548-51.

Glossary

Aadaab	Salutation; greeting
Aalim	Muslim religious scholar
Aameen	So be it
Ahimsa	Non-violence
Akhara	Wrestling arena
Aali Janab	Respected Sir
Allah	God
Allaho Akbar	God is the greatest
Ameer-i-Millat	Leader of the nation
Anjuman	Association
Anna	1/16th of a rupee; no more in circulation
Assalaamo 'Alaikum	Peace be upon you
Athwa	That is, which means
Azan	Call for prayer
Bahadur	Brave
Bakhidmat Sharif Janab Sahib	In honour of respected Sir
Bande Matram	Hail to Thee, Mother (India)
Bania	Hindu shopkeeper; money-lender
Baqar 'Id	Muslim festival of sacrifice celebrated on the 10th of *Zilhij*
Bara Babus	Senior clerks
Bara Sahibs	Senior officers
Bhajan	Hindu hymn or psalm
Bhul Chuk	A slip of memory; a slip-up
Bigah	A measure of land equal to 120 square feet
Binnaut	A sort of weapon
Bismillaahir Rahmaanir Rahim	In the name of *Allah*, the most Beneficent, the Merciful
Chaprasi	Peon
Chettyars Thai Poosam	Hindu festival
Congresswalas	Members of the Congress party
Daal bhaat	Humble food; frugal meal
Danda	Stick
Dars-i-Qur'an	Lessons from the holy *Qur'an*
Deen	Religion
Deen-i-Ilahi	The religion of God (the cult introduced by Mughal emperor Akbar)
Dewan	Prime Minister usually in princely states

Divali	A Hindu festival of lamp-lighting
Durbar	Court
Durga Puja	Worship of *Durga* (Hindu goddess)
Durwan	Doorman; janitor
Dusehra	Hindu festival, observed on the 10th of *Asuj* during September-October symbolizing triumph of good over evil
Eiman	Faith
Fakir	Beggar
Farash	Peon
Fatwa	Religious edict
Frontierwalas	The people of Frontier (NWFP)
Gaddi	Seat of succession
Ganga-din	Hindu religion
Ghaddar	Traitor
Goonda	Hooligan
Hadees (Hadith)	Corpus of traditions relating to the holy Prophet (PBUH)
Haji	A Muslim who has performed Hajj
Hakimul Ummah	Sage of the Ummah (body of followers of Islamic faith)
Harijan	Child of God; (appellation given to low-caste Hindus by M. K. Gandhi)
Hazrat	An appellation of respect
Hazrat Rasool-e-Khuda	Dignified Prophet (PBUH) of God
Holi	Hindu festival of colour in honour of *Krishna*
Huma	Phoenix; a mythical bird
Hundi	Exchange of money otherwise than through bank
Huzur	Dignified
'Id al-Azha	Muslim festival observed on the day following the *Hajj*
'Id al-Fitr	Muslim festival celebrated at end of *Ramazan* (fasting month)
'Id Milad-ud-Nabi	Celebration of the birth of holy Prophet (PBUH)
'Id	Muslim festival
Idara	Institution
Ilaqa	Area

Imam	Muslim religious leader; one who leads prayers
Imamate	Religious leadership
Insha Allah	God willing
Isha'at	Propagation
Jagirdars	Landlords
Jamaatkhanas	Prayer places
Janab	Sir
Jirga	Council of elders
Janata	The people; masses
Kafir	Non-believer; infidel; heathen
Kali Puja	Worship of *Kali* (Hindu goddess)
Karma	Destiny
Khaddar	Home-spun coarse cloth
Khadi	Handloom
Khaki	Dust-coloured
Khatun-i-Janat	Lady of the heaven
Kotwali	The Chief Police Station
La Ilaha Illallah	There is no God but *Allah*
La Ilaha Ilallaho Mohammadur Rasulullah	There is no God but *Allah* and Muhammad (PBUH) is the Prophet of *Allah*
Lungis	Turbans
Madrassa	School; academy; seminary
Maidan	Field
Majalis	Assemblies
Mashir	Adviser
Masjid	Mosque
Moulana	Muslim religious scholar
Maulood	Celebration of the holy Prophet's (PBUH) birthday
Moulvi	Muslim cleric
Meesaq	Pledge; treaty
Mersiyah Khwani	Recitation of elegiac poetry
Millat	Nation
Mofussil	Countryside
Mohajirin	Refugees
Mohalla	Locality; Ward
Moharram	First month of Islamic calendar
Momin	True Muslim
Mufti	Interpreter of Islamic law
Mullajat	Muslim religious leaders

Munafiq	Hypocrite
Munsif	Judge
Muslimistan	Land of the Muslims
Namaskarum	Hindu salutation
Namaz	Prayer
Nazir, Umoor-i-Kharija	Supervisor of External Affairs
Nazrana	Tribute; present
Pandal	A temporary enclosure erected for a public meeting
Patasalas	Hindu schools; colleges
Periyar	Sage
Prem	Love
Proja daal bhaat	Peasant's humble food (literally peasant's rice and pulses)
Pucca	Burnt; made of concrete
Punchayat	Council of village elders
Purdah	Veil
Qur'an	Holy book of Muslims
Rais	A wealthy person; chief
Raj	Rule
Ram raj	The rule of Rama in ancient India
Ramadhan	Fasting month of Muslims
Rashtrapati	Head of state
Salaam	Muslim salutation
Salar	Commander
Salar-e-Khas	Special Commander
Salar-i-Azam	Commander-in-Chief
Samri	Magician; wizard
Satyagraha	Passive or non-violent resistance
Shamiana	Large tent used for functions
Shariat	Islamic code of law
Shri	Respected
Sikha Shahi	Sikh rule, particularly in Punjab; autocracy; despotism
Sunnah	Words and deeds of the holy Prophet (PBUH)
Surah	Chapter of holy *Qur'an*
Swaraj	Home rule; self-government
Swarajic	Relating to home rule or self-government
Taluka	Estate; revenue administrative unit

Taluqdari	Sanads, certificates of ownership (of an estate)
Taluqdars	Landlords
Tamasha	Entertainment show
Tarana	Anthem
Thana	Police Station
Ulama	Muslim religious scholars
Vakil	Lawyer; Advocate
Waqf	Trust; Endowment
Wassalaam	And peace be upon you
Wassalaamo Alaikum wa Rahmatullahi wa Barakatuhu	Peace, mercy and blessing of *Allah* to you too
Youm-ud-dua wa istiqlal-i-Islam	Prayer day for the consolidation of Islam
Yunani	Greek
Zaildar	Revenue Officer
Zakat	A fixed obligatory payment by a Muslim possessing assets of a specified value
Zindabad	Long live

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